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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

INFORMATION REPORT

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GENERAL

1. The political prisoner forced-labor camp system described in this report was located in the Mordovian ASSR, near the eastbound railroad line from Moscow to Ruzayevka (N 54-05, E 44-56), on a spur running northward from the railroad station of Potma (approximately N 54-03, E 42-55 - see sketch on page 25). The camps were called the Temnikov Disciplinary Camps (Temnyakovskiy Rezhimniy Lagery) but were popularly known by the inmates as simply the Mordovian Camps. Mailing address of the camps was: Mordovskaya ASSR, stantsiya Potma, Poselok Yavas, p/o 385/; the 385/ was followed by the individual camp numbers which ran from one to 19.
2. In 1951, up to 35,000 political prisoners, sentenced for periods of 10 to 25 years under Article 58 of Soviet Penal Code, were incarcerated in these camps. The camps were in existence before this time but contained both political prisoners and inmates sentenced for ordinary crimes. As a result of instructions received from Moscow in the fall of 1948, all non-political prisoners were removed from these camps. This separation process was continued through 1949, when it was completed.
3. One of the early signs of the impending change of status of the Mordovian camps was the arrival of MGB Lt. General Sergeyenko and other MGB officers, who took over control of the camps from the samookhrana, a local guard which seemed to be recruited in part, if not wholly, from the local population. With the arrival of the MGB, changes, all of them disadvantageous to the prisoners, gradually began to take place.
4. According to veteran prisoners, there was a certain degree of laxness and informality in the camps before 1948. The prisoners had strict work norms to fulfill and lived in the same over-crowded dirty barracks, but they had a number of privileges which seemed significant in contrast to what followed.

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Before 1948, the prisoners were paid a little for their work and they had canteens (lavochka) where they could buy candies, cigarettes, a few newspapers, and occasionally some bacon or dried fish. Prisoners occasionally were permitted to arrange concerts and other stage performances. They wore their own clothing and, if there were any orders segregating prisoners by sex, they were not strictly enforced. At the end of a month during which the camps overfulfilled their norms, festivities of a sort would take place and the prisoners would receive an increased food ration, possibly even with meat. Officials would make speeches congratulating the prisoners on their work performance and songs would be sung. However, the most significant thing about the pre-1948 camps was the "zachyet", a system of decreasing one's sentence by consistently fulfilling or overfulfilling the work norms. This system varied from camp to camp. In some, extra food and pay accompanied the decrease in sentence, while in others, only one of these benefits would be given. These differences probably depended on whether the particular camps earned profit through production or, when they were agricultural camps, ended up with food surpluses.

5. By 1949, all the above-mentioned privileges were discontinued, from the canteen to the "zachyet". Prisoner mail privileges were largely withdrawn and made subject to overfulfillment of norms. Fencing systems were made more secure (see sketch on page 26) and orders, believed to have originated in Moscow, to construct "burs" (solitary cells described later) arrived at the camp. Other orders completely segregated the male prisoners from the female prisoners. At some time in 1950, prison uniforms with numbers on their backs and left legs were also introduced. Prisoners did not know the destination of the criminal prisoners who were evacuated from the Mordovian camps.
6. Political prisoners arriving at the Mordovian camps during 1949-50 were usually old prisoners brought in from other camps east of the Urals, from camps in areas around Rybinsk (N 58-05, E 38-50), Tashkent (N 41-19, E 69-20), Minsk (N 53-54, E 27-33), Leningrad, Kazan (N 55-47, E 49-08), and Kuybyshev (N 53-12, E 50-06), and from camps located in Latvia, Lithuania, former Poland, the Ukraine, and other localities. Nearly all of the veteran prisoners who arrived at the Mordovian camps were those arrested in the 1940's, most of them after 1945.
7. Newly arrested persons were also shipped to the Mordovian camps in increased numbers. In 1951, a group of children from 14 to 18 years old arrived there. Most of them were children of Latvian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian nationalities, who had been sentenced by military tribunals to from 10 to 25 years of work in these camps. One of these youngsters was a 14-year-old Ukrainian boy who was sentenced by a military tribunal to 25 years forced labor plus 5 years loss of rights. Most of these young people were assigned to camp Nos. 7, 15, and 17, where they worked in woodworking shops making the "Rodina" radio cabinets.
8. Convoys of incoming and outgoing prisoners usually numbered from 100 to 200 prisoners each. In 1949 and 1950, these convoys came and went with regularity, at least several times per week. Occasionally, in spring or autumn, convoys numbering up to 500 prisoners would leave or arrive at the camps. These outgoing seasonal convoys were made up of strong-bodied prisoners being shipped to Karaganda for work in ore or coal mines. Incoming convoys of this type consisted of prisoners who had completed their work elsewhere or were being brought in in large numbers because of seasonal requirements such as harvesting or farming.
9. By nationality, Ukrainian and Lithuanian farmers constituted the largest single group of prisoners arriving at the Mordovian camps. Next in number were Poles and Russians with smaller groups of Belorussians, Latvians, Georgians, and Germans. Other nationalities encountered in the camps in small numbers were: Hungarians, Rumanians, Austrians, Czechoslovaks, Estonians, Chinese, Uzbeks, Turks, Iranians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and others. In late 1949 or early 1950, several small groups of Korean girls were brought to the camps, and, shortly thereafter, some young men, also of Korean nationality. The number of Koreans, when compared to the total number of prisoners, was small, but their arrival was noticed by all the other prisoners because these were the first Koreans that they had seen.

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10. Among the prisoners at the camp were many who claimed to have been partisans. These men were usually in their 20's or early 30's but some as old as 50 were encountered. The older men were not active partisans who fought against the Communists but rather supporters who acted as contacts for the fighters, and who gave them food or lodging in their homes. Most of the partisans came from the Ukraine, former Polish territory, or Lithuania. There were a few partisans from Latvia.
11. Though they were reluctant to discuss their former activities, one could see that these partisans were strong patriots. Partisans from Lithuania and former Poland explained that frequently they had the choice of enlisting in the Soviet Army, being deported or arrested, or going into the forest from where they could work against the Communist regime. The greatest difficulties they encountered in the forest were getting food during winter and escaping the authorities. Some said that they were actually relieved at being caught because they could then sleep through the nights peacefully. The partisans also complained that they knew too little of what was going on in their own countries or in the outside world when they were in hiding, and that, therefore, they had no basis on which to formulate plans. They lived from day to day, not knowing what lay ahead. These partisans felt they needed to belong to an organization that was bigger and politically better led than their own little groups in the forest; that they needed weapons, food, and knowledge on how to stay alive until the time would come when they could really do something useful.
12. Ukrainian partisans spoke similarly but were more nationalistic than the others and felt that their arrests were incidents that could not affect the size or sweep of the Ukrainian partisan movement. While the Poles and the Balts felt that their nations could not liberate themselves without outside help, the Ukrainians felt that their partisan ranks would always exist and that with or without outside help, one day the Ukraine would be a free and united nation.
13. Altogether, about 1,000 MGB troops were used to control the Mordovian camps. Outsiders were rigidly forbidden to enter the territory under their control and any free citizens or free MGB employees living in the area were forbidden to leave the area or to see outsiders without MGB permission. For any unofficial contact with the prisoners, or for any unauthorized absence from their barracks, the MGB men or employees could be sentenced to prison in these camps or to death. Investigations of the camps could be carried out only through the Ministry in Moscow, and usually in the presence of the minister and General Sergeyenko or his deputy.
14. The number of prisoners in each camp, and the type of work in which they were engaged between late 1948 and the spring of 1951 are shown below:

Camp Number	Sex of Prisoners	Occupation of Prisoners	No. of Prisoners
1	Female	Sewing	2,000
2	Male	Lumber and clearing of land for farming	1,500
3	Male	Carpentry	2,500
4	Male	Farming	1,000
5	Male	Carpentry, brick making	2,500
6	Female	Sewing	1,500
7	Male	Carpentry	3,000
8	Male	Farming	1,500
9	Male & Female	Farming and hospital	1,000
10	Female	Farming	1,000
11	Male	Central machine shops	2,000
12	Male	Milling and farming	1,000
13	Male	Farming	1,500
14	Male	Sewing	2,500
15	Male	Lumbering and farming	1,000
16	Male	Lumbering and farming	1,500
17	Male	Lumbering and farming	1,000
18	Male	Carpentry and locomotive	
19	Male	Lumbering and farming	1,500
Total (approximate)			31,500

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ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF CAMPSCentral Offices and Personnel

15. Prisoners of the Mordovian Camps believed that they were centrally administered under the direction of Lt. General Sergeyenko (fnu) (see personalities on page 21), an MGB officer who received his orders from Moscow. Sergeyenko had two other generals as assistants. One of them was a coarse [redacted] who had dark hair and cruel eyes and face. There was a rumor among the prisoners that he was to replace Sergeyenko. An MGB colonel was chief of discipline at the camps. All administrative notices or instructions pertaining to prisoners posted at camp barrack buildings and camp factories invariably bore the initials or full name of the MGB. The lowest-ranking officers encountered in the camps were captains, who appeared to direct the various offices at the individual camps. The MGB appeared to run all the various functional offices at the individual camps with the exception of those concerned directly with manufacturing. The central administration headquarters was located in camp No. 11.
16. General Sergeyenko wore a greenish uniform with two red stripes down the sides of his trousers. [redacted] his shoulder boards [redacted] were red or gold. He always wore boots, and in winter, a brown fur coat (shuba). The prevailing uniform among camp officials and guards at the camps was of greenish color, usually with gold shoulder boards, and blue visor hats with red bands. Also observed were some dark brown uniforms with white or silver shoulder boards. One official who wore such a uniform was a visiting officer who was said to have been a State prosecutor. This particular officer had rows of small stars on his shoulder boards.
17. Whereas the MGB administered and operated the camps themselves, the manufacturing plants at the camps, namely the sewing and woodworking establishments, were operated by the Ministry of Light Industry, BSSR. Prison labor was supplied to these plants by the MGB camp administration. Administrative and other free civilian personnel of a camp lived outside of the camp in individual one-story houses built of logs and grouped near the camp. These people also had a clubhouse and a store located in their area.

Individual Camps

18. Each individual camp was administered independently of the others but was subordinate to the central administration. The most important offices and officials in charge of the individual camps, from the prisoners standpoint were:
- a. Camp Chief (Nachalnik Lagpunkta) - this officer generally looked after the efficient productive operation of the camp and was responsible for the camp and what took place within it. He saw to it that the camp offices performed satisfactorily in order that the camp might meet its production quotas, that order and discipline was maintained, that raw materials and other supplies were ordered and arrived on time and, in general, that the camp functioned smoothly.
 - b. Deputy Chief of Camp (Zamestitel) - in addition to being deputy to the camp chief, this officer was also in charge of the Camp Construction and Repair Section (Khozvayatvennaya Chast). The function of this section was to maintain and erect camp buildings, maintain and build camp roads, operate camp farms, and procure supplies for its building and maintenance activities. In general, it was the direct function of this section to see to it that the camp itself was in good operating order. A Supply Office (Otdel Snabzheniya) was thought by the inmates to be a part of the Camp Construction and Repair Section. It was concerned with supplying the camp with food, clothing, tools, and other supplies for feeding, clothing, and equipping the prisoners and camp administrative personnel. Also related to the Camp Construction and Repair Section was the Technical Section (Tekhnicheskiy Otdel) which operated the camp power plant and water supply tower and maintained and repaired camp factory equipment, such as, tools, machines, and vehicles.

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As a rule, the Camp Construction and Repair Section and all other offices at a camp, except those charged with discipline and guarding of prisoners, had a chief who was an MGB officer while the members of his staff who did the actual work were prisoners. Exceptions to this rule were found in several of the technical offices. For example, the chief electrician of the camp power plant, various chief mechanics, some department heads at camp plants, and a few other craftsmen were non-prisoner civilians.

