

CANNIBALISM IN STALIN'S RUSSIA AND MAO'S CHINA*

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We have already published a number of scholarly studies about the horrors of the slave labor camps in the Soviet Gulag.¹ We have also written several newspaper articles on this topic for various Hungarian and Hungarian-American publications.² But we have not as yet explored specifically the presence of cannibalism in these slave labor camps, which appears to have been a rather widespread phenomenon.

Development of the Soviet Gulag

The roots of the Soviet Gulag reach back to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and more specifically to the secret police organization, the *Cheka*, established and directed until his death by the Polish renegade, Felix Dzerzhinski (1877-1926). The first of such camps was established in 1918 in the Solovesky Monastery on the Solovki Island of the White Sea, when that remote monastery and much of that small island was transformed into a slave labor camp. The goal was to collect the representatives of the old Czarist regime, and either "reeducate" or exterminate them as potential opponents to the Soviet regime. In this monastery, and in the scores of temporary shelters established after 1918 on that island, about twenty thousand political prisoners perished during the 1920s under the most gruesome circumstances.

The creation of this "death camp" on Solovki Island in 1918 was soon followed by the establishment of many hundreds, and later many thousands of such camps throughout the Soviet Union. In 1934 a special organization, the *Glavnoy Upravneliye LAGerey* [GULAG] (Chief Administration of Labor Camps), was established specifically to administer this network of forced labor camps. In common usage, the acronym of

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this organization became the name of the whole system of slave labor camps in the Soviet Empire.

These Gulag camps had two goals: to weed out from Soviet society everyone who in any way represented a threat to the Stalinist system of socialist terror, and to utilize the unpaid labor of the prisoners for the rapid industrialization and modernization of the Soviet state. In this sprawling system of forced labor camps, human life meant nothing. In order to achieve the exorbitant goals of the Five Year Plans, everything and everyone was dispensable—both inside and outside the camps.

Within these camps, life and work was regulated according a method worked out by the Istanbul-born Naftaly Aronovich Frenkel (1883—after 1945), which made the prisoner's daily food ration dependent upon his work.³ If he was unable to fulfill the norm, his daily ration was reduced. Naturally, this made the inmates even weaker and even less able to fulfill the requirements. This continued for weeks, or perhaps for months, until finally the prisoners were so weak and feeble that they simply dropped out of ranks and died. Some of them fell into latrines, where they suffocated in human excrement. In other instances, the authorities would not even wait for this "natural death" to take place. They took care of the weakened prisoners by shooting those who had fallen behind during the morning muster, or while on the march to the work place.

The Great Famine and Cannibalism

Outside the camps, in the so-called "free society," many millions fell victim to the artificial famine created by Stalin's decision to export exorbitant amounts of grain and other food stuffs to Western Europe, and thus deprived the villages of all food supplies. This is what happened in Ukraine in the early 1930s, where six to seven million peasants died in consequence of Stalin's mania of forced industrialization and collectivization. To secure the needed machinery and technology necessary for the attainment of the goals of the Five Year Plans, the export of grain was increased beyond reason. Thus, whereas in 1928 less than one metric centner (100,000 metric tons) of grain was exported, by 1930 this sum shot up to 48.4 metric centner (4.84 million metric tons), and in 1931 to 51.8 metric centner (5.18 million metric tons).⁴ This mass export denuded the region even from seed grain, leading to hunger, starvation, death, and eventually to incidents of cannibalism. Had Stalin been will-

ing to slow down this irrational industrialization and collectivization drive, and export only half as much grain as originally planned, the lives of six to seven million Ukrainian peasants could have been saved.

In the midst of this unfettered industrialization and collectivization drive, Red Brigades, consisting of misled Komsomol youth, raided the villages and collected all the grain accumulated by the peasants for their own use and for seed grain for the following year. After such raids nothing remained in the villages and famine spread through the whole region like pestilence. Hungry peasants tried to stay alive by eating grass, straw, and their draft animals. Then came the dogs and cats, and finally, in some instances, even the children of the village. Some peasants, driven by hunger, fell into temporary insanity and began to feed on the dead bodies of their own and their neighbor's children.⁵ This cannibalism reached a point where the Soviet government—instead of stopping the mad exportation of grain—began to print posters with the following warning: "To eat your own children is a barbarian act."⁶

