

# A Chronicle of Current Events

A Journal of the Soviet Human Rights Movement  
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Issues No. 22 and 23

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**Amnesty International Publications  
March 1972**

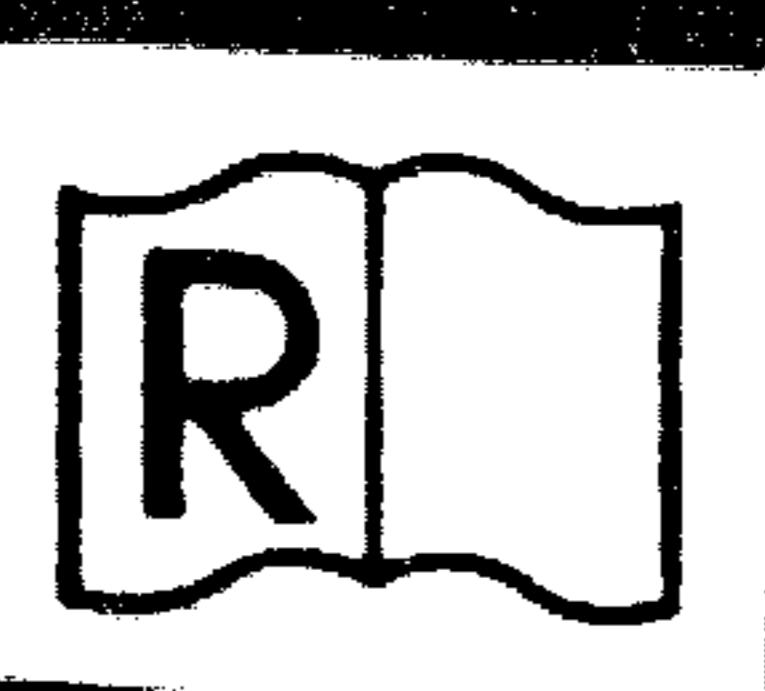
[This is a rather literal translation of copies of the type-written Russian originals, which were edited anonymously in Moscow and circulated in *samizdat*. Only the words in square brackets have been added by the translators.

With this double issue Amnesty enters its second year of publishing the *Chronicle*, and so the pagination starts again at p. 1. The first six issues (nos. 16-21) occupied exactly 300 pages. The full texts of nos. 1-11 were—readers may wish to note—published in February 1972 in Peter Reddaway, ed., *Uncensored Russia: The Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union*, Cape, London, £5, 500 pp. This book will appear soon in the U.S.A. from McGraw-Hill.

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**The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR  
Continues**

## A Chronicle of Current Events

*"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."*

Universal Declaration of  
Human Rights, Article 19

### **Issues No. 22 and 23**

**No. 22 (p. 1)**

**10 November 1971 [Moscow]**

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**No. 23 (p. 49)**

**5 January 1972 [Moscow]**

**Publications in Western Languages on the Human Rights Movement in the USSR—a Select Bibliography (p. 101).**

**Combined Index of Proper Names (p. 108).**

**FOURTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION**

### **On the Presentation of the Nobel Prize to A. I. Solzhenitsyn**

At briefing sessions held for them recently, officials of the propaganda network for academic institutions were given an official version of the current position of the Nobel Committee with regard to the award of the prize to A. I. Solzhenitsyn. It was claimed that the Nobel Committee, disturbed by the protests of Western progressive public opinion, was showing signs of confusion and regret over its decision of last year and had therefore broken off its correspondence with Solzhenitsyn and delayed a decision on the date and location of the presentation to him of the medal and the diploma. As an example of the attitude of Western writers towards Solzhenitsyn, the story was told of his failure to be elected to membership of the PEN Club, even after this question had twice been discussed by the Club. The reasons for this failure, according to the official version put forward by the Soviet authorities, were speeches made by several writers who called Solzhenitsyn a "political figure". Sartre's well-known refusal to accept the Nobel Prize was mentioned as evidence of the political nature of the Nobel Committee's decision. This refusal, which, as is well known, preceded the award of the prize to Sholokhov, was interpreted as an accusation that the Nobel Committee engaged in "political intrigue".