- c. Camp Commandant (Komendant) - this officer headed the camp Komendatura. He was not the head official of a camp but rather the officer in charge of domestic camp activities. The Commandant had nothing to do with guarding or disciplining the prisoners. He was charged, rather, with enforcing curfew hours, getting the prisoners fed and off to work on time, seeing that the camp grounds were kept in good order, that notices were posted, that all buildings were supplied with water and firewood, and that the camp rules were adhered to by all prisoners. One such rule forbid the prisoners to start fires in barrack stoves; another forbid them to sleep outdoors or to visit neighboring barracks.
- d. Under the Commandant were the barrack starostas (elders) and the vnimalniye (attendants), who are prisoner officials appointed by the Commandant. The starosta maintained a log of all prisoners under his care and kept it posted on the barrack wall, together with any other rules or regulations that came down from the camp administration. The log showed the true names of the prisoners, the articles of the Penal Code under which they had been sentenced, and the length of their terms. The starosta was the intermediary between the prisoners and the camp administration. He was responsible for the day-to-day conditions of a barracks building and the conduct of the prisoners quartered there. He mustered them out for roll calls, for work, and had to account for absent prisoners.
- e. Vnimalniye (attendants) - there were two vnimalniye in each barracks. They were in constant attendance at the barracks, bringing in water, firewood, starting fires, bringing in the kipyatok (hot water flavored with some grasses to represent tea), and presumably watching over prisoners' belongings. They were laughingly called the "servants of the prisoners". The vnimalniy had the advantages of having light work to do and of being in a position to steal from the other prisoners. He was able to live better on the prisoner food norm since he did not have to exert himself as did the other prisoners assigned to actual labor.
- f. Chief of Discipline (Nachalnik Rezhima) - this officer was responsible for guarding prisoners and enforcing discipline within the confines of a camp. However, when prisoners left a camp, for any reason whatever, they came under the jurisdiction of another official for purposes of guarding and discipline. [redacted] this officer's title [redacted] Chief of the Guard (Nachalnik Okhrany). The Chief of Discipline penalized prisoners for insubordination, operated the kartsai (solitary confinement cell), and maintained security within the camp. He had under him a small number of guards called nadzirateli (supervisor of prisoners), who were usually MGB non-commissioned officers. There were approximately 12 of these guards in each camp. They carried out head counts before work parties left and upon their return, after the starosta had lined up the men for this purpose; they made bed checks and searches; periodically inspected camp fences and earth strips for traces of tampering, during both daylight and night hours; guarded the kartsai; and manned the guardhouse at the main gate, where their main function was to check prisoners in and out of the camp. The nadzirateli were on duty 24 hours, taking turns for duty during night hours. Because the nadzirateli worked within camp ground limits only, they were sometimes also called zonshchiki (zone guards). This term also applied to any prisoner trustees whom the nadzirateli used to perform menial tasks, such as repairing fences, raking the plowed strips, or assisting them in inspection work.

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- g. Chief of Operations Section (Operativnyy Upolnomochennyy) - this officer was usually an MGB captain who had two or more MGB officers as assistants. The Operations Section (Operativnaya Chast) had in its possession investigative files on the prisoners at the camp, and it carried out investigations dealing with alleged sabotage, rumors and other matters. Ordinary stealing by prisoners, machinery breakdowns, or imperfect work was sometimes considered sabotage. One of the members of an Operations Section was also the camp censor who censored all outgoing letters and incoming letters and parcels. To procure information, the Operations Section operated networks of informers among prisoners and non-prisoners within each camp. The prisoners assumed that all "starostas", "vnimalniye" camp firemen, or any prisoners with preferred status were MGB informers acting for the Operations Section. The MGB informers were called seksots (sekretnyy sotrudnik-Secret Collaborator), which was a common term for informers, but more commonly the prisoners referred to them as "stukatch" (a person who knocks another down) or "predazhnaya skura" (betrayer). It was difficult for the MGB to recruit informers among the prisoners because the informers were easily spotted when they received favors for their cooperation with the MGB. Also, the prisoners dealt harshly with any informer found in their midst.
- h. Special Section (Spetschast), also called "Urche" - this office sometimes had no personnel other than a chief. It maintained an administrative file on each prisoner, i.e., prisoner personnel files as distinguished from prisoner investigation files, which were maintained by the Operations Section. It probably also maintained personnel reports, orders, production data, statistics, etc.
- i. Cultural and Education Section (KVCh- Kulturalno-Vospytatelnaya Chast) - this was the camp propaganda office. It was run by a chief who was the main propaganda officer. Under the chief at each camp, factory, or major work detail within a camp, was a morale officer whose function it was to urge the prisoners to constantly exert themselves and, thus, to "expiate" their sins to the state. This morale officer was usually a freeman supervisor, a mechanic or other specialist who was assigned to a factory group or work detail. As morale officer, he made his exhortations to prisoners during their breaks for rest during working hours, during meals, or at other times when the prisoners were free from work.
- j. Medical Section (Sanitarnaya Chast) - this section had a free civilian as chief and had on its staff physicians and medical assistants picked from among the prisoners. It was charged with providing first aid to prisoners, treating light illnesses, and looking after hygienic conditions in the camp. A medical commission from the MGB central administration for the camps conducted general inspections and classified the prisoners according to health.
- k. Fire Department (Pozharnaya Okhrana) - this department was run by an MGB officer who had a crew of firemen consisting of prisoners and free men. The department was equipped with a truck, an hydraulic pump, and a hand pump. Firemen made frequent inspections of camp buildings and constantly observed barrack chimneys for signs of smoke during unauthorized hours. If prisoners lit a fire during such hours, the firemen immediately put it out. Each barrack and factory building was required to have at hand a barrel filled with water and some sand to put out small blazes.
- l. Production Chief - this official was found only at camps where manufacturing establishments were located and was the manager of those establishments. Other productive activities, such as, farming, lumbering, or construction work, were supervised and carried out by the camp Construction and Repair Section. In such work, the Section sometimes had the assistance of a construction superintendent (Prorab), described below. Those Mordovian camps which were engaged in manufacturing generally had only one industry per camp. An exception to this was Camp No. 5, which was engaged in carpentry and brickmaking. [redacted] both of these establishments came under the same production chief.

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- m. Deputy Production Chief- this official managed the camp industries through several department heads called shop chiefs or base chiefs. A woman sometimes held down this position in the sewing establishments. In sewing establishments, shop chiefs were in charge of the cutting and sewing shops; the base chiefs were in charge of the raw material receiving departments, the packing, shipping, and warehousing departments, and a laboratory for inspecting raw materials for quality. The base chiefs were also responsible for the production of designs and patterns. Shop and base chiefs were either prisoners or free men.
- n. Chief of Technical Control Section (OTK-Otdel Tekhnicheskogo Kontrola) - this official was charged with inspecting the manufactured products. He was a free civilian but his crews who did the inspecting were either free civilians or prisoners. Where both types of personnel were used, prisoners did the preliminary inspecting and the free civilian made the final one.
- o. Construction Superintendent (Prorab) - one of these officials was found in each camp. His primary function was to advise on and supervise construction activities at a camp, to approve plans and blueprints locally and forward them to higher authorities for approval, and to oversee the carrying out of construction orders from higher authorities. He suggested progressive work methods and also acted as a camp efficiency expert. In actual practice, the camp could not carry out any construction activity, such as the erecting of new barracks buildings, on its own initiative, and the approval of the "prorab" was not sufficient authority. Any plans or proposals had to be submitted to the main camp administration. From there, the plans and proposals were probably sent on to Moscow, and only if approved, usually after much correspondence over changes and various construction materials to be used, could the work be done.
- p. Chief Foreman (Volnyy Naryadchik) - as the word volnyy (free) indicates, the chief foreman was a free man, usually an MGB officer. Under the chief foreman were foremen (naryadchiki) who were prisoners. The function of the chief foreman was to receive orders for work to be done from the various camp administrative offices and to supervise the execution of these orders by prisoner-foremen to whom he passed on the orders. Prisoner-foremen were presumably, and occasionally in fact, qualified in their various specific work.
- q. Prisoners were organized for work in brigades and crews. The brigade consisted of 15-20 men headed by a brigade chief (brigadir). One or several brigades were sent out to fulfill a given task. If several brigades were sent out to do a job, they were headed by a crew foreman (desvatnik). Technical instructions on what was to be done and how were given to the prisoners by the job foreman (naryadchik). Factory brigades consisted of as many as 75 workers, as an assembly line (konveyor) was worked by a single brigade. Such a brigade was run by a permanent master (master), a technical foreman selected from among the prisoners because of his technical qualifications. Except in factories, the brigade chief worked physically along with the members of his brigade, in addition to maintaining a record of the percentage of norm-fulfillment by the brigade members. For this additional work, the brigade chief was given an extra allotment of food. In factories, the brigade chiefs tried to assure a supply of raw materials, helped out during machinery breakdowns, brought the prisoners their bread ration, and helped prisoners who were slow and, thus, brought down the production rate for the entire brigade, because he could only keep his position as long as his brigade met the established work norms. The desvatniks, masters, and other crew or job foremen did not perform physical labor, but, nevertheless, received extra food rations for the responsibility they carried.

Camp Security System

19. Camp guards- prisoners were guarded by a detachment of guards who were housed outside the camp and who carried out all their guarding functions outside the camp. They were commanded by an MGB officer called the Chief of the Guard (Nachalnik Okhrany), who had about 50 MGB guards under him. The

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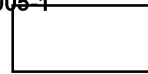
guards were usually referred to as convoy troops (strelki konvoya), since one of their main functions was to escort and guard prisoners to and from work, from camp to camp, or during movements of any kind. These guards also manned the guard towers and patrolled along the camp fence at night. Like the internal guards, the nadzirateli, the convoy guards wore greenish uniforms with red shoulder boards and blue hats with visors and red headbands. Individually, the convoy guards were referred to as citizen rifleman (grazhdanin strelok). They were armed with pistols, grenades, automatic rifles, or submachine guns, while the nadzirateli and other internal camp officials were never armed while on duty inside the camps. To control prisoner movements in and out of camp, there were two guard-rooms at the camp gate. One of these guardrooms was inside the camp and was manned by the nadzirateli, the other was outside the gate and was manned by the convoy guards. When prisoners left or entered the camp for any purpose, they were counted by both the convoy guards and the nadzirateli. Then the guards receiving the prisoners signed a receipt acknowledging responsibility for them. [redacted] when either guardroom failed to account for all prisoners.

