

Interested in the Gulag system—experiences, management, Soviet leaders, etc?

I look at the subject from the point of view of a business school management professor who is interested not only in the history, but the management/ strategic/ entrepreneurship/ leadership/ human lessons embedded in these stories. Please feel free to use, but don't distribute without crediting the work I did to put it together. If you want to learn more or talk about issues in the materials, feel free to contact me—I love the subject.

Many items in the bibliography are annotated with brief personal notes and some publisher/seller descriptions. Need to add/revise with full listing of what I have, but it'll give you a sense of what's out there. Some of the sources in here are the basis for a research project I am working on about management lessons from the Gulag.

Also need to add the others to obtain which are id'd in my marked bibs/footnotes from individual books. Some pulled from polar bib if they ref Siberia in relevant way.

Siberia Gulag Stalin Bibliography

- ✓ Adamczyk, Wesley. 2004 1st ed. *When God Looked the Other Way: An Odyssey of War, Exile, and Redemption*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ✓ Aksyonov, Vassily. 1985. The Burn (Julia's old friend/GMU prof). He's the daughter of Evgenia Ginzburg. Novelized autobiography/difficult read. But, there are various references that make sense once you read his mom's books and know the family history in Magadan. Fascinating links. I remember in 2009 when she said he had just died, sad time/loss for her.
- ✓ Albanov, Valerian. 1917 (Russian). In the Land of White Death. First Eng trans 2001, pub. by Modern Library.
Albanov's memoir re St. Anna disaster in Siberian Arctic, The second edition of the ML translation solves a major mystery. Contains excerpts from the newly discovered diary of Alexander Konrad (the other survivor), and shows he was one of the thieves/deserters Albanov mentions but does not name! Plus, the logbook from the St. Anna inspired and was fictionalized in Veniamin Kaverin's Two Captains.
- ✓ Andreev-Khomiakov, Gennady. 1997 (1st Eng. Ed, orig 1954 pub by Posev in Frankfurt) Bitter Waters: Life and Work in Stalin's Russia. Westview Press div of HarperCollins.

GET

Anonymous. 1946. The Dark Side of the Moon. London: Faber and Faber.
Memoir listed last page of Orr. Stories of Polish deportations etc 1939-45. Preface by TS Eliot. First American edition 1947, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

- ✓ Antonov-Ovseyenko, Anton. 1981. *The Time of Stalin: Portrait of a Tyranny*. NY: Harper and Row.

His dad was highranking, killed in 1937 purge. Angry, bitterly satirical, great analysis of Stalin's rise: "how did he do it?, Joseph the Builder, The Mountain Eagle, in our time" are the main sections. Angry angry angry, rips Stalin apart. Stalin titles are parodies like Maximoff's Emperor Joseph the First.

- ✓ Applebaum, Anne. 2003. *Gulag: A History*. New York: Random House.
- ✓ Baldaev, Danzig. 2010. *Drawings from the Gulag*. London: Murray and Sorrell.
NKVD prisoner, becomes KGB expert on prison tattoos (see his 3 vol series *Russian Criminal Tattoo*), does drawings of atrocities he sees and learns about, hides them for years til he can publish them. Horrific. I think he was a tormented and terribly brave man. He died in 2005—not sure if he or his widow planned the publication of these as posthumous?
- ✓ Bardach, Janusz. With Gleeson, Kathleen. 1998. *Man is Wolf to Man*. Berkely: University of California Press.
Memoir of Polish youth who crosses Soviet border to avoid Germans, gets sent to Kolyma for five years, released at war's end due brother's efforts.
- ✓ Barmine, Alexander. 1945. *One Who Survived: The Life Story of a Russian under the Soviets*. NY: Putnam.
- ✓ Bauer, Josef M. 1957. *As Far As My Feet Will Carry Me*. New York: Random House. Paperback 2003, Carroll and Graf.
Memoir (recorded/edited) of Clemens Forell, German soldier sentenced in 1945 to 25 years. Spends four years, most at far end of Chukchi Peninsula (Anadyr) by Bering Strait. Escapes, spends three years crossing USSR to Iran to Germany, arriving home at Christmas. One of the very few successful escapes, and from the hardest place. Made into a German movie.