The outrageous and insane acts are amply documented in the vast number of scholarly works, memoirs and documentary films dealing with various aspects of Stalinism. And this is true in spite of the broad effort to cover up Stalin's murderous policies. What is sad about all this is the fact that many well-known contemporary Western intellectuals had a major role in this cover-up. Their ranks include British Nobel Laureate George Bernard Shaw; the noted Asian expert from Johns Hopkins University, Owen Lattimore; the American Nobel Laureate Upton Sinclair; the well-known German writer, Emil Ludwig; and scores of others, including even F.D. Roosevelt's Vice President, Henry Wallace.⁷ Along with hundreds of other left-wing intellectuals who were enamored with the ideology of Marxism, they all visited the Soviet Union, they all were duped by the Soviet secret police, and they all came home praising that land of mass terror as "the best hope for mankind."⁸ At the same time, they characterized Stalin—who had exterminated millions, including even his close collaborators and architects of the Bolshevik Revolution—as a great, unselfish, and humane leader. Just before his return home, George Bernard Shaw wrote in his diary: "Tomorrow I leave this land of hope and return to our Western countries of despair."⁹ A few years later, Vice President Henry Wallace did the same. In 1944 he visited the gold fields of Kolyma in far eastern Siberia, where during the 1930s and 1940s over two million innocent victims died. He was duped

into believing that the well-fed NKVD guards were the miners, and that the brutal NKVD commander, Ivan Feodorovich Nikishov, was the efficient and humane director of *Dalstroï*, the Far Northern Construction Trust, which functioned like a grinding machine of human flesh. Wallace returned home praising the Soviet Union and deified its leader, Joseph Stalin, to high heaven.¹⁰ Moreover, while Wallace, Shaw and the other misguided Western intellectuals spoke in superlative terms about Russia and its vicious dictator, they castigated the alleged "rising American Fascism."¹¹

Manifestations of Cannibalism

One of the most disgusting aspects of the system of Soviet slave labor camps, and of the artificially induced mass famine, was the presence of cannibalism that manifested itself in a number of ways.

Anne Applebaum, the author of the recent major synthesis of the evolution of the Soviet Gulag, mentions a number of such phenomena.¹² As an example, in May 1933, 6,114 peasants were being deported to the uninhabited Nazino Island of the Ob River, beyond the Arctic Circle, where they were deposited without any food. On the very first day of their arrival 295 of them died. Three months later, when a party functionary visited the island to examine the situation, he was forced to report that of the original six thousand only about one-third were still alive, but only because they lived off the flesh of their deceased comrades.¹³ According to one of the Gulag-inmates, who encountered several of the former Nazino-inhabitants in a prison at Tomsk, the former "settlers" of Nazino appeared to him like "walking corpses."¹⁴ They were imprisoned at Tomsk for their cannibalistic activities, even though it was cannibalism that had kept them alive while on Nazino.

Applebaum also describes the most common method of escape attempts from the various slave labor camps in Siberia, both in her book and in a relevant documentary film. Those who planned such escapes were generally common criminals, who, prior to their departure, enlisted a willing political prisoner or minor pocket thief, who was to be their "meat" or "food supply" during their journey to freedom. After their escape, they first consumed all the regular food they brought along, after which they killed and dissected the unsuspecting political prisoner. Then, during the remaining portion of their sojourn they ate him.¹⁵

This was what happened in one of Vorkuta's notorious forced labor camps, when two murderers persuaded a well-fed cook to escape with them. The cook did not suspect that he was simply the "walking food supply" for the two bandits. But when their regular food ran out, it was the cook who came to be served up as their food.

But the path to freedom turned out to be much longer than expected. They finished with the cook before reaching their destination. This was followed by days of hunger. Soon they began to eye each other. Fear crept into their minds. Neither of them dared to fall asleep, for fear of being killed by his partner. After a while, however, one of them did fall asleep. The other one took advantage of the opportunity and slit his partner's throat, and then sliced him up for food. He did not get very far, however. Two days later he was caught. His bag was still filled with fresh "meat"—the body parts of his erstwhile partner.¹⁶

A similar case was described by Sándor Adorján in his memoirs entitled *Halál árnyékában* [Under the Shadow of Death]:

One sleepy afternoon, filled with expectations, suddenly the whole camp burst into commotion. Running guards were driving everyone into the courtyard. By the gate, in the midst of a group of guards, and surrounded by a 'curious' multitude, there stood a bearded prisoner in ragged clothes. When everyone was assembled, upon the bidding of the guard commander, the bearded man reached into his sack, removed a hairy human head, and lifted it up for everyone to see. Then slowly and in a tired voice he began to speak.... His colorless voice faltered, revealing the felling that 'nothing matters anymore'.... He described how they escaped together with his friend (the one whose head he held in his hands). To escape their pursuers they fled into the *taiga* (primeval forest), where they had to face autumn, and then winter.... They hoped that they would be able to continue their journey in the spring. They dug a hovel into the ground, and managed to survive until real winter set in.... They hoped that they would be able to trap some animals. But luck was against them. Their traps remained empty.... Finally the days of hunger were upon them.

After not having eaten for three or more days, the escapees were delirious and desperate. They began to eye and fear each other: "When in the middle of the night I woke up suddenly" — said the bearded survivor — "the extreme feeling of hunger would not let me sleep. It

repeatedly occurred to me that Mike” — he pointed to the head — “may be thinking of killing me, to be free of me, or to eat me. In that case perhaps one of us could survive through the spring. ‘Why not I?’ — the thought crossed my mind.... Then unexpectedly Mike began to stir. I jumped up.... He woke up also, and leaped up.... I grabbed an axe, he grabbed a shovel, and we began to fight for life or death.... I was a bit faster....”

Then Adorján continues with his narrative:

When he saw that his partner was dead, first he became frightened. But then he concluded that because his partner is dead anyway, he might as well survive [by eating him]. Something is bound to happen.... But nothing happened. At the end, he left the *taiga* and returned to the camp. They quizzed him about the whereabouts of his friend.... When and where did he see him last? What does he know about him? He denied everything, claiming that Mike escaped in a different direction. First they believed him, but then they returned with him to their hiding place to find out the truth. There they found the human head.... Now, as a form of punishment, the prisoner is taken from camp to camp, where he is forced to relate his story to everyone.... When he finished [his story], for a few minutes no one stirred. It was so quiet that one could even hear the buzzing of flies. Unwittingly, the same question came to our minds: ‘What would I have done, in his place?’¹⁷

A similar case was also related to us by one of our interviewees, Magdolna Rohr, who was barely sixteen when she was deported to the Gulag, where she spent nearly ten years. She also described a scene very similar to the one portrayed by Sándor Adorján.¹⁸

Based on our readings and our interviews with ex-Gulagers, we believe that such incidents of cannibalism were not rare at all. With millions of prisoners in the thousands of Gulag slave labor camps scattered throughout the Soviet Union, there must have been many desperate individuals who were willing to try all forms of escape to free themselves from the excruciating conditions in the camps. A number of them were even willing to commit murder, and to practice cannibalism to achieve their goals.

In one of the relevant documentaries, Anne Applebaum relates the case of the “death ship” that carried thousands of prisoners from the port

of Vladivostok to Magadan, the capital of Kolyma province. On one occasion in the mid-thirties, one of the ships got stuck in ice in the Sea of Okhotsk with six thousand prisoners. The ship was forced to stay for several months, in the course of which a large portion of the prisoners died. During this forced captivity, the regular food ran out. The guards solved the problem by feeding the living with the bodies of the dead. By the time it began to thaw, the majority of prisoners were dead. And those who arrived at Magadan had become cannibals by living off the bodies of their dead comrades.¹⁹

It is perhaps appropriate to mention that in 19435, the sixteen-year-old George Bien, who had been arrested in Budapest for alleged "spy-ing" activities, also had to endure the six days passage on one of these "death ships" from Vladivostok to Magadan, across the Sea of Okhotsk. In his case, however, it was not hunger but thirst that decimated the inmates. There were six thousand men squeezed into the steerage, without a drop of water. The jammed-in human bodies generated oppressive heat and stench, which led to mass suffocations. Many of them died and many others went insane. Upon debarkation, those who survived fell upon the muddy snow and began to eat that filthy mixture like madmen.²⁰

Cooking and Eating the Cook

A certain Lajos M., a Hungarian prisoner, who spent about a decade on the far northern Novaya Zemlya Island—but who did not wish to be identified by name—also related a number of gruesome incidents of cannibalism. In one instance, the hungry inmates went so far as to cook and eat their own chief cook at one of the camps where he too was a prisoner. Lajos M. related his experiences in an interview with writer-sociographer Zsolt Csalog, who wrote it down in the same simple dialect used by the uneducated former Gulag inmate:

I have also eaten human flesh. The head cook, Ivan Vasilievich. This was still in the prisoner-of-war camp. They used to make bran soup there every day, which should have been cooked with oil. Sunflower or god-knows-what-kind-of oil. Yes, but this Ivan stole the oil. Instead of mixing it into the soup, he sold it to civilians. Several of our men got to talking one day: We will screw this cook. Of course, everyone was hungry. The soup was being cooked in a

huge cauldron. It was so large that the bran had to be poured into it from the top of a table. Ivan would stand on the table, stirring away, not caring a damn that half of the bran stuck together in clumps as big as my two fists. They were like big dumplings that never got cooked. Well, as Ivan stood there stirring the bran, two guys grabbed his legs and dumped him into the hot stuff. On with the lid real quick. They screwed it on real tight. By morning it boiled down, the meat coming off tender like. We ate it. We were jumping with joy. 'Look, there is meat in the soup.' Of course, those who knew about it wouldn't eat, but kept quiet. Ivan's bones and jacket were found at the bottom of the cauldron. There was a frantic head count. Roll call five times in every barrack. Who's missing? Who was eaten? The Russians would count us repeatedly and write down the results on match boxes. How many prisoners are there? They don't add up.... Let's do it again. What a circus this was! Finally they figured out that it was the cook who was missing. But they never found out who cooked him.²¹

Before Lajos M. ended up on Novaya Zemlya, he had been a prisoner on Kamchatka Peninsula in the vicinity of Japan. Because of Japan's proximity, there were frequent attempts to escape, but without success. Even though a few of the prisoners managed to reach Japan in their makeshift boats, they failed to gain their freedom. Perhaps because of fear of Russian retributions, the Japanese authorities refused to grant them asylum. They returned the escapees to their Soviet captors.

On one occasion, for example, twelve men escaped by boat. They reached Japan, but then they—or rather ten of them—were promptly returned to Kolyma. Two of them failed to come back because on their way to Japan they fell victim to their fellow escapees' hunger. Having run out of food, the other prisoners killed and ate two of their fellow escapees.²²

After having related these episodes about cannibalism in the Gulag camps, Lajos M. remarked that cannibalism was not unusual even among those who were nominally free. He was referring primarily to the mass cannibalism that occurred in Ukraine during the great famine in the early 1930s. In his words:

Eating human flesh is not uncommon. When there isn't anything else, you have to eat that too. Do you know what the year 1933 was really like? In Ukraine? You haven't heard about it? An old

Ukrainian told me about it up in Novaya Zemlya. You could really trust the words of those Ukrainians. They were all very religious. They would cross themselves many times even during meals. The rest only laughed at them. Once a Russian tried to cheat this old Ukrainian out of his soup. He sat down next to the old man while he was praying and spat in his soup. The old man just tossed it out with his spoon and went on eating. The Russian couldn't faze the Ukrainian. He was gentle, peaceful old fellow. Well, this old Ukrainian had been sentenced to life, and had been here since 1933. he was the one who told us about the agricultural reorganization, when the kolkhozes [collective farms] were established. Stalin just wiped their food supplies clean. The village didn't have one kernel of corn left. They had been surrounded by barbed wire and armed units. With nothing to eat, the villagers began to eat their children. They had to eat something! They began with their dogs and cats, and continued with their own children. And their neighbors' children. Or whoever they could get hold of. They would grab them and eat them. They couldn't just die of hunger! He was not alone. Many, most did the same! They were then scattered all over Siberia as a form of punishment.²³

Other Manifestations of Cannibalism

That Lajos M.'s informant was correct about incidents of cannibalism among the Ukrainians during the great famine has been amply documented by the multitude of published material since his incarceration in the Soviet Gulag. Many cases of cannibalism are recorded in contemporary GPU reports, as well as in Italian diplomatic documents from the Kharkiv region. As quoted by one of the authors of the *Black Book of Communism*: "Every night the bodies of 205 people who died of hunger or typhus are collected. Many of these bodies had their livers removed, through a large slit in the abdomen. The police finally picked up some of these mysterious 'amputators' who confessed that they were using the meat as filling for the meat pies they were selling in the market."²⁴