20. For escorting prisoners to and from work and guarding them at work, convoy guards were usually assigned at a ratio of three or four guards per 20 prisoners, and one dog per each unit of three or four guards. When they reached the place of work, the guards established limits beyond which the prisoners could not move and indicated these limits by posting "Forbidden Zone" (Zapretnaya Zona) signs. Prisoners were told that any one who violated these limits would be shot on the spot, and the prisoners knew that the guards would, in fact, carry out this threat, not because they were particularly cruel as individuals but because, in the event of an escape, the guards were held responsible personally and collectively.
21. A contingent of guards doing convoy duty was headed by a guard in charge called the convoy officer (nachalnik konvoya), who was responsible for the entire convoy operation until the prisoners were returned to camp. In order to drive home the point that escape was futile and could only end in death, the convoy officer forewarned the prisoners in taking them over, that so much as one step out of ranks would be regarded as an attempt to escape. The prisoners were warned too that their obedience to all guard commands had to be complete and instantaneous. The prisoners soon learned what this last caution meant. While they were on the march, a command would suddenly ring out for the prisoners to fall to the ground, and almost immediately a machine gun or several started firing, spraying bullets over the bodies of the prone men. At a command, the prisoners fell where they were, whether in mud or a pool of water, and there they remained until the command to get up was given. This exercise and consequent live machinegun fire came without forewarning. On a typical march to work of from 3 to 5 kilometers, the exercise was sometimes repeated two or three times, irrespective of the weather. In fact, in bad weather these prone shooting drills were likely to occur more frequently than in good weather. The exercise was also repeated during working hours. Convoy guards resorted to this drill even more frequently when new prisoners arrived in camps, to show the new arrivals what "discipline" meant. Needless to say, the prisoners hugged the ground closely. Some new prisoners tried to show bravado by raising their heads prematurely but they soon abandoned this practice after experiencing bullets flying about their ears. The instinct for life among the prisoners was so strong, in spite of the privations and humiliations they experienced, that no case was known at the camps of a prisoner rising from the ground to commit suicide by exposure to the machine gun fire.
22. At least a few of the guards, as well as other officials at a camp, sympathized with the prisoners. An unmistakable look of sympathy could frequently be detected in the eyes of the guards when they witnessed the animal-like degradation experienced by the prisoners. The prisoners readily sensed where gruffness in an official was real, or simply a cover for their real feelings. Some of the officials or guards would have liked to help the prisoners and tried to do so by not being unnecessarily harsh with them, and if they did not actually help the prisoners in direct ways, it was out of sheer self-protection and concern for the prisoners themselves. Competition for better positions or for more food was so severe, that a "soft" official would quickly be denounced by an informer who wanted to ingratiate himself, or by a subordinate who coveted the post for himself. Thus, an official who showed sympathy for the prisoners would only be replaced by a new man who would be deliberately cruel, largely for self-protection and to demonstrate his fitness for the job.

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23. On the whole, the guards led a difficult life and were subject to very severe discipline. In bad weather the guards were turned out for duty in increased numbers and those who did not get guard duty during such weather were nevertheless turned out for drills, exercises, or target practice. The guards were of mixed nationalities; many of them were Russian but many also were Kazakhs or other Asian nationalities.
24. Prisoners believed that the guards were subject to sentences up to and including the firing squad for permitting an escape, or for any major failure in exercising discipline. Any fraternizing with the prisoners, or any leniency shown them by the guards, was considered a major lapse in discipline.
25. Physical Security- the camp was surrounded by a four-meter high fence (see sketch on page 26) built of thick, but uneven, pickets spaced about one thickness away from each other. Above the fence, but below the electric lights on the fence posts, were two or three strands of barbed wire stretched along the entire length of the fence, raising its height by approximately one-half meter. Also, there were several additional strands of barbed wire stretched along the top of the pickets forming an apron about one-half meter wide on either side of the fence. On both sides of the fence, there was a two-meter wide raked strip of earth and a barbed-wire obstacle which consisted of criss-crossed wire one meter wide. Prisoners were used to maintain the earth strip.
26. Outside the fence, about five-meters distant from the barbed wire obstacle, was a single strand of wire placed about two meters off the ground. Wolf hounds were tied to this wire. The arrangement permitted them to run back and forth along the length of the wire and, thus, patrol 50 or more meters of fence.
27. Rising above the fence there were wooden guard towers, which were manned constantly. The towers were from five to six meters above ground at the floor level and reached a total height of eight to ten meters. All camps had at least four towers, one in each corner, and the larger camps had five or six. As stated above, the towers were manned by the external convoy guards. These tower guards were usually armed with automatic rifles called degyatizanyadki (tear-shot) and machine guns were sometimes mounted in the towers. In addition, the towers were equipped with rocket guns, flares, and searchlights, which the guards rotated intermittently over the camp area and surroundings. The tower guards maintained contact with each other by ringing a bell which was simply a metal triangle. In response to a ring from the tower nearest the gate, each subsequent tower rang in turn. This ringing could be heard at brief intervals both day and night, indicating that the guards were at their posts and on the alert. The tower guards were changed every four hours.

HANDLING AND TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

Quarantine

28. Before a new prisoner at the Mordovian camps was assigned to a camp and permanent work, he first had to go through a period of processing or "quarantine" (karantyn), which lasted about a month. The new prisoners were kept separate from the old prisoners at this time. The processing started with a check of the subject's identity, carried out by an MGB officer who had a personnel file on each prisoner. Sanitary processing followed, during which the prisoner was bathed, his clothes were disinfected, and all the hair was shaved from his body. The prisoner was also given a health inspection, propaganda talks, and was questioned on what work he could perform.
29. These various steps of processing were spread over a period of a month, with breaks of several days in between. During these breaks, the prisoners were taken out daily to work on farms, excavations, road repairs, land clearing, etc. The work was very hard, as the purpose of the work details was apparently to test the stamina and capabilities of the prisoners. The prisoners were then gradually segregated according to their prospective employment and they were given brief training in their new jobs, after which they were driven to acquire the speed to enable them to fulfill their work norms almost instantaneously. This period of so-called training ended the "quarantine" and the prisoners were sent to the various camps to undertake permanent work.
30. Because of their various experiences with prisons and interrogations, the prisoners in "quarantine" were familiar with hunger. However, because they did not have to work while in prison or transit, the meager food ration went

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further than it did at the camps. As a result, during "quarantine," hunger for most of them became agonizing torture. For that reason, a lively barter began to flourish between the new prisoners and the old ones and even some of the free civilian camp employees. Personal possessions which the new prisoners had managed to keep until now, were traded for bread, anything else that was edible, and cigarettes. Some of the new prisoners still had a pair of shoes, a coat, a shirt, some other article of wearing apparel, or even some valuable personal item, such as a ring, that they had somehow managed to retain. Driven frantic by hunger, they now bartered away everything. When there was nothing left to barter away, the unfortunate sufferers somehow managed to accept hunger, but only after days of agony. This initiation into the deep, gnawing, craving for food, brought about by the exertions of work, was always a very bitter and humiliating experience. For a coat, or other clothing that cost infinitely more, they were glad to accept a kilo or two of bread, and for lesser items, such as a good shirt, they were glad to accept 500 grams or less of bread. Before the camps started to issue prison uniforms, some prisoners used to leave "quarantine" barefoot and dressed in nothing more than a pair of trousers.

Prisoners' Food

- 25X1
31. The normal food ration per 24 hours for prisoners fulfilling their work norms consisted of the following: 650 grams of rye bread, 6 grams of sugar diluted with water, and 150 grams of porridge, of oats boiled in water, or of potatoes, all of which were weighed after preparation. In addition, he received some watery soup (balanda) made with spoilt fish, porridge, or potatoes, three times daily. In summer, prisoners received a so-called "Vitamin C" soup prepared with pig-weed, nettle, or other weeds. Very infrequently the ration included some fish, which the camp administration bought at a reduced rate because it was of poor quality. Meat was included in the prisoners' ration only in the event a horse was disposed of because of a broken limb or illness. 25X1
32. Before and after work, the prisoners ate their soup (balanda) in a common mess hall, which seated only 100 to 200 persons at one sitting. Since some camps contained over 2,000 prisoners, they had to gulp down their soup quickly to make room for others. The bread ration was issued either at the barracks or at work, usually by the brigade chief. Porridge was issued at the mess hall, but was carried by the prisoner to his barracks if he did not eat it up before he got there. Since the prisoners seldom had receptacles for the porridge, it was usually dumped into their hands formed into a bowl. 25X1
33. While at the mess hall, the prisoners ate at wooden tables constructed of rough boards with benches attached, which held eight to twelve men each. The prisoners carried their wooden or aluminum spoons with them at all times. The soup came to them in wooden or aluminum bowls, carefully measured out according to the ration each man was to have. The prisoners watched the quantity they received with jealous fervor. If, among the bowls, there were some that contained a potato that was larger than that in another, a vicious quarrel sometimes broke out over the matter, with the strongest prisoner near the bowl usually getting it. Arguments became so heated, that, on several occasions, a prisoner who felt himself wronged took his bowl and slammed it down on the head of the offender. These were costly bursts of fury because it meant that the prisoner would receive no food for that meal. Food was the thing always uppermost in the prisoners' minds. During mealtime, this thirst for food came to the fore with particular force, but never was it satisfied. Prisoners walked away from their meal, only a little less hungry than they came to it. In gestures of defiance, the prisoners sometimes chanted in unison for food when it was not readily forthcoming and at the end of their meals they often flung their empty bowls across the messhall in the direction of the kitchen. As a result, meal time at a prison camp was an ear-splitting pandemonium of yelling and abuse addressed at the kitchen personnel and authorities, and the din of crashing bowls.
34. Soviet nationals seemed to be able to survive hunger better than others. Prisoners from occupied and satellite countries seemed to suffer much more, and Germans could frequently be seen scouring the camp grounds for something edible.
35. Prisoners who worked in the forests were fortunate enough occasionally to pick up some berries, mushrooms, acorns, chestnuts, or edible roots to satisfy their hunger. Prisoners too, could volunteer for extra work in the kitchen and as

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reward for this, they had access to any leavings. These volunteers washed floors, bowls, tables, the huge cooking pots, and did most other kitchen chores except the actual cooking of food, which was done by non-prisoner civilians or permanent trustees. Leavings were few because potatoes were not peeled and, when fish was cooked, everything went into the pot including the heads, tails, and viscera. Consequently, as reward for their additional work, the kitchen volunteers had to scrape the pots and even the bowls left by the other prisoners. Some prisoners even resorted to drinking the water which had been used to wash the cooking pots. In such cases, the prisoners' faces became red and bloated, and they soon died. Kitchen volunteers were usually Hungarians and Rumanians, who were considered by the other prisoners to be suffering from hunger so much as to be totally devoid of self control, will power, or pride. Such prisoners were also considered dangerous because offers of food might have persuaded them to be one-time or permanent informers.

Prisoner Clothing

36. In summer, the male prisoner wore a dark grey cotton jacket and trousers. Black numbers on a white background were sewed on the left leg and shoulder of the uniform. These numbers could not be removed without mutilating the uniform as the cloth under the numbers was cut away before the numbers were put on. Shoes were made of either leather or rubber soles and heels with uppers of an oilcloth-like material. The shoes were laced and uniform buttons were of wood, though it is usual in Soviet prisons for shoe laces, buttons, and belts to be taken away from prisoners to thwart any suicide attempts. There was no need to do this at the Mordovian Camps because the prisoners handled axes and other tools which would have given them ample opportunity to kill themselves.
37. Winter uniform of female prisoners consisted of a dark grey, blue, or black cotton quilt jacket (telogreyka) and a skirt of similar color. Either a cap or scarf was issued for headgear. Their shoes were similar to those issued to the men and stockings were not issued. Women who worked in factories were issued skirts, while those who worked in forests were given trousers. Felt boots were issued to male and female prisoners as were gloves, if they worked in forests or had other outdoor tasks. Long jackets called bushlata were available at the camp but were not issued to the prisoners.
38. Women were not issued garments for intimate needs, but tried to improvise from scraps of cloth they picked up in the sewing establishments. Since this was forbidden, the authorities carried out occasional searches. At such times, the floors of barracks or workshops became littered with all sorts of forbidden underwear as the women began discarding it in an effort to avoid being caught red handed.
39. A prisoner's clothes had to last him from season to season. Both new and repaired uniforms were issued, new ones going first to the Stakhanovites who exceeded their work norms. There was always a scramble for the better clothes when they were returned after the regular periodic disinfection. Each prisoner jealously protected and fought for his own, which he usually had marked with his own name or could easily recognize by the design of patches on them. Clothes were seldom stolen outright because prisoners usually slept in them, or on them, by spreading them out on the mattresses or rolling them into a pillow. The prisoners were not likely to retain for long any bits of cloth they may have saved for clothes repair as these were readily stolen or confiscated by camp authorities. Prisoners were not allowed to possess pieces of cloth of any kind. This was intended to discourage stealing from camp supply depots and camp sewing establishments, and also to prevent prisoners from stealing each other's uniforms and then tearing them up into small pieces for the purpose of repairing their own. In addition, camp authorities interpreted the possession of cloth by prisoners as an intent to mutilate or change the appearance of a uniform for purposes of escape.
40. Prisoners' clothes were quickly worn out and consequently most of them walked around in little more than rags. When his clothes were so torn that they would no longer stay on him, the prisoner stitched them with pieces of wire or attempted to sew them together with a match or a sliver of wood for a needle. He obtained the thread by pulling it out of his mattress bag or blanket, or out of a healthier part of his clothes. Enterprising prisoners found suitable pieces of wire, which they secretly fashioned into needles by rubbing them down to a

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point and then, with excruciating patience, scratching through a needle hole with a sharp piece of glass, stone, or other object. When desperately in need of cloth for a patch, a prisoner would simply tear off a piece of his blanket. In such cases, it was very amusing for the other prisoners to see how a blanket of one of their colleagues would grow shorter and shorter until it looked like little more than a patch itself, and then to see how the prisoner moved this remnant of a blanket about himself in his sleep, rolling himself into a little knot in a vain effort to keep warm. In addition to clothing, the prisoners received an issue of bedding consisting of one mattress and pillow, stuffed with shavings or grass, and one blanket. Workers who exceeded their work norms also received a bedsheet and a pillow case.