GET

Bezsonov, Y., 1928. *Mes vingt-six prisons et mon evasion de Solovki*. traduit du russe par E. Semenoff. Paris: Payot.

- ✓ Bien, George Z. 2003. *Lost Years: A Hungarian student's imprisonment in the Gulag in Kolyma, Eastern-Siberia 1945-1955*. Self-published.
Memoir of 17-year-old shipped off at end of WWII for ten years.
- ✓ Bollinger, Martin. 2003. *Stalin's Slave Ships: Kolyma, the Gulag Fleet, and the Role of the West*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.
Well-researched study of American and European ships bought and put into service on the Vladivostok-Magadan route. Started out as a couple of simple questions posed by a naval consultant and ended up with a book. Where the ships came from, uses, the experience of prisoners, American involvement, etc.

- ✓ Boym, Svetlana. 2006. *Territories of Terror: Mythologies and Memories of the Gulag in Contemporary Russian-American Art*. Boston University Art Gallery. Exhibition catalog for multi artist exhibition, with essay by Boym.
- ✓ Brontman, Lazar Konstantinovich, Ed. by J. Schmidt. 1938 1st ed. *On the Top of the World: the Soviet Expedition to the North Pole 1937*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. Detailed memoir/account, illustrated. Soviet heroic style, praise for Stalin, etc.

GET

Bruce Lockhart, R. H., 1932. *Memoirs of a British Agent*. London: Putnam.

GET 1st ed w jacket! Dripping blood on dustjacket. Striking.

Brunovsky, Vladimir. 1931. *Methods of the OGPU*

Check to see if there's a reprint

Buber, Margarete. *Under Two Dictators*. London: Victor Gollancz.

Memoir listed in Orr.

- ✓ Buca, Edward. 1976. *Vorkuta*. London: Constable.
Memoir of nineteen-year-old Polish soldier sent to Vorkuta mine region in 1945. Instigates a prisoners' labor strike in 1953, stays in various other camps, escapes to Sweden in 1971.

GET

Cederholm, B., 1929. *In the Clutches of Tcheka*. New York: Houghton

Online pdf =

<https://archive.org/details/1929InTheClutchesOfTheTchekaBorisCederholmReduced>

- ✓ Cohen, Stephen F. 2010. *The Victims Return: Survivors of the Gulag after Stalin*. Exeter, NH:PublishingWorks.
How they handled it-mentally, practically, how treated, rehabilitation focus, etc. Interview w Bukharin daughter, many others.
- ✓ Conquest, Robert. 1978. *Kolyma*. New York: Viking Press.
His books were pre-collapse, so more limited archival than later ones. Example of great research when sources are scarce.

GET

Courtois, S. et al., 1997. *Le livre noir du communisme. Crimes, terreur et répression*. Paris: Edition Robert Laffont.

- ✓ Critchlow, Donald and Critchlow, Agnieszka (eds). 2002. *Enemies of the State: Personal Stories from the Gulag*. Excerpts from well-known prisoner memoirs about Gulag-type systems in totalitarian states: USSR/Siberia, Romania, China, etc.

GET

Danzas, I., 1935. *Bagne rouge: Souvenirs d'une prisonnière au pays des Soviets*. Juvizy: Les Édition du Cerf (Centre dominicain d'études russes).

GET

De Beausobre, I., 1938. *The Woman Who Could Not Die*. London: Chatto and Windus.

- ✓ Dolgun, Alexander with Watson, Patrick. 1979. Alexander Dolgun's Story: An American in the Gulag. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Memoir of 22 yo American who grew up mostly in Russia, works in 1948 in US Embassy, arrested, released from camps in 1956, allowed to leave USSR in 1971 for America.
- ✓ Druzhnikov, Yuri. 1997. Informer 001: The Myth of Pavlik Morozov. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. Pulls apart the bogus heroic story of Pavlik denouncing his dad.