On 21 March 1971, in a letter to Nils K. Staahle, the chairman of the Nobel Foundation, A. I. Solzhenitsyn protested about the explanation given by Mr. Staahle of his reasons for declining to deliver the Nobel lecture, and asked him to make public his real reasons for doing so, namely that Solzhenitsyn "... had found that the very *genre* of a lecture on literature was alien to him—talking about the nature of art, creativity and beauty, and avoiding the expression of broader opinions on life in modern society and its blemishes"; it was for this reason, while not wishing to violate the Nobel tradition, that he had declined to produce a lecture, which the Swedish Academy and the Nobel Foundation had acknowledged his right to do.

On 22 October 1971 Solzhenitsyn sent a letter to Nils K. Staahle and to Karl R. Gierow, the secretary of the

Swedish Academy, in which he expressed his gratitude at the "Press statement" of 7 October 1971 [widely published on 8 October], of which he had been sent a copy, and confirmed the report contained in the statement that in 1970 G. Jarring, the [Swedish] ambassador [in Moscow], had suggested among other possibilities that the Nobel diploma and medal should be presented to Solzhenitsyn in the Swedish Embassy in Moscow—not as part of any ceremony, but in private. As Solzhenitsyn had already stated in his letter to the Nobel Foundation of 27 October 1970,<sup>1</sup> he regarded this proposal as degrading to the Nobel Prize; in the present letter he reiterates this attitude, and requests (in accordance with the rules of the Nobel Foundation) that his Nobel insignia continue to be held in the custody of the Foundation, in the hope that at some future time circumstances will be more favourable to the traditional public Nobel ceremony. He expresses deep regret at "having unwillingly been the cause of additional trouble and inconvenience", such as his correspondents have not experienced with most of his predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky

In connection with the transfer of Vladimir Bukovsky (on his arrest see *Chronicle* No. 19) to the Serbsky Institute for [psychiatric] examination [see *Chronicle* No. 21], a

[1. This letter has never been published.]

[2. Additional clarification: the "Press statement" of 7 October stressed that Solzhenitsyn could choose how to receive his insignia. In a letter to the Norwegian journalist P. E. Hegge, published in the Swedish press on 19 October and in the world press the next day, Solzhenitsyn said he would like the ceremony to take place in Moscow, in public, but doubted the feasibility of this in the near future. His letter of 22 October appears not to have been published. On 29 October the Swedish Academy agreed to have the ceremony in Moscow, and asked the Swedish government if the embassy could be used. When no answer was forthcoming, Solzhenitsyn suggested, in a letter to the Academy published in an A.P. dispatch from Moscow of 23 December, that a private flat be used. On 4 January 1972 the Academy agreed to this, and hoped for a ceremony in the spring.]

group of his friends and acquaintances has addressed an Open Letter<sup>3</sup> to the Director of the Serbsky Institute and to the World Health Organisation. The letter points to Bukovsky's sound mental health, the integrated nature of his personality, his optimism, responsiveness, gentleness and other spiritual qualities bearing witness to his mental stability. It states that to judge Bukovsky to be of unsound mind would be a crime. The letter is signed by 48 people. On 5 October 1971 Academicians M. Leontovich and A. Sakharov associated themselves with the letter.<sup>4</sup> On 4 October V. E. Maksimov, a member of the USSR Union of Writers<sup>5</sup> for whom Bukovsky had worked prior to his arrest, also appealed to G. Morozov, Director of the Serbsky Institute. Describing Bukovsky in moral and practical respects as a model of honour and decency, V. E. Maksimov also stresses his integrated character and mental health. Bukovsky's mother has sent a telegram to the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Paris (with a copy to Madame Pompidou): "I am certain of my son's innocence. I call for all legal means to be exploited in his defence, including personal contacts with the Soviet leaders."<sup>6</sup> At the end of October of this year an Open Appeal to all Human Rights organisations<sup>7</sup> was circulated, pointing out that in violation of the Directives [*Instruktsiya*] governing forensic-psychiatric examinations in the USSR, Bukovsky had been kept in the Serbsky Institute even after the expiry of a second one-month term, and that ever since his arrest (on 29 March 1971, the day before the opening of the 24th party congress) he had been completely isolated from the outside world; in view of the fact that he was in the hands of those very experts whose criminal unscrupulousness he had publicly denounced before the whole world, this gave legitimate cause for concern that Bukovsky might already be

[3. Extracts appeared in many papers on 7 October, 1971. Full text in *Possev*, 10, 1971, pp. 3-4.]

[4. For an extract from their letter of support see the Reuter dispatch of 5 October.]