Prisoners' Quarters

41. Prisoners were quartered in two different types of log huts, which were chinked with earth and moss and had roofs of clay tile or metal sheets (see sketches on page 26). The older type barracks were more crowded and had only two stoves, while the new type was divided into four compartments, each with a separate stove and, in addition, had an ante room, a room for belongings and stores, and a room for the 'vimalniye' and 'starosta'. The stoves were usually one and one-half to two meters square and were built of clay, but were sometimes simply old oil drums converted into stoves. In either case, the stoves were fired during winter by the 'vimalniye' and were kept in use from about 0900 - 1200 hours, and from 1500 - 1900 hours. A few of the buildings had tables.
42. The number of prisoners per barrack building varied from 200 in the new type huts to nearly 500 in the old. Each prisoner was allotted about two to three cubic meters of space, but frequently less than that. The prisoners normally slept on double-deck beds with only 40-50 cm. between beds (see sketches on page 26). The beds were easily broken down for piece-meal immersion into hot water as a sanitary measure and, as a matter of fact, frequently fell apart while the prisoners were sleeping in them. In such cases, the prisoners in the lower berths were showered with boards and bodies. Because the beds rocked so easily they were called 'korabli' (ships) by the prisoners.
43. There were about 44 prisoners assigned to each compartment of the new type barracks but this number was expanded when necessary. When this took place, the spaces between beds was utilized and prisoners were packed in so tight that their bodies rested on those of their neighbors. Prisoners had individual grass-filled mattresses but usually there was not enough room to spread them out fully. At times, there were so many prisoners in the barracks that the sleeping platforms were overcrowded and many prisoners slept on the floors of building attics.
44. The old-type barracks had four or more windows while the new types had two or three for each compartment, but none of these windows was ever opened. The glass panes were held in place by tin strips instead of putty so some fresh air would get into the interior of the barracks on windy days. This was a boon during warm weather but a torture in winter.
45. Though not permitted to do so, the prisoners tried to sleep in their clothes and to stack their shoes by their beds. For this reason, and because of the infrequent bathing opportunities, the air in the buildings was oppressively heavy. Even if the barrack windows were opened and there were ventilating facilities, conditions would improve little because the double-deck sleeping platforms constituted such formidable barriers to any free circulation of air. To find relief, some prisoners tried to sleep outside in summer but they were promptly chased back inside. The oppressiveness of the air in the buildings was further complicated by the fact that the prisoners usually had all their earthly possessions with them in their beds or in their clothes, including their bread rations. The result was that lice, bedbugs, and other vermin abounded. To make matters worse, some prisoners, because of sheer exhaustion, others because of overcrowding, did not get away in time to use the outdoor toilets. For washing purposes the 'vimalniy', himself a prisoner, brought water in from a common well. The sinks were primitive wooden troughs to which only about 10 to 15 prisoners could crowd at one time. Since the prisoners had no soap, they could only rinse their faces and hands. Only 20 to 30 prisoners in a barracks were able to take advantage of these facilities, because the 'vimalniy' rarely brought enough water in any case.

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46. In summer it was not excessively hot in the Mordovian ASSR so the prisoners suffered little discomfort from the weather during that period. In winter, however, temperatures fell as low as 55 degrees C below zero. During this cold weather the barrack stoves did little more than heat the immediate vicinity around them. Sleeping places by the stoves were at a premium during winter and the strongest bullies usually occupied them. Also, the prisoners fought over the chance to put their boots near the stoves to thaw them out. The thawing process brought an overpowering stench inside the barracks. The toilet procedure was also a trying chore in winter because the toilets were outdoors, some 100 meters from the barracks buildings. When the cold was intense, exposed parts of bodies became numb in a matter of minutes and some prisoners did not have the strength for the dash to the toilet. In an effort to get some rest and recover their strength, some prisoners exposed themselves deliberately to the cold. However, in most cases, they did not have the will power to expose themselves long enough and simply got a cold which was treated locally, without interruption from work.
47. When temperatures fell below 40 degrees C below zero, outside work details were cancelled, but the factory details continue to work. Little was accomplished in this weather, however, because lubricants congealed and machinery breakdowns frequently occurred.

Health and Sanitary Conditions

48. Twice a year, prisoners were given a medical examination for the purpose of dividing them into four categories on a basis of health. This examination was conducted in spring and autumn by a special medical commission, which arrived from the main MGB administration for the Mordovian Camp System at Camp No. 11. Prisoners assigned to the first category were those who were both in good health and of strong build. They were automatically removed from the Mordovian camps and taken to Karaganda to work in the coal and ore mines. The second category consisted of men who were in good health but were of weak build, underdeveloped in some way, or because of youth, not strong enough for the heaviest kind of labor. The third category consisted of men whose health was poor or impaired but who could still perform certain kinds of work such as sewing or woodworking. This third category had an additional classification called the "3rd Category-Individual Cases". It applied to prisoners who were healthy but were amputees or had other body defects which limited their working ability. All prisoners of the second and third categories were kept for work at the Mordovian camps. The fourth category consisted of prisoners whose health was so poor that they could not perform useful labor. These individuals were collected from all parts of the camp system and were placed in camps No. 7 and No. 18, where they are given nothing more than 200-300 grams of bread daily and left to die. Women of this category were taken to Camp No. 10. Well knowing what their fate would be, these prisoners did not even trouble to consume all of their meagre portion of bread, but bartered off part of it to other prisoners for cigarettes. Such weak prisoners usually were not freed, even though they were alive upon completion of their terms.
49. Prisoner mortality cannot be determined with any exactness. At each camp in the system, there were three to four fatal accidents per week which the prisoners learned about. Frequently, certain prisoners simply did not get up in the morning either because they were too weak or too sick. Such prisoners were removed from the prison compound while the other prisoners were at work and nothing further was heard about them. Occasionally a prisoner died in his sleep. There was, however, no mortality in such large numbers as occurred, according to old-time prisoners, in 1934 and again in 1943, when it seemed that up to 50 percent of the prisoners would die within a year if not within months. According to these veteran prisoners, the cause for the mass deaths in the camps in 1943 was the wartime disorganization in the Soviet Union. During this period, concentration camps would not receive shipments of food or other supplies with any regularity at all. Another reason for the decrease in camp deaths was that there usually was ample qualified medical personnel among the prisoners. The supply of drugs was meagre, but the prisoner-doctors did what they could with what they had. Infectious diseases, with the exception of lung illnesses, were virtually non-existent. The most prevalent illnesses were those involving the heart, lungs, and throat, and diseases stemming from vitamin deficiencies (vitaminosis), loss of weight, and exhaustion.

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- 50 . There was only one central hospital (Tsentralnyy Lazaryet) in Temnikov (N 54-38, E 43-13) to service all the camps of the Mordovian camp system. All seriously ill prisoners were taken to it as well as the bodies of deceased prisoners. Autopsies were made of the bodies for scientific research. After dissection, the bodies were buried in common graves, and wooden markers bearing the prisoners' numbers were placed above them.
- 51 . Once or twice a year, prisoners at the Mordovian camps were inoculated. Prisoners were not sure whether these were tetanus shots or whether they were for typhus. Following the inoculations, some prisoners would become feverish and collapsed while on their way to work in forests or at work benches.
- 52 . Drinking water for the prisoners was usually boiled. The chief of the Sanitary Section made rigid checks to see that this was done. Personnel from this section also made cursory inspections of camp kitchens. The kitchens and mess halls were kept clean, but potatoes were thrown into pots unwashed and with dirt on them, nor was other food ever washed.
- 53 . Every ten days the prisoners had their clothes disinfected and could also bathe in hot water. A single cake of poor quality soap was issued to each prisoner. During this sanitary processing, prisoner-barbers removed hair from all parts of the prisoners' bodies with clippers. Their faces were shaven with razors but this was a very painful process because no soap was used to soften the 10-days growth of beard.
- 54 . Although, at one time, an order was received requiring the women to cut their hair, the order was withdrawn after many and loud protests. Blame for the order was thrust on two camp officials who were locked up in isolation for a few days for "sabotaging" the camp administration.
- 55 . Occasionally, some prisoners, more often women than men, became insane. This was most likely to occur to a prisoner whose term of imprisonment was coming to an end. There was a saying among the prisoners that "one survives ten years and then can't survive the final ten days". With the end of his sentence in sight, hope began to revive in a prisoner. The longing for freedom became a torture because the prisoner did not know if his hopes would be frustrated by orders from Moscow when his release was considered there for approval. Frequently, terms were prolonged arbitrarily and a prisoner often did not know until his last day of imprisonment whether he was to be released or not.
- 56 . When a prisoner had completed his sentence and an extension to the sentence had not arrived from Moscow, he was usually moved out of the camp to the Krasnoyarsk area prisons by the administration in charge of so-called "transit prisons". There he was kept indefinitely. Those who lost their sanity were immediately removed from the camp, presumably to the hospital, and, thereafter, no one heard what happens to them. Among prisoners who lost their minds was a 25-year old Spaniard known as Alberto. Though he could speak no Russian, prisoners gathered that Alberto lived in Spain until 1948, then either willingly or by force, came to Leningrad or some other port on a Soviet ship, and was then sent off to the Mordovian camps. He lost his mind because he couldn't stand the constant hunger, and was taken away to the hospital not to be heard from again.

Prisoner Mail

- 57 . In theory, prisoners were permitted to receive letters without distinction. However, relatives of prisoners were not notified of a prisoners' whereabouts, so only Stakhanovite prisoners who had correspondence privileges were in a position to supply a mailing address for the relatives to use and were, therefore, in a position to receive letters and packages. Even so there was no guarantee that a letter arriving in a camp would be delivered to the prisoner addressee. If he was being punished in "kartsar" or was in disfavor for any other reason, such as consistently not fulfilling his norms, he did not receive the letter. In addition, the letter could be stopped by the camp censorship office if the content was objectionable or if the letter contained leads about the prisoner, the writer, or anyone else in whom the MGB investigators at the camp might have been interested. Letters sent by the prisoners were not enclosed in envelopes but, as is customary in the USSR, the letter itself was folded into

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a triangular-like envelope, the top unused surface of which was used for addressing purposes.