GET

Duguet, R., 2004 (first edition 1927). *Un bagne en Russie rouge*. Paris: Balland.

- ✓ Ellsworth, Lincoln. 1938. Beyond Horizons. Heinemann.
Book site: Reporter's account of the 1931 Polar flight of the airship Graf Zeppelin. The Graf Zeppelin flew under the command of Dr. Hugo Eckner who had gained world renown by commanding the 1929 around the world flight of the Graf Zeppelin. The passenger list was an international who's who of polar and aerial exploration, including Lincoln Ellsworth who had flown with Amundsen to 88°N in 1925 and on the 1926 Norge transpolar flight. The flight departed from the Zeppelin base at Friedrichshafen, Germany and returned 8 days later after surveying the Russian polar island groups in the Arctic Ocean. The flight included a brief water landing at Hooker Island in a Russian icebreaker. It was the first aerial survey and mapping of Russian island groups in the Arctic Ocean and the first air-sea exchange of mail in the far north.
- ✓ Figes, Orlando. 2007. *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia*. NY: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt.
- ✓ Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1999. Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s. Oxford University Press.
What life was like for the average person.
- ✓ George, Arthur with George, Elena. 2003. St. Petersburg: Russia's Window to the Future. The First Three Centuries. New York: Taylor Trade Publishing.
Not much Siberia or Gulag, but some in ref to Soviet era.
- ✓ Getty, J. Arch and Naumov, Oleg V. 2008. *Yezhov: The Rise of Stalin's "Iron Fist"*. Yale University Press.
Interesting for focus not only on bio/politicking, but bureaucratic skills—how he did things/rose/fell. Lots of archival refs
- ✓ Gheith, Jehanne M. and Jolluck, Katherine R. 2011 1st ed. *Gulag Voices: Oral Histories of Soviet Incarceration and Exile*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- ✓ Ginzburg, Evgenia Semyonovna. 1967. Journey into the Whirlwind. Harcourt.
Memoir part one of Party intellectual shipped on Dzhurma to Elgen camp in Kolyma.

- ✓ Ginzburg, Evgenia Semyonovna. 1981. Within the Whirlwind. Harcourt. Memoir part two of Party intellectual shipped to Elgen camp in Kolyma. Spends 18 years total in camps.

Cross-check original dates to see timeline of first and second volume—is there really a 14 year break between the two pubs??

GET

Gliksman, Jerzy. Tell the West. New York: Gresham Press. Memoir listed in Orr.

OUCH! Sidenote: The New Republic did a review of Gliksman in 1948. See the doubting/scorn of this brief review, which seems to discount the steady series of escapee horror stories. James Roy Newman was a mathematician and lawyer, and served in USG in/after WWII re diplomacy/state dept/atomic energy/etc. He missed the mark in this review I think, trivializing the honest reporting of a man's experiences. The tone of his full review of the three books makes him seem somewhat of a snot. Plus, someone—Newman or an editor—got the Koriakov title wrong, adding “back” to the end of the title.

“Let the Reader Beware. James R. Newman, July 26, 1948.

Lenin: A Biography, by David Shub (Doubleday and Company; \$5). I'll Never Go Back: A Red Army Officer Talks Back, by Mikhail Koriakov (E.P. Dutton; \$3). Tell the West, by Jerzy Gliksman (The Gresham Press; \$3.75). Of these three books, only one, David Shub's biography of Lenin, is a useful contribution to an understanding of Russia and the Russians. The other two are not unfamiliar specimens. Each is an undocumented, uncorroborated narrative of harrowing personal experiences in the Soviet Union. Neither has any particular literary, autobiographical or historical merit. Both are frankly propagandistic denunciations of certain phases of life under the Soviet regime.”