[5. Author of *Sem dhei tvorenija*, Possev-Verlag, 1971, a 500-page novel. See extracts from his appeal in a Reuter dispatch of 11 October.]

[6. On this telegram see *Le Monde*, Paris, 19 October.]

[7. See brief summary in an A.P. dispatch of 9 November from Moscow.]

undergoing forcible "treatment" undermining his mind and intellect. The authors of the appeal (which bears 53 signatures) call upon all Human Rights organisations and all men of good will to put forward the following demands: (1) the immediate termination of the protracted examination and an official report of its findings to Bukovsky's mother; (2) permission for Bukovsky's mother to visit her son in order to satisfy herself that he is in good health and not being subjected to unlawful acts; (3) the immediate admission to the case, while the investigation is still being carried out, of the lawyer whose services Bukovsky and his mother wish to use. On 7 and 8 November respectively two members of the Committee for Human Rights, Academician A. Sakharov and I. Shafarevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, associated themselves with the appeal; both particularly emphasised their solidarity with Bukovsky's actions, which had been aimed at excluding the possibility of psychiatry being used in the struggle against dissent. [On 5 January Bukovsky received a total of 12 years of imprisonment and exile. See also a new document of his (June 1970) in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, 3 and 10 February 1972.]

#### Materials concerning the forthcoming International Congress of Psychiatrists

On 16 September 1971 the English newspaper *The Times* printed a letter signed by Prof. F. A. Jenner and other English psychiatrists (44 signatures in all) on the subject of V. Bukovsky's appeal to Western psychiatrists, which was published in *The Times* on 12 March. V. Bukovsky had asked them to make a thorough study of the official medical and other documents, which he attached to his letter, dealing with the confinement, mainly in hospital-prisons, of persons who had protested against certain actions of the Soviet government. In his letter (which we quote from *The Times*) Bukovsky wrote: "I realise that at a distance and without the essential clinical information it is very difficult to determine the mental condition of a person, and either to diagnose an illness or assert the absence of any illness. Therefore I ask you to express your

opinion on only this point: do the above-mentioned diagnoses contain enough scientifically-based evidence not only to indicate the mental illnesses described in the diagnoses but also to indicate the necessity of isolating these people completely from society?" Prof. Jenner and his colleagues at the Department of Psychiatry of Sheffield University write that having studied the reports of the examinations of P. Grigorenko, I. Yakhimovich, N. Gorbaneskaya, V. Fainberg, V. Borisov and V. Kuznetsov they "express grave doubts about the legitimacy of compulsory treatment for the six people concerned, and [also about their] indefinite detention in prison mental hospital conditions". "It seems to us", the authors of the letter to the editor go on to say, "that the diagnoses on the six above-mentioned people were made purely in consequence of actions in which they were exercising fundamental freedoms—as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution." And later: "The misuse of psychiatry for political and other ends is, of course, an insidious danger, not only in the USSR, but also elsewhere.

"We also especially hope that the Soviet government will reconsider the case of Vladimir Bukovsky, who acted with courage in making his appeal and who appears to have suffered in consequence. The information we have about him suggests that he is the sort of person who might be embarrassing to authorities in any country because he seems unwilling to compromise for convenience and personal comfort, and believes in saying what he thinks in situations which he clearly knows could endanger him. But such people often have much to contribute, and deserve considerable respect. As he has appealed to us to make some sort of statement on persons—outspoken like himself—whom he believes to be the victims of corrupt psychiatric practice, we feel that to answer with a stony silence would be not only wrong but also inhuman. . . . A deeply disquieting pattern, sometimes involving the punitive and potentially dangerous use of powerful drugs, seems to be emerging in the treatment of dissenters in Soviet mental institutions. We therefore call on our col-

[8. Although only Prof. Jenner's address appeared, his co-signatories in fact came from all over Britain, and a few from abroad.]

leagues throughout the world to study the voluminous material now available, to discuss the matter with their Soviet colleagues, some of whom we know to have doubts as grave as our own, and to raise the issue, as Vladimir Bukovsky requested, at international conferences such as that of the World Psychiatric Association in Mexico City from 28 November to 4 December." [From the original text of the letter. The *Chronicle's* translation contains a few minor inaccuracies.]