58. Prisoners with correspondence privileges could write two letters annually. A sample letter, which was available in the commandant's office, permitted the prisoner to say "I am alive and doing well" but little more. The mail was strictly censored and letters could be entered into the prisoners' file as further evidence against him, which could result in an increase in his sentence or in immediate punishment for the offense. Prisoners were also conscious of the fact that what they wrote could put their family or relatives in difficulties with the authorities.
59. Correspondence privileges also allowed the prisoner to receive packages, to acknowledge their receipt, and to request additional packages. Stamps were put on any receipt postcards or letters the prisoners sent out by camp authorities, as the prisoners had no money with which to buy stamps. When a package arrived at the camp, the prisoner concerned was told to come to the commandant's office where the package was opened and examined in the prisoner's presence for messages or other contraband. Packages usually contained bacon, dried fruit, candy, sugar, cereals, and some fats. They also contained large quantities of tobacco, cigarettes, or matches because of their high barter value. All of these items were examined minutely. Bacon and other solids were cut up into small pieces, sugar and cereals were sifted, and match boxes and similar objects were torn apart. Prisoners were not permitted to receive playing cards nor to play cards. They could receive paper or package acknowledgement cards, but these writing needs were withheld by the Commandant's Office, to which the prisoner had to apply when he wanted to write a letter or send an acknowledgement card.
60. Most packages came to the camps from parts of Poland now under the USSR control, from the Ukraine, Lithuania, or Latvia, and from such main cities of the USSR as Moscow and Leningrad. Very few packages came from other areas, particularly from the provincial parts of the USSR.

Life Among Prisoners

61. Since the prisoners received no tobacco from the camp authorities, tobacco and cigarettes were at a great premium. Lacking other pleasures, smoking was one of the greatest joys of a prisoner. Russian "makhorka", the only genuine tobacco available to them, came exclusively from prisoners who were entitled to receive packages. Prisoners with no tobacco smoked virtually anything. Very frequently they rolled cigarettes out of cotton from their own clothing, or they smoked leaves, dried moss, straw, or grass. A heavy smoker with no tobacco would sometimes roll himself a cotton cigarette when awake during the night, and would throw a blanket over his head to hide the fact from his colleagues. Other prisoners resented such smoking, first because burning cotton permeated with perspiration gives off a foul odor, and second, because they felt that the offender was cheating on them by consuming an entire cigarette by himself. As smoking was virtually the single dominating luxury in a prisoner's life, it was subject to an elaborate process of cooperative sharing and was the cause of frequent angry wrangles. This sharing usually took place during the smoking rest periods (parekurs), during working hours. A prisoner who had cigarettes lit one, took a puff and quickly passed it on to his neighbor, who, after a quick puff, passed it on to his neighbor. Usually the smokers formed themselves into circles by crews, and the cigarette travelled around the circle from mouth to mouth until there was nothing left but a finger-singing tip. Each prisoner in a group of smokers attentively watched his colleagues to prevent them from taking unfairly long puffs. There were frequently as many as 15 prisoners, thus, sharing a single cigarette. To extract the last drop of benefit from a cigarette, smokers frequently blew their smoke into the mouth of the next man in line. It was amusing and painful to see this procedure of round-robin smoking, especially the disappointment of those who failed to get as many puffs as others did.
62. Prisoners procured matches for smoking through bartering portions of their bread rations for matches with prisoners who received packages, or with those who had access to the kitchen or other camp establishments where matches were used. In some cases they stole them. Matches were a great luxury and were used very sparingly.

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- Often, when matches were not available at all, prisoners obtained fire by igniting cotton pulled out of their cotton quilted clothing. A small quantity of this material was rolled into a match-like tube which was rotated at great speed between two stones. Another method was to roll the cotton back and forth over a stone with one's shoe until the cotton began to smoulder. It was then easy to blow into an open flame. Some prisoners had pieces of flint for striking fire.
63. Smokers obtained paper for rolling cigarettes from the packing cases of supplies that came into camp workshops. They also picked up and jealously guarded every scrap of paper they could find anywhere, indoors or out. Occasionally some prisoner would get a real haul of paper by stealing the newspaper that was displayed daily on the barracks wall. Camp lavatories were never known to be equipped with toilet paper, presumably because prisoners would store away supplies of it for smoking and other uses. Prisoners were not permitted to possess paper in any form, and it was confiscated if found. Camp authorities assumed that possession of paper showed intent on the part of the prisoner to communicate illegally with the outside world. In addition, paper seemed to be generally scarce in camps and even many of the officials maintained their records on tablets of wood on which they wrote with pencils. After use, the tablets were shaved off with a piece of glass and re-used.
64. Some prisoners found mental refuge in writing at night. As this was illegal, the prisoner had to do his writing under a blanket to hide this activity. As in the case of the smokers, the paper they used came largely from packing cases or the wall newspaper. Some of these prisoners embarked ambitiously, though hopelessly, on writing books, memoirs, or political treatises, etc. Most, however, wrote nostalgic poems or simple sarcastic ditties directed at camp officialdom, Stalin, or Communists and Communism in general. These writing attempts were invariably short lived as the manuscripts, when found, were always confiscated, but the writing went on. As in the case of paper, the prisoners were not permitted to possess pencils, especially indelible ones, or ink. Pencils were exceedingly rare and were very jealously guarded possessions. A favorite hiding place for such items as pencils, was in the prisoner's bread ration.
65. A few prisoners occasionally amused themselves by manufacturing ink. It was not very good so was seldom used for writing, but it served as ink for tattooing, which was another favorite past-time of some prisoners. The ink was like black India-ink in substance and it was produced by mixing together burnt rubber, sugar, and crumbs of bread soaked in water to extract the starch from it. Occasionally a prisoner was fortunate enough to find a piece of rubber, but more frequently he was likely to cut a piece off a conveyor belt, some other piece of camp equipment, or off his shoes. The tattooing was accomplished by puncturing the skin with home-made needles and then inserting the ink into the wound. Some prisoners, usually criminals, had dozens of tattooing designs on themselves. The designs were usually of nude women, female faces, or hearts pierced with arrows.
66. More enterprising prisoners engaged in other forms of "manufacture" or "procurement". Toothpaste or powder was not issued, but some prisoners procured their own by powdering pieces of charcoal or scraping dust off cement objects or masonry. Some few prisoners occasionally tried to shave themselves and for this purpose used a sliver of a blade inserted into a piece of wood. This was either a part of a genuine blade (Zhilatka) or a blade manufactured in the camp repair shop. Prisoners were expressly forbidden to have in their possession any sharp objects made of metal, but a blade every now and then somehow found its way into their midst. Mechanics and other prisoners who were handy with tools used remnants of metals from the repair shops to manufacture combs and hair clips for women prisoners, to prevent their hair from falling over their eyes and, thus, impeding their work. In some cases, women prisoners were injured when their hair got caught in the rapidly-running sewing machines at which they worked.
67. Except where food and their own little personal comforts were concerned, prisoners showed a feeling of solidarity toward each other, and if they could, they did help each other out in various ways. Prisoner repair crews were particularly

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helpful. Their work could not be regulated in norms, and factory chiefs had to rely heavily on them to meet their own production norms. As a result, repair crews got above-normal food rations and had some freedom of action. Partly to protect this privileged status and partly to help their colleagues fulfill their norms, they strove to maintain sewing machines and other equipment in good working order. This was a very difficult task because the tempo of work, the inexperience of the prisoners, and the severe climatic conditions in winter caused frequent machinery breakdowns. Failure to fulfill norms because of machinery breakdown was credited against the prisoners. First-aid workers also strove to help their colleagues maintain their health although they were hampered by shortages of drugs and bandages. In winter, oddly enough, camps frequently ran out of firewood. At such times, in order to keep factory quarters warm and machines from breaking down because of congealed lubrication, repair crews stole lumber and wood from barrack roofs and walls to keep fires going. When nothing more was available, they burned up work benches and other furniture that could be spared for the moment.

68. At work, and in their spare time, prisoners tended to group together by nationality. There was a great deal of give-and-take, teasing, and serious political debating among the various nationals represented there. When friendships were formed, they seemed to be based on an intellectual level, rather than on nationality. Poles at the camp were invariably called by the nicknames Pan or Prosze Pana (Sir or Please Sir). Russian prisoners teased them by saying: "Well, you're getting it in the neck now too", referring to the fact that Poland now too had a Communist regime. The common nickname for the Lithuanians was Labas Rytas (good morning in Lithuanian). Ukrainians were referred to, usually by the Poles, as Ponczocha (Sock). There was a strong latent feeling of anti-Semitism among many of the prisoners of all nationalities, and to call a prisoner Yevrey (Jew) was a strong form of denunciation. Jews among the prisoners were few and were usually left to themselves.
69. Prisoners of all types were invariably very open and frank in expressing their views, although it was an unwritten rule not to ask questions, or for the prisoners to talk about themselves, their families, or acquaintances beyond that which was believed to be already known by the MGB authorities. Except for this reservation, the prisoners felt that they had nothing to lose, and made no secret of their own feelings and views about the Soviet regime or their captors. Stalin was usually referred to as the "Kremlin Krokodil" (Kremlin Crocodile) and the MGB as "bandits". Prisoners enjoyed reading Soviet press attacks on Truman and the U.S. because it indicated to them that the U.S. was doing something against the Communists. Hopefully, they discussed what this meant for them and what were the prospects for war. Some prisoners who considered themselves military authorities reasoned that when war begins, the U.S. must deliver a few strokes at main Soviet centers to disrupt their communications and transportation, and must use very large numbers of parachute troops, especially in areas where large numbers of prisoners are concentrated. They felt that after a few sharp strokes "everything in the Soviet Union would fall apart", because the power of the regime was based on oppression and coercion through hunger.
70. One of the favorite pastimes of the prisoners was the making up of anti-Soviet anecdotes. Several of these anecdotes which circulated around the Mordovian camps follow:
- a. During a propaganda talk exhorting workers to overtake America, a man in the audience felt the seat of his trousers. It was worn thin, and torn. Raising his hand for the floor, the worker explained that perhaps the Soviet workers can and should catch up with the Americans. However, having done that, they should keep an equal pace with them. It would not do to pass them because the view that the American would then get would be a pretty funny one.
 - b. After a post-war dinner with Stalin, Truman thanked him solemnly for the tea. Asked by Stalin, "Why only for the tea", Truman replied, "Wasn't everything else mine?"
 - c. In another popular anecdote, Soviet people are divided into those persons who have been in prison, those who are, and those who will be.