[last 3 sentences above: Newman is an ass]

Full review: <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/books/90698/let-the-reader-beware>

- ✓ Gregory, Paul and Lazarev, Valery. 2003. The Economics of Forced Labor: The Soviet Gulag. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution at Stanford Univ. Cost of running it, rewards vs punishments, etc. bureaucratic/mgmt. difficulties/decisions
- ✓ Gorky, Maxim. (Ed.) 1935. The White Sea Canal. London: The Bodley Head. English translation of the celebratory volume Belomorkanal about the canal. Heroic, Stalinist ode to re-forging of political prisoners—kulaks, wreckers, and saboteurs. Mostly crap, hides reality. As Gulag grows, writing like this does not continue. First and only book of its kind.
- ✓ Grossfeld, Stan. 1988. The Whisper of Stars: A Siberian Journey. Chester, CT: Globe Pequot Press. Large format photo/travelogue.

- ✓ Gvozdetsky, N.A. 1974. Soviet Geographical Explorations and Discoveries. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- ✓ Hellbeck, Jochen. 2006. Revolution on my Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin. Literary analysis of diaries in a dangerous time. Some perceive, some self-deceive. Harvard University Press.
- ✓ Herling, Gustaw. 1986. (orig ed 1951). A World Apart. New York: Penguin. Memoir of Polish POW sent in 1940 to Gulag for 2 years, freed in the Polish amnesty to fight. Starts with great quote from Dostoevsky: “Here there is a world apart, unlike everything else, with laws of its own, its own manners and customs, and here is the house of the living dead—life as nowhere else and a people apart. It is this corner apart that I am going to describe.”

GET

Kalpashnikoff, A., 1920. *A Prisoner of Trotsky's*. Garden City; New York: Doubleday – Page & Company.

- ✓ Kapuscinski, Ryszard. 1994. Imperium. About his travels over many decades through USSR and its later collapsing empire, esp focus on 89-93.
- ✓ Kaverin, Veniamin. Engl. ed. 1972. Two Captains. Moscow: Progress Publishers. Written 1938-1944. Won Stalin Prize in 46. Inspired by logbook from St. Anna (headed by Lt. Brusilov) expedition that disappeared in 1914. That is, the logbook saved by Albanov (In *The Land of White Death* author!). 2003—current Russian musical *NordOst* is stage version of *2 Captains*. Film versions of story in 1955 and 1975? Julia Bikbova told me to read it. Fantastic book. Spans Revolution through the war. Great timeless Russian writing, great love story, yet deftly stays apolitical. Stalin apparently read it and liked it, but I'm sure he must have noticed the subtle absence of politics...
- ✓ Kharms, Daniil. 2007. *Today I Wrote Nothing*. New York: Overlook. Comprehensive collection/anthology of Soviet avant-garde writer in 20s and 30s. Starved in prison in Leningrad winter 1942.

GET

Kitchin, G., 1935. *Prisoner of the OGPU*. London – New York – Toronto: Longmans.

- ✓ Kizny, Tomasz. 2004. Gulag: Life and death inside the Soviet concentration camps. Firefly Books. Large coffee-table format. Sections on Solovki (Solovetski Islands), Belomorkanal, Vaigach expedition, theater in the Gulag, Kolyma, Vorkuta, and the Road of Death (Bones).
- ✓ Knight, Amy. 1993. *Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant*. Princeton University Press. Childhood, career, psychology w JS. Makes point—evil, but pragmatic and a reformer.
- ✓ Koestler, Arthur. 1941. Darkness at Noon: A Novel. MacMillan. About purges, trial of an individual, Stalinism. I have the 1968 reprint.

GET

Koriakov, Mikhail. 1948. I'll Never Go Back: A Red Army Officer Talks. Pub: E.P. Dutton.

- ✓ Kowalski, Ludwik. 2008. Hell on Earth: Brutality and Violence Under the Stalinist Regime. Shelbyville, KY: Wasteland Press.

Memoir: Father emigrates to USSR in 31, son is sent to Kolyma in 38.

GET

Kravchenko, Victor. *I Chose Freedom*. London: Robert Hale.