While some enterprising individuals were selling meat pies filed with human organs, others were marketing whole corpses.²⁵ Most of the latter were college students, who engaged in this sordid business simply to survive. Some of these students established contacts with Stalin's second wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, who promptly informed her husband

about the desperate situation in Ukraine and the surrounding regions. Stalin, however, refused to believe it and reproached her for spreading "Trotskyite gossip." Moreover, Stalin had the "offending students" arrested and condemned. According to some scholars, it was Stalin's insensitivity to the death of millions of human beings which created the chasm between him and his wife and ultimately led to her alleged suicide.²⁶

Stories about cannibalism in the famine-affected areas of Ukraine and neighboring regions are rampant, and they come in various shapes and forms. These include parents eating their own children, people trapping and eating the children of others, children eating the bodies of their parents, and in one case a mother telling her children that upon her death they should eat her: "Mothers says we should eat her if she dies," reported a teenager to his activist older brother upon the latter's return from a collectivization campaign in Siberia.²⁷

It is generally accepted that at least six million people fell victim to this artificially created famine. This is known from many sources and combinations of sources, among them from demographic figures. According to Soviet censuses of the 1920s and 1930s, by the late 1930s there were about six million fewer people than should have been on the basis of the normal death rates. The majority of these deaths have been attributed to the famine in Ukraine and in the surrounding areas.²⁸

Lajos M. mentioned many other cases of cannibalism in the Gulag. As an example, he recalled a certain István Béres from the town of Mezőkövesd, Hungary, who also survived by eating human flesh. According to Lajos M., István Béres and his friends lived off human flesh. They would eat "internal organs, lungs, livers, and such, which they would steal somehow from the dissection room."²⁹

Similarly to Lajos M., Béla Szőregi, who held the rank of an ensign or a sub-lieutenant in the Hungarian Army, also recalls various instances of cannibalism in the prisoner-of-war camps. He describes such events that took place in the Gulag camps at Kulikow and Gubanow, where Hungarians were mixed with Romanians. Because of the prolonged and extensive hunger they had to endure, "it happened that Romanian prisoners would eat their fellow prisoners, for which a number of them were shot by the Russians."³⁰

Stalin's death in 1953 was followed by a period of relaxation and the gradual elimination of most of the forced labor and death camps in

Soviet Russia. Common criminals were separated from political prisoners, and most of the foreign prisoners, who were still alive, were repatriated. Conditions in the remaining camps also improved, and with these improved conditions such overt acts as cannibalism also disappeared.³¹

The Case of Mao's China

But this was true only in the Soviet Union, and not in the neighboring People's Republic of China. In that communist giant state, Mao-inspired periods of terror and famine were just beginning. The first of these periods was the "Great Leap Forward," which began in 1958, and continued for nearly four years, resulting in the death of about thirty-eight million people. During the height of this famine in 1960—according to the Mao-regime's own statistics—a daily per capita food supply was 1,534 calories. In the same year the daily calories available to female factory workers was around 1,200 calories. This is less than the 1,300 to 1,700 calories available to the inmates of the Auschwitz death camp in Nazi Germany.³²

As pointed out by Mao Zedong's most recent biographers, the women "were worked for about eleven hours a day and most who did not find extra food died within several months."³³ Others, who could not find regular food to supplement the meager official calories and wanted to survive, "resorted to cannibalism."³⁴ One of the post-Mao scholarly studies on this topic that was promptly suppressed points out that in Anhui Province's Fengyang County officials recorded sixty-three cases of cannibalism in the spring of 1960. And these are only the recorded cases of a small county in the world's most populous country. Among these recorded cannibals, there was "a couple who strangled and ate their own eight-year-old son."³⁵ And this is only the tip of the iceberg. There were thousands of such cases throughout the country. In one of the counties of Gansu Province, for example, fully one-third of the population died of hunger, and cannibalism was an everyday event. One of the village party officials lost his wife, his children and his sister, all of whom became victims of the famine. This same party official stated that "many people in the village have eaten human flesh."³⁶ And then pointing to a group of peasants in the center of the village, he said: "see those people squatting outside the commune office sunning themselves? Some of them ate human flesh.... People were just driven crazy by hunger."³⁷