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- d. In prisoner humor, the letters NKVD stand for (Ne-znayu kogde vernus domoy)
(I don't know when I'll be returning home)
- e. A kolkhoz jingle goes: Khorosho v kolkhoze zhit-
Odin rabotayet, pyat krichyt!
(It's good to live in a kolkhoz
One man works and five shout!)
71. The fact that one had to be selfish and look after one's self in order to survive was an accepted fact among prisoners of the Mordovian camps. There were sayings among them that "if one is not selfish and brazen, one is a fool", and "brazenness is a second lease on life". Before the criminal elements were removed from the Mordovian camps, this characteristic was especially predominant among prisoners. Certain prisoners were so brazen and bullied their fellow prisoners about so much that they were known as "jackals" (shakal). These bullies were found mostly among the criminals and when the latter group were removed from the Mordovian camps, the "jackals" disappeared with them. Thereafter, the stronger and more aggressive of the political prisoners asserted themselves at the expense of their colleagues in ways already described but never approached the terrorism of which the "jackals" were guilty.
72. The "jackal" was a prisoner who was completely devoid of any principles other than extreme selfishness. He avoided work and lived by browbeating other prisoners, sometimes snatching their food away from them in full view of other prisoners. The "jackals" were physically stronger than other prisoners and often went unpunished by the guards or camp authorities, in part because the guards feared them, and in part because they were valuable informers. Out of vengeance, or to secure an advantage, the "jackals" never hesitated to inform on other prisoners, especially the political prisoners. They took what they wanted from other prisoners whenever they chose. Few prisoners dared to do anything to these bullies, especially since the camp authorities seemed to wink at their conduct.
73. "Jackals" were seldom independent but rather a category of prisoners called "blatnoy" (thieves), who seemed to have a semblance of an organization. When several or more "blatnoy" were in a camp, they banded together and had a chief. They conjointly defied orders to go to work, rallied to the defense of another "blatnoy", or otherwise acted in common for the benefit of their group. These "blatnoy" were feared by prisoners and guards alike. Some prisoners sarcastically called the bullies "Stalin's Eagles", because when ordered to go to work or be moved to a camp that displeased them, or when denied food, they would always put up a loud clamor about their devotion to Stalin and the good they were doing for the regime. In some camps, where the "blatnoy" were especially numerous, their chiefs actually had young "blatnoy" prisoners acting as servants and stealing food for them. These aides were called "shestverki".
74. When the "blatnoy" were at the Mordovian camps, they used a jargon of their own which was understood only by them. For example, sorok (forty) meant to have a smoke. If a "blatnoy" member came up to a group of prisoners who were smoking and said "sorok", he was in effect demanding a puff, and got it. The sukka (sack), which was a small pack for carrying personal belongings of the prisoners, was called the "sidor" in the language of the "blatnoy".

Work Norms and Prisoner Discipline

75. Working hours at the camp were generally from 0700 - 1700 hours. However, factory workers worked from 0700 - 1900 hours on the day shift, 1900 - 0700 hours on the night shift, and in winter when it got dark early, prisoners working in the forest or other outside jobs, sometimes finished before 1700 hours. Prisoners were given an hour off for lunch and two 15-minute breaks called "perekurs" (smoke periods) each day. The factories worked around the clock. According to MGB regulations, prisoners had the right to one day of rest for every ten days of work. However, because of failure to fulfill production schedules or some other reason, prisoners often worked a month without a rest.
76. Prisoners arose at 1700 hours, and, after a quick meal and head count, marched off to work. Traveling to and from work was done on the prisoners' own time. Evening meal came around 1900 hours, curfew at 2100 hours. The prisoners lined up in front of their barracks for any announcements and evening roll call, which was a simple count of heads, but which sometimes lasted for hours. Additional

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- counts were sometimes made at any time of night, when the prisoners were roused and made to line up for the count. Also, the nadzirateli made nightly bed checks, rousing prisoners whom they detected sleeping in their clothes and ordering them to get undressed.
77. Barracks usually were not locked except during heavy fogs, snow, or rain storms, when it would be difficult for the guards to thwart an escape attempt. Prisoners were not beaten or tortured at the Mordovian camps. The only form of punishment was to lock up a prisoner in a "kartser" for 3 to 15 days on reduced food rations. The "kartser" was usually located in a camp building called a "bur", which is a small prison within the camp. In camps which did not as yet have a "bur" the "kartser" was sometimes located in a small guarded shack or a series of them, too small to lie down in and not adequately protected from the weather.
78. The "burs" were being built in the Mordovian camps during 1949-1951. Prisoners believed that orders for their construction came from Moscow and that they were to be used to incarcerate the more important prisoners and ring leaders in the event mass disturbances occurred in the camps. From the outside, these "burs" looked like any other camp building except that they were separated from the rest of the camp by a simple fence of barbed wire, two or more meters high. On the inside, the "bur" was subdivided into small and large cells. It had a triple layer log and plank floor, a triple layer wood ceiling covered with earth, and dividing walls made of logs with small grated windows. A minimum of nails or other metal objects was used in constructing the "burs" and these were placed in such positions that prisoners could not get at them easily. Cell doors were hinged on leather straps. As of early 1951, only the small cells which were 2 by 3 meters in size were used as solitary cells.
79. Hunger replaced beating and torturing as the instrument of coercion to get obedience and work from the prisoners. The prisoners were kept perpetually hungry and the food they received was subject to first, performance at work, and second, behavior at camp. Whether the average food norm that the prisoners received was arrived at by design and scientific calculation or by accident, the net effect was that the prisoners were barely able to keep their strength. Within a month or so after he arrived at a camp, a prisoner became thin and emaciated looking regardless of how well he looked upon arrival. If for any reason, because of illness or punishment, a prisoner went without food or was given a reduced ration, he could barely get up from his bed and had to support himself against the wall or bedstead. Prisoners dreaded going without food or living on penal diets because they knew that once their strength began to fail, they couldn't hope to recover. A prisoner who was sentenced to the maximum penalty of 15 days in the "kartser", therefore, could be regarded as having received the death penalty. The combination of the small bread ration of 300 grams daily, the exposure to the weather, and the inability to rest comfortably, so exhausted the prisoner that he could hardly stir, and work after such an ordeal was impossible. Prisoners, therefore, avoided doing anything that would take away or reduce their food. Failure to fulfill a work norm resulted in a 50 percent cut in the normal food ration (payek) on the same day of the failure, irrespective of what the percentage of failure was. Overfulfillment of norms were figured in 10's and 25's of percents, i.e., 110, 120, 125 percent etc., and were reflected in increases of 50's of grams of either bread or porridge. The highest ration possible (rekordnyy payek) at the camps was given for fulfilling the norm 200 percent or higher. It consisted of 850 grams of bread, 450 grams of porridge, and three normal portions of soup daily.
80. Any prisoner who wanted to increase his food norm first had to exceed his work norm. However, once he began to exceed the work norm for several days, he had to continue to do so consistently because the higher norm became his regular norm. If he failed to meet this new norm, the failure was interpreted as a deliberate refusal on the part of the prisoner to contribute his full share of work to the State and he was charged with sabotage. To exceed the norm for a short time was, therefore, dangerous for the individual and, for that matter, the group, because if too many prisoners exceeded their work norms, the basic norm was increased across the board, without a corresponding increase in food rations. Perhaps fortunately, most of the prisoners could barely fulfill even the basic work norms and that success was possible only because of their desperate drive for food.
81. Though hunger was clearly the basic weapon of coercion, the camp authorities also used the prospect of a few privileges to induce prisoners to produce above norm. These privileges were minor, but they loomed large in the eyes of the prisoners.

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In the non-political camps, Stakhanovite workers had their sentences reduced for their efforts. However, "political" prisoners were rewarded for above-norm work only by being issued new uniforms instead of repaired ones, by being moved to the new-type barracks, by being permitted to attend an occasional visiting movie; or stage performance, or by receiving the supreme privilege of writing two letters annually and receiving packages from the outside. This last privilege was doled out rarely and the prisoner who had it had to continue exceeding his norm at a high level in order to retain it. Camp officials would not permit a prisoner to go unpunished if he exceeded his norm until he began receiving packages and then slowed down his production rate.

82. Each prisoner's production record was carefully maintained. The prisoner himself knew what he was entitled to receive and loudly demanded his just due if he didn't receive it on time. Records of work performance were kept individually for each prisoner, so prisoners could not assist each other by dividing up norms among themselves. Nor as a rule were they willing to do so. Only rarely did cases occur when a prisoner exceeding his norms would help a less fortunate colleague by alternating with him in eating each others food ration.
83. The prisoners detested the MGB and most of the MGB officials as symbols and authors of their misery. However, they did not condemn the civilian camp officials for the pressure they applied to make the prisoners meet norms and keep production at a high level. It was understood that the "system" was the cause of the pressure, and that the officials themselves were victims of this same pressure. However, the prisoners deeply resented unnecessary cruelty and harshness. This was usually found in officials who were outright opportunists, in guards who browbeat the prisoners out of ignorance or out of fear for themselves, and in young Communists who took themselves and their politics so seriously as to believe that "political" prisoners, as enemies of the State, were some sort of evil breed of men that should be wrung dry of all useful work and then left to die. Fortunately very few officials of this type were encountered in the camps.
84. Because the Russians and other USSR nationals were better able to survive hunger, they did not exert themselves as much as the prisoners from the Baltic States, former Poland, and other non-Russian areas. Also, the latter prisoners seemed to be more intelligent workers than their Soviet counterparts. As a result, the non-Soviet prisoners, especially the Balts, were preferred as prisoner-workers by the camp authorities and were frequently appointed as crew chiefs and prisoner-foremen.
85. The most fortunate type of prisoner at the camp was one who had some technical skill. The administration officials were usually without special skills and, thus, frequently had to rely on the judgement of prisoners on special problems. Prisoners, thus, relied upon were given posts of responsibility and received special benefits.

Prisoner Production

86. Prisoners at the Mordovian camps did the following types of work: sewing, woodworkig, lumbering, farming, camp maintenance, peat winning, and locomotive-repair work. The locomotive-repair shops were in part a maintenance activity for locomotives used around the camps but locomotives were also brought in from elsewhere for repair on occasion. The shops consisted of a group of log barrack-like sheds, around which were seen six or seven small steam locomotives. There were about eight locomotives servicing the camps and most of the freight was moved into and out of the camps by rail. Local trucking was usually carried out by horse-drawn wagons as the camps were not equipped with trucks.
87. Peat and wood was used exclusively to operate camp power plants and to fire the locomotives. Peat was gathered by prisoners in nearby marshes while the wood was also obtained locally. Except where two camps were grouped together, each camp had its own power plant, which was located in a small log building.
88. The sewing establishments were equipped with sturdy electrically-operated sewing machines produced by the Podolskiy Machinery Plant. They were commercial-type machines modeled after some American sewing machine which prisoners believed were produced by a [word missing] Wilson Company. A row of eight or more machines was powered by a single motor and each one was controlled by a foot pedal. They made 50 stiches per second. There were approximately 300 of these machines in Camp No. 1, 200 in Camp No. 6, and approximately 500 in Camp

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- No. 14. These shops were also equipped with large cutting machines capable of cutting up to 20 layers of cloth at once. Up to early 1951, the camp was short of needles, which thus had to be manufactured with crude tools and poor metal at the camp itself.
89. The sewing establishments produced Soviet Army uniforms, uniforms for railroad personnel, miscellaneous types of jackets and gloves, and especially large quantities of cotton-quilted winter jackets (telogreykas). Prisoners believed that the oilcloth gloves they produced, and possibly some of the other items of apparel, were being shipped to China. For this reason, some prisoners who managed to obtain some paper and dared to take the risk, wrote notes in whatever languages they knew and inserted them into the gloves. The notes were usually to the effect that "these gloves were made by the blood and sweat of slaves."
90. The camp woodworking shops produced miscellaneous types of furniture, such as, desks, tables, beds, chairs, chests of drawers, and also buttons, chess pieces, checkers, and dominoes. Prisoners believed that these products were intended for both government and private consumption. One of the camp specialties was the manufacture of radio cabinets for a radio set called the Rodina (Native Land). Prisoners believed that the completed cabinets were sent by rail in the direction of Moscow, where chassis were added to them.
91. Prisoners estimated that the sewing establishments at Camp No. 1 gave the State approximately 10 million rubles profit per month. They reached this figure by estimating, on a basis of individual norms, that 300 machines at camp No. 1 produced 12,000 jackets (telogreykas) per day or 360,000 jackets per month. As the jackets sold on the market for 80 to 100 rubles per garment, one month's production grossed an average of 32,400,000 rubles for the government. As prisoners believed that the normal mark-up was 33 1/3 percent, they believed that this sum easily represented a profit of ten million rubles, even after allowing for errors, defective garments, and spoilage.
92. Prisoners also believed that it cost the Soviet government about 15-17 rubles to maintain each prisoner daily. This figure was based on information received from various administrative officers. It covered all costs of handling and maintaining a prisoner, including transporting, guarding, feeding, clothing, housing the prisoners, etc., as well as administering and maintaining the camps themselves.