Memoir listed in Orr.

- ✓ Lysakowski, Richard. 1990. Siberian Odyssey: A true story of a young boy who survived the Siberian labor camps in WW II. New York: Vantage Press.

Memoir of Polish teenager arrested in 1940, shipped to Buryeva camp north of Komsomolsk, freed in 1941, sent to Samarkand, eventually joins Polish Army.

- ✓ Lipper, Elinor. *Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co.

Memoir listed in Orr.

GET

Malsagoff, S. A., 1926. *An Island Hell: A Soviet Prison in the Far North*, Translated by F. H. Lyon. London: A. M. Philpot LTD.

- ✓ Maximoff, Grigorii Petrovich. 1940. The Guillotine at Work, Vols I and II. Chicago: Alexander Berkman Fund. Have 1975 Revisionist Press reprint of both volumes, need 1st ed.

Lots of procedural info on how Lenin/Stalin create basis for system, turning revolution into state capitalism with terror and no dissent. Maximoff was an Anarchist. Well-documented, extremely passionate/angry in the writing, e.g. “Emperor Joseph the First” haha—see Antonov-Ovsyenko for similar titles. Prob inspired by Stalin’s propaganda—Stalin, friend/father/etc of the...etc. wise, children, builder, etc. Look up history of celebratory Stalin phrases, also Lenin.

- ✓ McCannon, John. 1998. Red Arctic: Polar Exploration and the Myth of the North in the Soviet Union, 1932-1939. New York: Oxford University Press.

Alibris: Red Arctic tells the history of Stalinist Russia's massive campaign to explore and develop its Northern territories during the 1930s. McCannon tells the dramatic stories of the polar expeditions - conducted by foot, ship, and plane - which were the pride of Stalinist Russia, to expose the reality behind them: chaotic blunders, bureaucratic competition, and the eventual rise of the GULAG as the dominant force in the North. Dramatic stories of the first polar explorations, the record-breaking flights and rescues by both foot and ice-breaker. First examination of the Stalinist creation of the myth of the arctic in the face of the rise of the GULAG.

GET

McCullagh, F., 1922. *A Prisoner of the Reds. The Story of A British Officer Captured in Siberia*.

New

York: E. P. Dutton and Company Publishers.

GET

Medvedev, Z. A., Medvedev, R. A., 2003. *The Unknown Stalin*. London; New York: I. B. Taurus.

GET

Melgunov, Serge. P. 1924 *Red Terror in Russia*. 1st ed in 24, there's a Hyperion reprint from 1975.

- ✓ Mochulsky, Fyodor Vasilevich. 2011. *Gulag Boss: A Soviet Memoir*. Ed and trans by Deborah Kaple. Oxford University Press. Great rare view—he graduates tech school, gets sent to Vorkuta railway construction as section boss for NKVD.
- ✓ Montefiore, Simon Sebag. 2003. *Stalin: The court of the red tsar*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Huge bio, with lots of material on associates, inner workings, and management/administration.
- ✓ Montefiore, Simon Sebag. 2007. *Young Stalin*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. New material, all the way back to question of parentage. Huge bio. Childhood, youth, through consolidation of power post-Revolution. The prequel to Court of the Red Tsar.
- ✓ Moynahan, Brian. 1997. *Rasputin: The Saint Who Sinned*. NY: Random House. Great story leading to Revolution, explains popular views of govt, Nicholas's weakness, wife's probs, leads to why Revolution. Redeems Rasputin I think.

GET

Naudeau, L. Five months in Moscow prisons. In *Current History Magazine of the New York Times*, October 1919, pp. 127-36 and November 1919, pp. 318-321.

GET

Naudeau, L., 1920. *En prison sous la terreur rouse*. Paris: Librairie Hachette.