The phase of the Maoist purges in the period between 1966 and 1974, known as the "Cultural Revolution," produced even more bizarre situations. True, during this "Cultural Revolution" fewer people perished than during the "Great Leap Forward," but the level of violence and the application of brute force to the population increased significantly. Thus judged to be "class enemies" were massacred under even more brutal circumstances. Thus, General *Wi Gouqing*—who was known as the "hero of *Dien Bien Phu*" because he was in charge of the victorious final battle against the French in Vietnam in 1954—decimated these "class enemies" through the use of machine-guns, mortar and artillery. At the same time, the military commanders of *Binyang County* told his subordinates that "we must put to death one-third or a quarter of the class enemies [of that county] by bludgeoning or stoning.... It's OK to execute a few to start with, but we must guide people to use fists, stones and clubs. Only this way can we educate the masses."³⁸

In the course of the eleven days between July 26 and August 6, 1968, in *Binyang County* alone, 3,681 were beaten to death. During the previous two years of the Cultural revolution "only" sixty-eight suffered death. In consequence of this frenzy killing, around 100,000 people lost their lives in the southern province of *Guangxi*.³⁹

Communist party leadership was in the forefront of this campaign of brutality through the "model demonstrations of killings." They wanted to show to the masses how to apply maximum cruelty to the prospective victims. This became a widespread forced massacres, which culminated in "obligatory cannibalism." This process began with the accusation and denunciation of the selected "class enemies," continued with their bludgeoning and dismembering, and ended with their partial consumption. After having been bludgeoned to death, some of their organs—their hearts, livers, and occasionally their genitals—were cut out, sometimes even before the victims died. Then these body parts were cooked and eaten by the assembled dignitaries in what were labeled "human flesh banquets."⁴⁰

These "banquets" were particularly widespread in the Province of *Guangxi*, where even the minor children of the former ruling classes were tortured and killed. As an example, a sixty-eight-year-old peasant caught the minor son of the former landlord, slit his chest open in front of everyone, and watched the boy die in agony. When questions about his deed by an investigating reporter, he boastfully declared: "Yes, I

killed him.... The person I killed is an enemy.... Ha, ha! I make revolution, and my heart is red! Didn't Chairman Mao say: 'It's either we kill them, or they kill us?' You die and I live, this is class struggle!"⁴¹

Conclusions

This kind of "class struggle" had been initiated some three decades earlier by Joseph Stalin in Russia, who rose from the role of a Caucasian brigand to the position of the "Communist Czar" of the Soviet Union. A quarter century later, a similar "class struggle" was initiated by Stalin's most faithful disciple, Mao Zedong, who in 1949 became the uncrowned "Communist Emperor" of China. Occasionally Mao surpassed even the "achievements" of his Bolshevik teacher and master. The best example of this is his introduction of obligatory cannibalism in the form of "human flesh banquets" to the People's Republic of China.

In the Soviet Union, cannibalism was not the result of an official policy. It was the consequence of the rampant hunger in the Gulag slave labor camps, and of the officially induced famine in Ukraine in the early 1930s. It was the unbearable and ever present hunger that drove people to give up their humanity and to eat their fellow human beings for the sake of their own survival. In contrast, in Mao's China, cannibalism became a tool for the punishment of the former ruling classes, and for the reeducation of the erstwhile oppressed masses. In other words, the eating of human flesh was simply one of the methods used for reshaping the minds of peasants and the proletariat, but in particular the minds and attitudes of the leadership of the ruling Communist Party.

Notes

1. See especially: Steven Béla Várdy and Agnes Huszár Várdy, "Magyar rabszolgák a szovjet Gulag táborában I" [Hungarian Slaves in Soviet Gulag Camps, Part I]. *Valóság* (Budapest), vol. 48, no. 3 (March 2005), pp. 14-34, and Part II, in *Valóság*, vol. 48, no. 4 (April 2005), pp. 49-69; and the expanded English version of this two-part study, now in press: Steven Béla Várdy and Agnes Huszár Várdy, "Slave Labor in the Soviet Union. Hungarians in the Gulag," in *Study Finno-Ugrici* (University of Oriental Studies Naples, Italy), vol. IV, 2006, ca 50 pp. See also by the same authors, "A Gulág rabszolgotáborrendszer kifejlődése" [The Development of the System of Slave Labor Camps in the Gulag], in *XLIV. Magyar Találkozó Krónikája* [Proceeding of the 44th Hungarian Congress], ed. Lél F. Somogyi (Cleveland: Árpád Könyvkiadó Vállalat, 2005), pp. 129-163 (Hereafter cited as *Krónika-Proceedings*); and "Magyar rabszolgamunkások a Szovjetunió Gulág-táborában" [Hungarian Slave Laborer in the Gulag Camps of the Soviet Union], in *Itt-Ott Kalendárium* [ITT-OTT Yearbook] (Ada, Ohio: Itt-Ott Baráti Közösség, 2005), pp. 218-220. Concerning