PERSONALITIES

Camp Officials

93. the following officials at the Mordovian camps were MGB officials, except the last two who were civilian technicians:
- 25X1
- 25X1 a. General Sergeyenko (fnu)
Chief of the Mordovian camps from 1949 until last known. According to a rumor among prisoners, he was to be replaced in 1951.
- 25X1
- 25X1 b. Major Natochy (fnu) of Polish origin. Former chief of factory at Camp No. 1. In 1950, he went to Moscow to work on supplying the camps with equipment and semi-raw materials.
- 25X1
- 25X1 c. Capt. Suzdaltsev (fnu)
Chief of the Technical Section at the Mordovian camps.
- 25X1
- 25X1 d. Capt. Golubov (fnu)
considerate to prisoners. Chief of camps Nos. 1 and 16 up to 1951.
- 25X1
- 25X1 e. Capt. Yerzin (fnu)
considerate to prisoners. Deputy chief of Camp No. 1 up to 1951.
- 25X1
- 25X1 f. Capt. Leshchenko (fnu)
 Chief of Camp No. 1 in 1951.
- 25X1
- 25X1 g. Capt. Karpov (fnu) Deputy chief of Camp No. 1 in 1951. Karpov was formerly a colonel but was demoted
- 25X1

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- 25X1 h. Capt. Kukrushkin (fnu) [redacted]
Chief of factory at Camp No. 1 in 1951.
- 25X1 i. Corporal Ilyushkin (fnu) [redacted]
[redacted] Supervisor of prisoners (nadziratel) at Camp No. 1.
- 25X1 j. Sergeant Bardzin (fnu) [redacted]
[redacted] Supervisor of prisoners at Camp No. 1.
- 25X1 k. Pizarov, Aleksandr [redacted]
[redacted] Senior electrician at Camp No. 1. Free laborer.
- 25X1 l. Fartukhov, Aleksandr [redacted]
Senior mechanic at power plant at Camp No. 1. Free laborer.
- 25X1

Prisoners

94. Several prisoners at the Mordovian camps were said to be former Soviet Army generals, one of whom was identified as a General Kalinin (fnu). There were also other lower ranking Soviet officers, among them a Colonel Shtukaturov, who was said to have been an aid to Marshal Rokossovskiy. According to the prison grapevine, Shtukaturov had been a Soviet military attache in Warsaw and Paris and had also served on the International Commission Investigating German War Crimes. He was believed to have been recalled from Warsaw to Moscow where he was sentenced to 25 years in prison and five years loss of rights. Shtukaturov was a cultured man about 45 years old.
95. Among the prisoners in Camp No. 19 were two German generals, one of them a cavalry general, and some other high ranking German officers. There were also some Polish generals and other officers. Some of them had participated in the Polish "Armja Krajowa" partisan movement for which they were arrested and sentenced to be shot in 1945. These sentences were not carried out, however, and the men were sent instead to the Mordovian camps. One of these prisoners was a general in a wartime partisan organization known as "Nakoneczniki", which operated in the area of Krakow, (N 50-04, E 19-56), and another was a Col. Kinowski from Torun (N 53-01, E 18-37) and Ivan S. Dubrov, a former Narkom and mine official from Moscow. Some prisoners were from the ranks of the Warsaw Insurgents.
96. Other military men at the camp included Hungarian, Rumanian, Austrian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian officers. Among civilian personalities, there were members of former governments of Lithuania, Latvia, and other countries over-run by the Communists. There were also clergymen of various nationalities in the camp. They included Catholic and Orthodox priests and Protestant pastors.

OTHER PRISON CAMPS

97. Toward the end of 1949, prisoner-specialists from various technical fields were called before a selecting committee of the Mordovian camps. A group of those prisoners with higher qualifications, including electricians, mechanics, lathe operators of the 7th (highest) category, construction men, and others, were sent to some camps located in the vicinity of Moscow to do work on some military projects. The electrical shop there assembled aviation radio sets and other electrical equipment for aviation. Other shops at this camp were likewise engaged in military production. The prisoners working at this camp were also "political" prisoners who had been sentenced under Article 58. Prisoners at the Mordovian camps estimated that there were altogether 2,000 of them. They lived there under a system of discipline similar in severity to that of the Mordovian camps but had better accommodations and more privileges. These prisoners slept in individual beds, and were issued white bed sheets and bed stands for their personal belongings. They received extra cigarette rations, sugar, and butter, and were issued an unlimited bread ration.
98. On the basis of the prison grapevine and calculations, made by prisoners themselves, it was estimated that as many as 20,000,000 prisoners were held

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in camps of the Soviet Union. Rumor among the prisoners also had it that the worst camps in the Soviet Union, from a prisoner's standpoint, and perhaps the largest, were the Kolyma camps, where gold and other metals were dug. Prisoners who found themselves there were not likely to return. Next to the Kolyma camps, some of the other camps discussed by the prisoners and considered as being among the worst were:

- a. Karaganda camps - "political" prisoners were used here to mine zinc, copper, coal, and to construct factories and other buildings. They also engaged in brick making and the production of clay construction materials, such as roof tiles. The Karaganda camps were believed by the prisoners to be larger than the Mordovian camp system and were believed to contain the younger and healthier "political" prisoners sentenced under Article 58 of the Penal Code.
 - b. Pechorlagery, also known to prisoners as the Pechora-Vorkuta or Komi camps - prisoners in these camps worked in the mines and forests.
 - c. Kamchatka camps - prisoners here were used in mines.
 - d. Yakutsk camps - mining and gold production.
 - e. Kraslagery - a system or several systems of camps in Krasnoyarskiy Kray for forest exploitation and wood processing.
 - f. Sakhalin camps - work connected with petroleum.
99. Among the camps or camp systems thought to be "better" places to be incarcerated in, are the following:
- a. Caucasian camps - ore mining.
 - b. Minsk camps - large camps where the prisoners were used to build tractors and do tractor-repair work.
 - c. Orsha camps - construction work and farming.
 - d. Donbass camps - all types of mining work.
 - e. Rybinsk camps - canal digging, construction of locks and hydroelectric power stations on the Volga.
 - f. Ural camps - mining and lumbering.
 - g. Tashkent camps - factory construction.
 - h. Novosibirsk camps - a very large camp system where prisoners were used for construction work and lumbering.
 - i. Omsk camps - factory and construction work, and lumbering.
 - j. Tomsk camps - factory and construction work, and lumbering.
 - k. Angara River camps - gold mining.
 - l. Moscow camps - industrial work and construction.
 - m. Kazan camps - industrial work, construction, and tailoring.
 - n. Leningrad camps - industrial work.
 - o. Riga camps - construction work and tailoring.
100. In addition to the above camps, prisoners believed that there were camps or camp systems in virtually every city in the USSR.

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PRISONER PETITION

101.

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[redacted] a petition to the United States Government. The instructions and suggestions came largely from two prisoners, an unnamed Polish general who led a partisan group known as the "Nakopieczniki", and Colonel Stanislaw Kinowski, a leader of the Polish "Armja Krajowa" partisans in the Torun area. However, [redacted] the petition reflected in feeling and thought, the mood that prevailed among prisoners at the Mordovian camps. The petition follows:

Petition to the United States Government

From political prisoners incarcerated in the forced-labor camps of the Mordovian ASSR.

"We, political prisoners living under duress of Soviet persecution and awaiting death,

"We, 35,000 political victims, salute the United States of America and the United Nations who are now struggling for the liberation of the world from Communist oppression.

"Among us are Great Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Uzbeks, Caucasians, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Germans, Turks, Chinese, Koreans, Iranians, Japanese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Englishmen.

"Among us are patriots from every walk of life: partisans, Army and Navy officers, leaders of national minorities, diplomats, doctors, professors, lawyers, artists, writers, musicians, students, peasants, workers.

"We are giving you our ardent wishes for victory in your fight against Communism.

"We ask you to remember US.

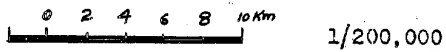
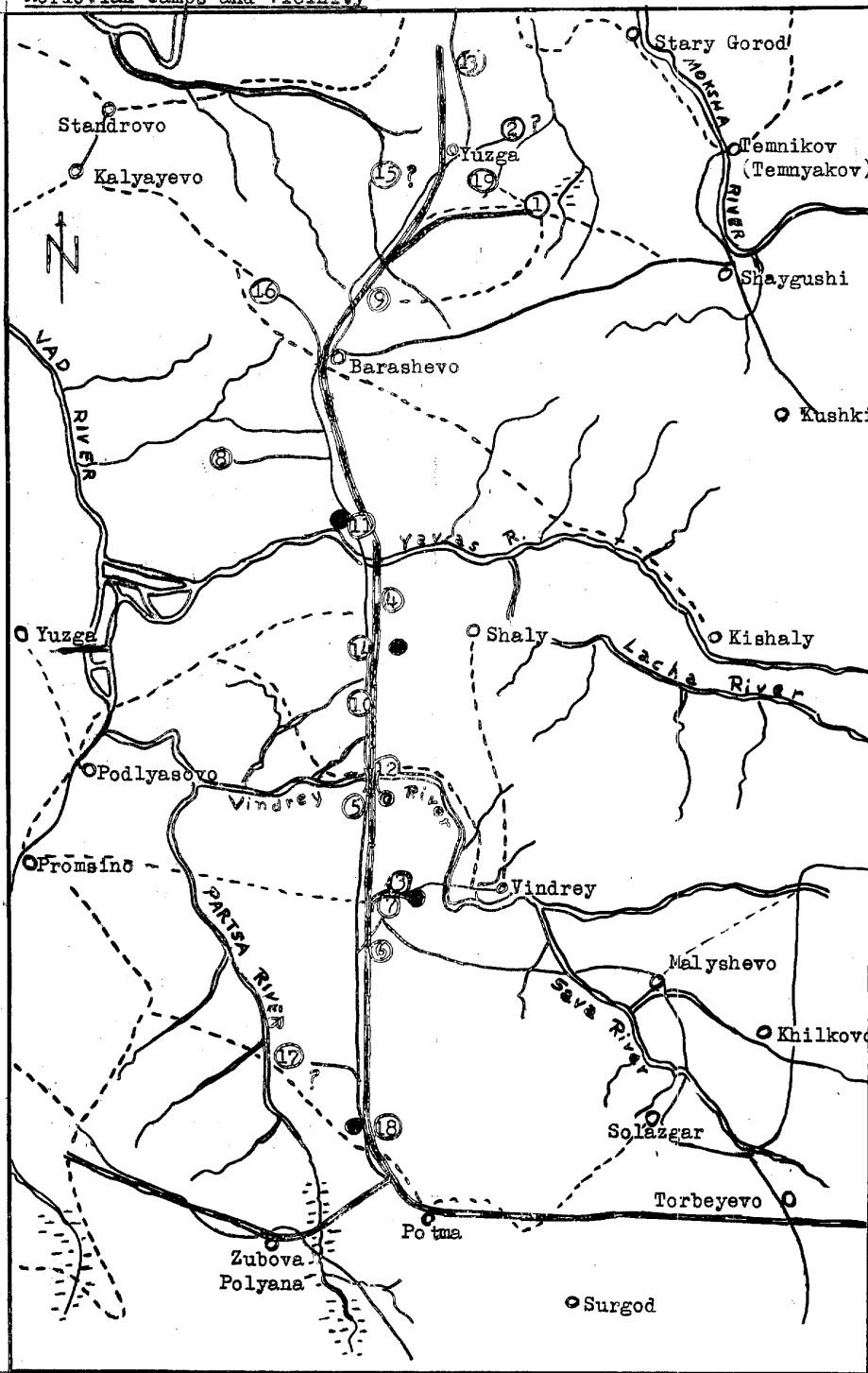
"We want to tell you that we are ready, at any moment, at any signal, to rise against our oppressors, and, with your help, to join the ranks of those who fight for liberty".