- ✓ Olcott, Anthony. 1983. *May Day in Magadan*. New York: Bantam Books.
Fictional murder/conspiracy mystery set in Soviet Magadan.
- ✓ Orizio, Riccardo. 2003 1st Eng. Edition. *Talk of the Devil: Encounters with Seven Dictators*. New York: Walker and Co.
- ✓ Orr, Charles. 1951. *Stalin's Slave Camps: An indictment of modern slavery*. Brussels, Belgium: International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
One of the earliest studies, published two years before Stalin's death. A bit of a polemic, but a surprising amount of data, given the date. Cover has a map of camps and railroads. Interesting errors re the railroads, like one from Tyndinskiy (Tynda) to Magadan and northeast to Anadyr. Trans-Sib is only partial, and is labeled Baykal Amur. BAM (which wasn't built) is labeled Tayshet-Komsomolsk. Last page has biblio of escapee memoirs, which are ref'd in my biblio. There are six, some of which I have. Also lists a couple of AFL and other studies.

GET

Out of the Deep: Letters from Soviet Timber Camps. 1933. London: G. Bles.
Appx 100 pages. Excerpts are in Steinberg, 1971, p. 281-287.

- ✓ Parvilahti, Unto. 1960. Beria's Gardens: A Slave Laborer's Experiences in the Soviet Utopia. NY: EP Dutton. Kidnapped from Finland, years in prison and Siberia. Low-key, brilliant, sardonic Scandinavian writing style.

Petrov, Vladimir. Soviet Gold. New York: Farrar, Straus and Co.
Memoir listed in Orr.

- ✓ Prychodko, Nicholas. 1952. One of the Fifteen Million. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. Ukrainian exile to Siberia
- ✓ Radzhinsky, Edvard. 2000. The Rasputin File. NY: Doubleday/Anchor (paperback version)
- ✓ Raven, Chris and Raven, Simon. 2006. The Linger Longer: Driving the Trans-Siberian. UK: Samosir Books

My take: dirty, funny, insightful.

Back cover: Ever had the desire to simply jump in the car and keep driving, to wave goodbye to routine and commitment, to drive into the unknown with your arm out of the window hungry for adventure? Well, that is precisely what twin brothers and UK authors, Simon Raven and Chris Raven decided to do whilst stacking boxes of frozen oven chips in a minus 30°C freezer. With a squeaky foot pump and an SAS Survival Guide, the brothers fired up their rusty £300 Ford Sierra and headed east. Not being petrol heads and having very little knowledge of the internal combustion engine, with luck they hoped to reach Poland and maybe even the Baltic State of Estonia - where lived, according to legend, the most beautiful girls on the planet.

After driving for six weeks and clocking up over 11,000 miles, quite literally living in the car, they miraculously arrived in the Far Eastern city of Vladivostok in Siberia on the Sea of Japan. What they had in fact done was to drive the entire length of the amazing new Amur Highway before it was finished, which crosses Russia in a 6,200 mile swath of cracked tarmac and potholes. Along the way our trusty heroes drink vodka with Chechen criminals, escape highway robbery, trade banana flavoured condoms with Russian cops, meet the eccentric and plain weird at truck stops in darkest Siberia, endure torturous road conditions and have a race to the finish with the Germans. Surviving this journey by the skin of their teeth, the brothers are forced to confront their worst fears in this toe-curling comedy that is both gripping and surreal.

- ✓ Rawicz, Slavomir. The Long Walk. 1956. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1997 ed., Lyons Press has new author's afterword and original Polish edition foreword. Memoir of Polish escapee.

My take: neat book, but some of it seems quite fabricated out of thin air.