women in the Gulag, see Agnes Huszár Várdy, "Forgotten Victims of World War II: Hungarian Women in Forced Labor Camps," *Hungarian Studies Review*, vol. 29, nos. 1-2 (Spring-Fall, 2002), pp. 77-91; and *idem*, "Forgotten Victims of World War II: Hungarian Women in Soviet Forced Labor Camps," in Steven Béla Várdy, T. Hunt Tooley, Agnes Huszár Várdy, eds., *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (New York: Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 507-516.

2. Some of our newspaper articles include a three-part study: "Magyarok a Gulágon. Történelmi háttér" [Hungarians in the Gulag: Historical Background], in *Amerikai Magyar Nszava/Szabadság* [American Hungarian People's Voice/Liberty], vol. 114, no. 47 (December 3, 2004), *idem*, vol. 114, no. 48 (December 10, 2004), and *idem* vol. 114, no. 49 (December 17, 2004); as well as the two-part study "Élet a szovjet Gulágon. Magyarok a Gulágrabszolgatáborokban" [Life on the Soviet Gulag: Hungarians in Gulag Slave Labor Camps] in *Amerikai Magyar Nszava/Szabadság*, vol. 115, no. 1 (January 7, 2005), and *idem*, vol. 115, no. 2 (January 14, 2005). In addition we have published "Hungarian Slaves in Gulag Camps" in *American Hungarian Panorama*, vol. 7, no. 1 (January-February 2005), p. 44.

3. Concerning Naftaly Aronovich Frenkel, see Anne Applebaum, *Gulag, a History of the Soviet Camps* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 51-58. One can also find some information about him on the Internet: <http://www.answers.com/topic/naftaly-frenkel>.

4. Concerning this artificially generated famine, see Stéphane Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panné, Karol Bartosek, Jean-Louis Margolin, Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Black Book of Communism. Crimes, Terror, Repression*, trans. Jonathan Murphy and Mark Kramer (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 146-168. For the reminiscences of some of the survivors, see Yuri Mytsyk, ed., *The Ukrainian Holocaust of 1932-1933: The Eyewitness Accounts of Those Who Survived*, trans. Vlad Lavrov (Kiev: Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Publishing House, 2003). See also Miron Dolo, *Execution by Hunger. The Hidden Holocaust* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1985); Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow. Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Editors of the Ukrainian Weekly, *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust* (Jersey City, NJ: Ukrainian National Association, 1983). Information can also be found on the Internet: <http://www.thetruthseeker.co.uk/article.asp?ID=1262>; <http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/mace20.htm>.

5. Csalog Zsolt, *M. Lajos 42 éves* (Budapest: Maecenas Kiadó, 1989), pp. 15-17; and its English version: *Lajos M., Aged 42* (Budapest: Maecenas Kiadó, 1989), pp. 17-18. While checking the published English version of this book, we found it more suitable to use our own translation from the original Hungarian. Therefore, our own version is not completely identical with the published English version of this text.

6. This is quoted by Miklós Tápay in his study, "Az 1932-33 – as nagy szovjet éhínség. Sztálin holokausztja" [The Great Soviet Famine of 1932-33. Stalin's Holocaust], in *Krónika-Proceedings*, vol. 44, pp. 106-113; quotation from p. 112.

7. The views and role of these misled Western intellectuals are summarized and analyzed by Paul Hollander in his *Political Pilgrims. Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba, 1928-1978* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). Hollander deals with well over a hundred celebrities. Some of the most prominent writers are listed in his footnote on p. 103.

8. This and similar expressions characterized the views of numerous left-leaning Western intellectuals who journeyed to the Soviet Union during Stalin's reign of terror, but failed to see that land of totalitarian dictatorship in any other light, except as the "hope of mankind." See Paul Hollander's above-cited work, *Political Pilgrims*. Hollander summarizes

and analyzes the childish naive views of these intellectuals about the Soviet Union and Stalin at the very time when the Soviet dictator was involved in the creation of the artificial famine that killed six to seven million peasants in Ukraine, and then went ahead to exterminate his fellow Marxists, the Old Bolsheviks, so as to eliminate all possible rivals for the leadership of the Soviet state.