On 30 October 1971 a "group of Lithuanian intellectuals" addressed a letter to the International Congress of Psychiatrists. The letter recalls that in the armed struggle against Soviet authority between 1944 and 1953 about 50,000 Lithuanian partisans perished, while the same number died in prison or in exile (in all about 350,000 people were exiled, i.e. one-sixth of the population of Lithuania). Among the political prisoners there were many who were mentally ill, but whom no-one treated. . . .

But now, the letter says, they are beginning to "treat" healthy people. The authors of the letter give the names of several Lithuanians who have been subjected to compulsory treatment in psychiatric hospitals:

Algis Statkevičius, a sociologist, arrested on 18 May 1970 for a number of books described by officials of the KGB as being about "red Fascism" (for a long time he was in the "Lukiski" hospital-prison, and was then transferred to the Vilnius Psychiatric Hospital) [on him see *Chronicle* No. 17 and supplement];

Jablaskus, arrested in 1971 for circulating leaflets (Kaunas Psychiatric Hospital);

Vatslav Sevruk,<sup>9</sup> not admitted to the entrance examinations for the philosophy graduate school of Vilnius University because of a "mania for Marxism and truth-seeking";

A teacher [name unknown] of Lithuanian language and literature, director of studies at a Birzai [100 m. N of Vilnius] secondary school, arrested in June 1971 and at present held in a psychiatric hospital for writing a book

[9. See extracts in the *Baltimore Sun*, Baltimore, 20 November 1971.]

[10. See summary of his 200-page autobiography in *Chronicle* 15, Possev: *Shestoi spetsialnyi vypusk*, February 1971, p. 24.]

on the struggle of the Lithuanian partisans, which he attempted to send abroad.

\* \* \*

On 24 October 1971 *Izvestia* printed an article by K. Bryantsev<sup>11</sup> entitled "False friends in the quagmire of slander", in which the idea that mentally healthy people are placed in psychiatric hospitals in the Soviet Union is maintained to be a "slanderous fabrication". An anonymous reply to this article has appeared in *samizdat*. The author of the reply is satisfied that there were no grounds for the diagnoses made on V[aleria] Novodvorskaya and Zh[ores] Medvedev (see *Chronicle* Nos. 13, 14). "All the other reports of forensic-psychiatric examinations which . . . specialists have managed to study", writes the author, "similarly contain no serious scientific arguments, while their descriptive sections contain facts which have often been extremely crudely manipulated." The unscrupulousness of the examinations, in the opinion of the author, is the result on the one hand of interference by the organs of investigation, and on the other—of the dominance in Soviet psychiatry of the "Snezhnevsky theories", which are thought by a number of eminent Soviet psychiatrists to be "completely unscientific and fantastic". These theories, writes the author, "can be concisely defined as an unlimited expansion in the diagnostics of a disease, the symptoms of which are highly uncertain and which has acquired the name of 'schizophrenia'".

"The triumph of Snezhnevsky's theories" (Prof. A. V. Snezhnevsky, Director of the Institute of Psychiatry of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and a full member of the Academy, "practically holds a monopoly of the entire science of psychiatry in the USSR") "was secured in the early fifties after the so-called 'Pavlov session' of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Academy of Medical Sciences, which was followed by crude administrative

[11. Bryantsev also wrote the article "Under the mask of falsehood" (*Izvestia*, 19 April 1971), which dealt with the arrest and deportation of the Belgians Hemschoote and Sebreghts. See *Chronicle* 20, p. 255, for a summary of an as yet unpublished booklet by V. Chalidze, in which he replies to this article.]

repressions against the most eminent Soviet scientists on charges of 'anti-Pavlovian activities'.

"The result of Snejnevsky's uncontrolled hegemony over Soviet psychiatry has been his creation of a 'school' —a multitude of medical practitioners, including forensic-psychiatric experts, who in defiance of the obvious, and in spite of the psychiatric experience of centuries, diagnose 'schizophrenia' when there are absolutely no grounds for doing so."

#### News from the Mordovian Camps and Vladimir Prison

From 7 to 14 August Yury Vudka (camp No. 19) carried out a hunger-strike; the reason for the strike was the administration's ban on anyone having a Bible in the camp [on Vudka see *Chronicle* Nos. 12, 14, 18].