Ebay/Amazon:

Cavalry officer Slavomir Rawicz was captured by the Red Army in 1939 during the German-Soviet partition of Poland and was sent to the Siberian Gulag along with other captive Poles, Finns, Ukrainians, Czechs, Greeks, and even a few English, French, and American unfortunates who had been caught up in the fighting. A year later, he and six comrades from various countries escaped from a labor camp in Yakutsk and made their way, on foot, thousands of miles south to British India, where Rawicz reenlisted in the Polish army and fought against the Germans. The Long Walk recounts that adventure, which is surely one of the most curious treks in history.
Reviewer: C. Beta from Freeview

There are classics and then there are _classics_. This memoir is in the second group, the kind of book that stands apart from those that would claim to be its peers by virtue of its singular vision. The opening pages are right out of Solzhenitsyn, in fact take place in the same prison that he almost lovingly calls the "Big Lubyanka" in *The Gulag Archipelago*. But this is not Solzhenitsyn with his grace and humor and satire and righteous anger recollecting the soul-altering experiences that ironically made him into the great poet of the dismal 20th century. Instead, Rawicz is more of an Everyman, the ordinary Polish cavalry officer trapped without cause within the Soviet penal system. His is not the desire to write the history of the Soviet Union (something Solzhenitsyn eventually does indirectly with the Gulag), but rather the more basic impulse just to be free. Even if that means the travails of a year-long journey on foot through one hardship after another, freedom will not be denied him.

There are mysteries aplenty in this book. How can Rawicz recall the details and dialog that he does years after the fact? Who is the unnamed American who accompanies Rawicz and the others on the walk and what was he really doing in the Soviet Union? Why did Rawicz lose contact with all his boon companions after the war? The reader can be forgiven for suspecting that there are other things at work here below the text, that something was lost or altered in the transformation from memory to an English that he learned only later when living in England.

But still, this is a magnificent book. I've given numerous copies to friends and strangers. Walkers and hikers in particular should enjoy this story, for beneath the horrors of starvation and death there lies the secret joy of a truly open-ended walk, epic in length, outside and alive and free.

- ✓ Rayfield, Donald. 2004. Stalin and His Hangmen. New York: Random House. Another big recent bio, like Montefiore (2003). Focus on the group, dynamics, history. Demise of writers/artists, starting p. 168.
- ✓ Razgon, Lev. 1997. True Stories. Dana Point, CA: Ardis Publishers. Rises up in Moscow elite as a writer, 1937, 17 years in camps. Insider view of the terror, politics, intelligentsia, etc. Hell of a writer.
- ✓ Rohmer, Richard. 1989. Red Arctic. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside. Fictional murder mystery: "While on a routine patrol, RCMP Staff Sergeant Boychuk discovers a body. The Sergeant knows he's dealing with a murder, even though the body in question has been frozen in Arctic ice for over one hundred years..."
- ✓ Rossi, Jacques. 1989 1st ed. The Gulag Handbook: An Encyclopedia Dictionary of Soviet Penitentiary Institutions and Terms Related to the Forced Labor Camps. New York: Paragon House.
- ✓ Roze, Aine et al. 1999. We Sang Through Tears: Stories of Survival in Siberia. Riga, Latvia: Janis Roze Publishers. ~18 bio stories by Latvian deportees.
- ✓ Rummel, R. J. 1994. Death By Government. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. Poli-sci prof's book about government-sponsored killing. Fascinating. 4th in series. Comes up with rough estimate of 169 million killed by governments. Chap. 2 is a recap of his book on USSR.
- ✓ Scholmer, Joseph. 1954. Vorkuta: A dramatic first report on the slave city in the Soviet Arctic. New York: Henry Holt and Co. Memoir of German doctor prisoner who spends 3 years there. Cross-check: Sees the prisoner mass strike told in Buca (1976). Use to assess Buca's role. Cross-check: P. 74-77 mentions theater in Vorkuta—compare with Kizny (2004).