9. George Bernard Shaw's statement, see Hollander, *Political Prisoners*, pp. 38-39.

10. For Henry Wallace's distorted view about Soviet society and the Soviet leaders, see the summary of his experiences in the Soviet Union in 1944: *Soviet Asia Mission* (New York, 1946). All of Wallace's biographers acknowledge that he was duped while on his tour of the Soviet Union, and for this reason his description of Soviet society and its leaders is completely unrealistic and false. See for example John Morton Blum, ed., *The Price of Vision: The Diary of Henry Wallace, 1942-1946* (Boston, 1973), pp. 335-360; Frederick H. Schapmeister, *Prophet in Politics: Henry A. Wallace and the War Years, 1940-1964* (Ames, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1970), pp. 85-98; and Graham White and John Maze, *Henry A. Wallace. His Search for a New World Order* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. 187-199.

11. Henry Wallace, "The Dangers of American Fascism," *The New York Times* (1946). This article is cited and commented upon by Jules Witcover, *Crapshoot: Rolling the Dice on the Vice Presidency* (New York, 1992), p. 82. Wallace's short biography can be found in the official publication by Mark O. Hatfield, *Vice Presidents of the United States, 1978-1993* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1997), pp. 399-406. This work can also be found on the Internet: www.senate.gov.

12. Applebaum, *Gulag*, pp. 88, 361-363.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

14. Nicholas Werth, "A State against its People: Violence, Repression and Terror in the Soviet Union," in *Black Book of Communism*, p. 154. Cf. Applebaum, *Gulag*, p. 88.

15. Anne Applebaum described this event in an interview for a documentary entitled: "Siberia. How the East was Won," A&E Television Network, 2004.

16. Applebaum, *Gulag*, p. 362.

17. Sándor Adorján, *A halál árnyékában* [In the Shadow of Death] (Pápa, Hungary: published by the author, 1993), pp. 94-95. Sections of Adorján's memoirs can be found in a quarterly periodical, edited and published by Sándor Zsíros in Felsőzsolca, in the vicinity of the university town of Miskolc, Hungary: *Örökség* [Heritage], vol. 3, no. 2 (October 2004), pp. 48-50.

18. The authors' interview with Mrs. Károly Pintér, neé Magdolna Rohr, in Budapest, on October 30, 2003.

19. Anne Applebaum described this event in an interview for a documentary entitled: "Siberia. How the East was Won," A&E Television Network, 2004.

20. György Zoltán Bien, *Elveszett évek. Egy magyar kiák raboskodása a GULAG kelet-szibériai lágereiben*, 2nd ed. (Budapest: Püski Kiadó, 2000), pp. 61-64; and its slightly revised English version, George Zoltán Bien, *Lost Years. A Hungarian Student's Ten Years in the Siberian Gulag. Kolyma 1945-1955* (Fairfax, VA: published by the author, 2003), pp. 63-67.

21. Csalog Zsolt, *M. Lajos 42 éves*, pp. 15-17; and its English version: *Lajos M., Aged 42*, pp. 17-18.

22. Csalog Zsolt, *M. Lajos 42 éves*, p. 14; and *Lajos M., Aged 42*, p. 15.

23. Csalog Zsolt, *M. Lajos 42 éves*, pp. 17-18; and *Lajos M., Aged 42*, pp. 19-20.

24. *The Black Book of Communism*, p. 165.

25. Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow*, p. 326.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-326.
27. Reported by Leonid Plyushch, based on his grandfather's recollection. Quoted by Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow*, p. 258.
28. *The Black Book of Communism*, pp. 167-168.
29. Csalog Zsolt, *M. Lajos 42 éves*, pp. 9-10; and *Lajos M., Aged 42*, p. 10.
30. Szőregi Béla, *Egy orosz hadifogoly naplója* [The Diary of a Hungarian Prisoner of War] (Cleveland, OH: Magyar Könyvtár, 1955), p. 49.
31. Concerning the elimination of the Gulag camps in the Soviet Union, see Applebaum, *Gulag*, pp. 454-491.
32. These statistics are cited by Jung Chang and Jon Haliday, *Mao. The Unknown Story* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. 437.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, p. 438.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 544.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, p. 545.
41. *Ibid.*