25X1 [redacted] Comment. The term "Mordovian camps" refers to the location of the camps and does not imply any administrative connection between the camps and the Mordovian ASSR authorities. [redacted]
25X1 the camps are administered by and responsible to Moscow.

25X1 [redacted] Comment. This projection is based on the World Aeronautical Chart No. 166. However, the camps and other fixed points such as foot paths, were sketched from memory and thus are approximate locations.

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Mordovian Camps and Vicinity 2



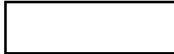
- Single track railroad.
- Dirt road.
- - - Foot path
- ⊙ Prison camps
- Prison factories

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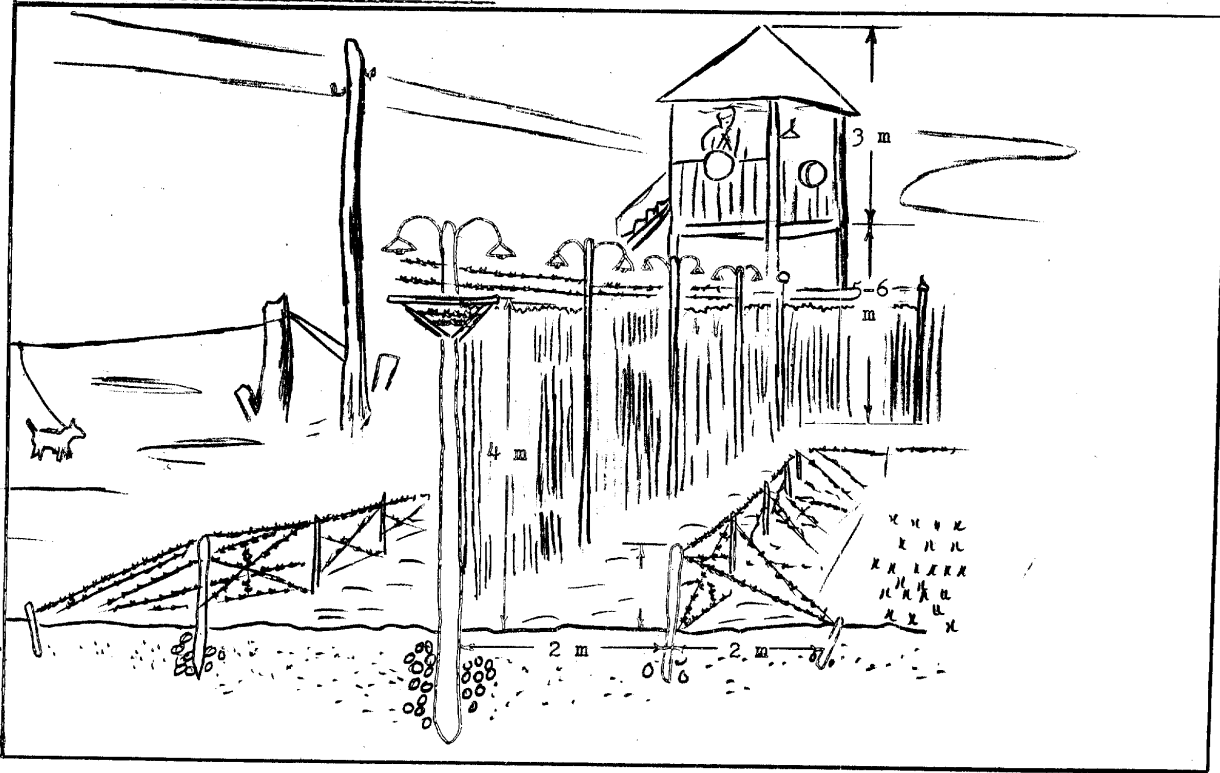
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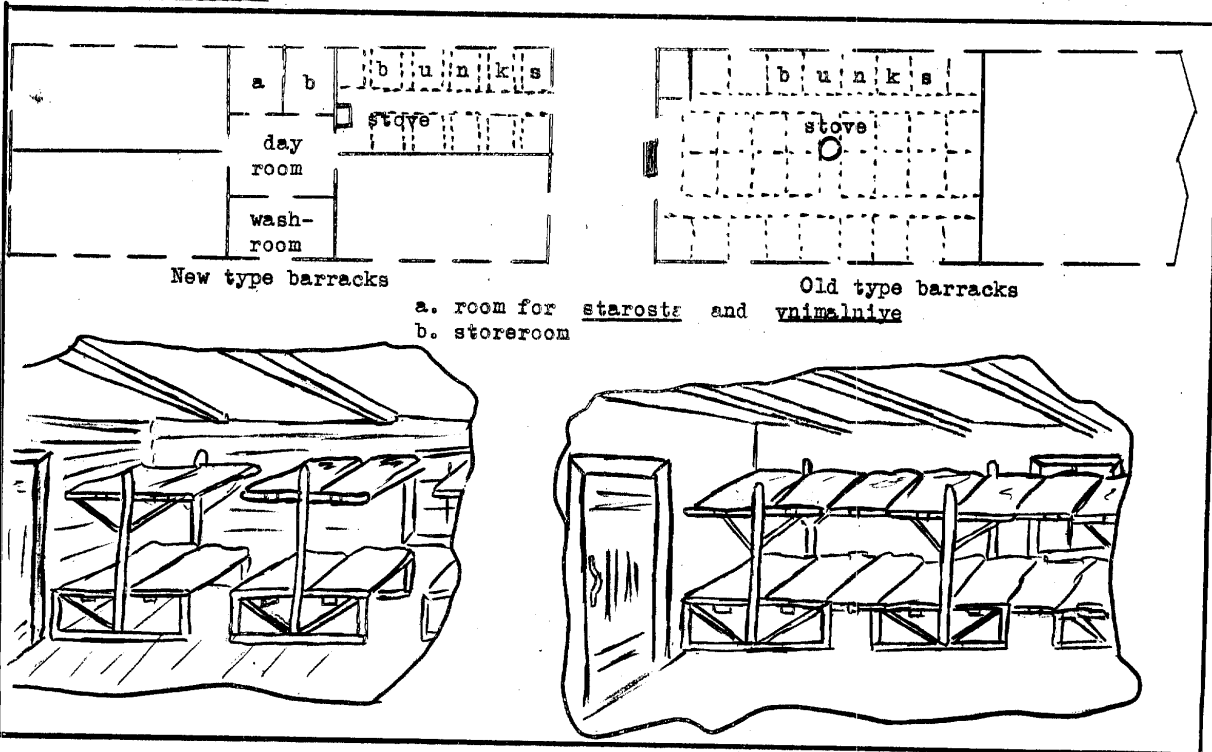
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Fencing System at Mordovian Camps

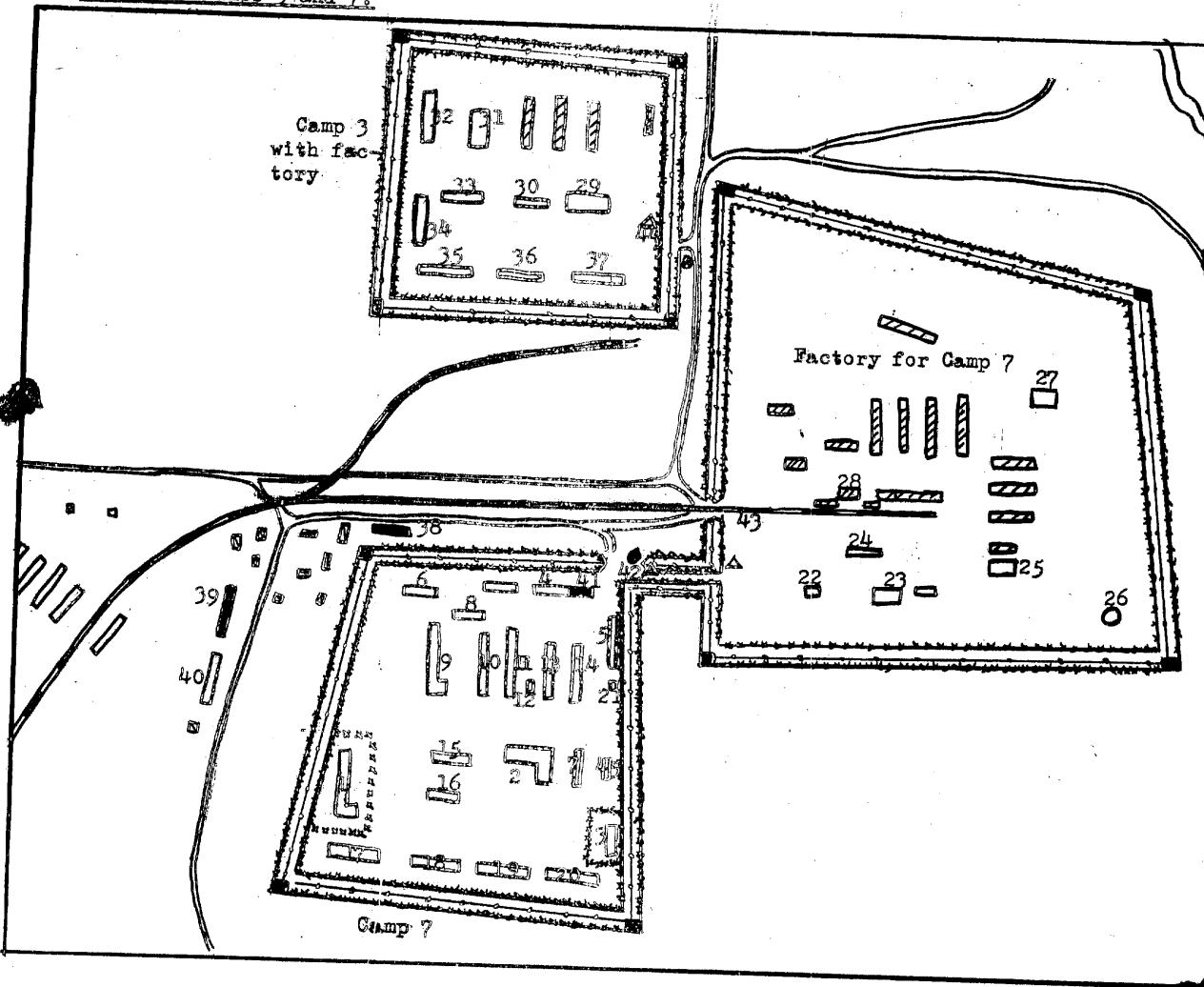


Prison Barracks



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Layout of Camps 3 and 7.



- Railroad
- Road
- River
- Fencing
- Guard towers
- MGB guard posts
- MGB guard rooms and Komendaturas
- MGB troop barracks
- Free employees homes
- Industrial workshops
- Prison barracks

- 1. Quarantine barrack
- 2. Camp 7 messhall
- 3. Camp prison (bur)
- 4. Medical unit
- 5. Storeroom
- 6. Bakery
- 7. Bath
- 8. Bakery
- 9-20. Prison barracks
- 21. Office
- 22. Fire department
- 23. Power station
- 24. Offices
- 25. Iron foundry
- 26. Water tower
- 27. Lumber-drying building
- 28. Factory messhall
- 29. Camp 3 messhall
- 30. Medical unit
- 31. Power station
- 32. Machine shop
- 33-37. Prison barracks
- 38. MGB barracks
- 39. New barrack for MGB troops
- 40. School and club
- 41. Komendatura of Camp 7
- 42-43. Guardrooms of Camp 7.
- 44. Guardroom of Camp 3
- 45. Building for disinfecting clothes

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