- ✓ Serge, Victor. 1950. The Case of Comrade Tulayev. New York Review Books reprint. Great fiction about dead official, unfolding of investigation, bureaucracy, Stalinism, purges, etc.
- ✓ Sgovio, Thomas. 1979. Dear America! Why I turned against communism. Kenmore, NY: Partners' Press. Memoir—American family moves to USSR in 30s. Father and son arrested in '38, many years in Kolyma, survives as artist. Camp Pobyeda, far north of Magadan.
- ✓ Shalamov, Varlam. 1994. Kolyma Tales. New York: Penguin. Memoirs fictionalized/satirized as short stories. Published earlier as Kolyma Tales and Graphite. Shalamov spent 17 years in Kolyma. I think this is the first book anyone should read about it. Profound, terrible. Exquisite prose, even when translated into English. Worth reading word by word. Most stories have a twist at the end.
- ✓ Shields, Father Michael (collator). 2007. Martyrs of Magadan: Memories of the Gulag. Pub by Aid to the Church in Need, in Sutton England. Collection of 15 interviews/oral memoirs of people still living in/around Magadan, all former zeks. Shields is a Catholic priest and pastor of Church of the Nativity of Jesus, in Magadan. See <http://www.magadancatholic.com/> website.

GET

Solonevich, I., 1938. *Russia in Chains: A Record of Unspeakable Suffering*. London: Williams and Norgate Ltd.. (2 volumes)

- ✓ Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1969. Cancer Ward. New York: Bantam.
- ✓ Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. The Gulag Archipelago. Vols I-III.
- ✓ St. John, David. 1965. Return from Vorkuta. New York: Signet. Paperback fictional spy story beginning with Gulag prisoner.

GET

Steinberg, J., 1971. *Verdict of Three Decades: from the Literature of Individual Revolt against Soviet Communism: 1917-1950*. Manchester: Ayer Publishing.

- ✓ Tchernavin, Tatiana. 1934. Escape From the Soviets. NY:EP Dutton. Married couple exiled to Siberia, winter escape across border. Her version, his comes out a year later.
- ✓ Tchernavin, Vladimir. 1935. I Speak for the Silent: Prisoners of the Soviets. Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press. Follow up to his wife's book on their escape from their Siberia sentence across border to Finland. This one has pics of them.

GET

Toker, L., 2000. *Return from the Archipelago: Narratives of Gulag Survivors*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- ✓ Tzouliadis, Tim. 2008. The Forsaken: An American Tragedy in Stalin's Russia. New York: Penguin Press.
Disappearance of most Americans that emigrated to USSR in 20s and 30s.
- ✓ Viola, Lynne. 2007. The Unknown Gulag: The lost world of Stalin's special settlements. New York: Oxford University Press.
Forced re-settlement, mostly in Northern Territory, Siberia, and Urals, but also in Kazakhstan and Far East.
- ✓ von Kotzebue, August. 1798. (trans. by William Render). Count Benyowsky; or, The Conspiracy of Kamchatka. Facsimile reprinted by Bibliolife.
Fictional play about Mom's ancestor Moritz and his imprisonment in and escape from Siberia. First public singing of The Star Spangled Banner was during intermission of the play in Baltimore.
- ✓ Wallechinsky, David. 2006. *Tyrants: The World's 20 Worst Living Dictators*. NY: Regan/HarperCollins.
Inc. some from former Soviet republics. Like Orizio's Talk of the Devil but lacking most of the personal interviews.
- ✓ Werth, Nicholas. 2007. Cannibal Island: Death in a Siberian Gulag. Princeton University Press. Anatomy of forced settlements and the disaster on Nazino Island. Brutal policy combined with bureaucratic/mgmt issues/failures. Soviets actually investigated the mess. Good re implementation issues.
- ✓ White, Robin. 1997. Siberian Light. New York: Bantam.
Fun fictional thriller about murder and oil, set in Markovo, in Chukotka Oblast.
- ✓ Zarod, Kazimierz. 1990. Inside Stalin's Gulag: A true story of survival. Sussex, England: The Book Guild.
Memoir of 27 yo ethnic Pole who grew up in Siberia and Warsaw, arrested in 39, sent to Arctic camps near Barents Sea, freed in the '41 Polish amnesty.

Zoretic, Josip. 2007. *Goli Otok—Hell in the Adriatic*. Day-to-day memoir of prisoner on Yugoslavia's island labor camp, about 4 miles just south of southern tip of Krk. He was there until 1969, so across the water from me in 1967 (Hotel Malin, north side Krk)
Next to it was the women's prison island, Goli Sveti Grgur.