

Washington, D. C. 20505

3 September 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Robert McFarlane  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

SUBJECT: Soviet Forced Labor

Bud: . . .

Pursuant to our discussion, here is information we have on Soviet forced labor for possible use in the President's Labor Day speech.

Seems to me the points that might be used are:

1. More than four million Soviet citizens are now serving sentences at forced labor, 1.5% of the population. That would amount to a considerably larger portion of their work force. That's about 3% of the Soviet work force.
2. There seems little doubt that they are employed wherever labor shortages exist, i.e., where the location is remote, amenities lacking, the environment hostile, or the work hazardous or unhealthy.

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William J. Casey

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## FORCED LABOR ALONG SOVIET EXPORT PIPELINE

As the attached map indicates, there are forced labor camps at a number of points along the Siberian gas export pipeline route. Because of the general shortage of labor in the USSR, and the past practice of using forced labor on large Soviet projects, it is reasonable to assume that at least some forced labor will be used on the pipeline. Nevertheless, we have no intelligence information nor have we yet been able to confirm any of the emigre allegations that the Soviet Union is using forced labor specifically in the construction of the pipeline, even though it has been under construction for nearly six months.

Use of Forced Labor

The two principal categories of forced labor are: (1) those confined in guarded facilities like forced labor colonies; and (2) those who are not confined, primarily probationers and parolees. Those who are confined in forced labor colonies in proximity to the pipeline could be tapped for work (see accompanying map of labor camps). If forced laborers were to be used for pipeline construction, however, it is more likely that they would come from those who are not confined. We know that the population of forced laborers consists of both people convicted of serious crimes and those arrested for petty crimes such as drunkenness and hooliganism.

Slightly more than 4 million Soviet citizens--about 1.5 percent of the population--are now serving sentences at forced labor.

- About 2 million of these are confined, 85 percent in forced labor camps, and the remainder in prisons.
- Approximately 1.5 million, convicted of crimes for which they could have received sentences of confinement, have been sentenced instead to probation with "compulsory involvement in labor." Most of them are working at construction jobs far from their homes.
- About 500,000 have been paroled from confinement but remain obligated to perform forced labor for the remainder of their terms. Many of these also are working at construction sites.
- Perhaps 100,000 or so are sentenced at any one time to "correctional tasks" without confinement; they are working at their own jobs for reduced pay or in more menial jobs for low pay while continuing to live at home.

According to the First Deputy Minister for the Construction of Oil and Gas Industry Enterprises, at peak construction periods 120,000-130,000 people would be employed on the export pipeline. Most of this work force would be skilled workers, thereby minimizing the requirement for unskilled forced laborers. Nonetheless, an undetermined amount of forced labor may be used on the pipeline because of the general shortage of labor in the USSR.

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In the past, forced laborers without confinement, numbering in the thousands, have been used at such major construction projects as the huge Kama River truck plant (the world's largest) and the Baykal-Amur Magistral (BAM) railroad. Parolees and probationers are also employed in industrial production and other economic activities. There seems little doubt that they are employed wherever labor shortages exist, i.e., where the location is remote, amenities lacking, the environment hostile, or the work hazardous or unhealthy.