\* \* \*

From 21 to 23 August the following carried out a hunger-strike in Vladimir prison: V[alery E.] Ronkin [see *Chronicle* No. 18], L[ev B.] Kvachevsky [Nos. 1, 3, 5, 18 and others], A[natoly] Rodygin [Nos. 4, 11, 18], V[alery] Vudka [Nos. 12, 14, 18] and B[oris] Shilkrot [No. 14 and the *Supplement* to No. 17] (it is not known when he was brought to Vladimir from Mordovia). The strike was timed to coincide with the anniversary of the sending of troops into Czechoslovakia.

\* \* \*

Another hunger-strike took place in Dubrovlag camp No. 19 in September, in connection with the groundless transfer to Vladimir prison of Alexander Romanov (on him see the *Supplement* to *Chronicle* No. 17; he was convicted in the "Saratov case" [see No. 12]). The participants in the strike were A[natoly] Altman [see *Chronicle* No. 17], Yu. Vudka, M[ikhail] Kapranov [No. 13], S. Khakhayev, I. Cherdynsev, M[ikhail] Shepshelevich [No. 18 and the *Supplement* to No. 17] and others—fourteen people in all.

\* \* \*

Several people carried out a hunger-strike in Dubrovlag

camp No. 3 in September; the reason was the arbitrary curtailment of visits.

\* \* \*

From 10 to 12 September a hunger-strike was carried out in Dubrovlag camp No. 17 in protest at deliberate offences against prisoners' relatives (the illegal curtailment of personal visits [a system enabling wives to spend 2-3 days with their husbands in private], parcels and so on). The participants included N. Bondar,<sup>12</sup> Gennady V. Gavrilov [see *Chronicle* Nos. 11, 15 and the *Supplement* to No. 17], Yu[ry] Galanskov, S[emyon A.] Grilyus [No. 14], N[ikolai V.] Ivanov [Nos. 17, 18], J[oseph] Mendelevich [No. 17], A. Chekhovskoi and G[ilel] Shur [No. 14].

\* \* \*

In September the Latvian Gunars Rode (of the "Baltic Federation" case<sup>13</sup>) was taken seriously ill in Vladimir prison. For seven days he was given no medical attention; only after his comrades had carried out a protest hunger-strike was he taken to the prison hospital, where he was operated upon. The diagnosis: twisted bowels. G. Rode was discharged a week after the operation and placed on general rations, for which a diet was not substituted until some time later.

\* \* \*

In September, by means of a hunger-strike, Leonid Borodin [see *Chronicle* Nos. 1, 11, 18] (Vladimir prison) secured a transfer from a cell which he had been sharing with Tarasov, a prisoner who is mentally ill. Since his hunger-strike Borodin, who suffers from a stomach ulcer, has not been receiving dietetic rations.

\* \* \*

[12. A former university teacher in the Ukraine, according to a Reuter dispatch of 9 December 1971.]

[13. On this case see the "Register of People Sentenced in the 1960's", an important *samizdat* document containing extensive details on 97 political prisoners, including many of their home addresses, in *Possev: Devyatyi spetsialnyi vypusk*, Frankfurt, October 1971, pp. 45-51. This Register includes many of the prisoners mentioned in this section of *Chronicle* 22.]

The health of Silva Zalmanson [see *Chronicle* Nos. 17, 18] has deteriorated sharply: her deafness and blindness are becoming progressively worse.<sup>14</sup> At present she is in the camp hospital.

\* \* \*

In September camp No. 17-a was visited by a commission consisting of: Sokolov, a secretary of the Moscow City party committee; [N. I.] Funtov, an official of the USSR Procuracy; B. N. Toporin, Doctor of jurisprudence; A. I. Kosachev, a senior lecturer at Moscow University; A. I. Arkhipov, an officer of the Institute of Economics; a foreman from the "Ball-bearing" factory (name unknown); and P. P. Bardov, an official of the KGB.

The members of the commission interviewed political prisoners G. V. Gavrilov, Yu. T. Galanskov, N. V. Ivanov, V. K. Pavlenkov [see *Chronicle* No. 13] and Yu. I. Fyodorov [see No. 12] (who was returned to the camp from Vladimir prison this year). The subject of the interview was the early release of the above-mentioned prisoners. The political prisoners demanded complete legal exculpation.

\* \* \*

V. Simokaitis (on him see *Chronicle* No. 18) has arrived in camp ZhKh 385/3. At the beginning of April 1971 Simokaitis was transferred from the death-cell of a prison in Lithuania to Lefortovo (in Moscow), where he spent about three months. At the beginning of July 1971 the death sentence was commuted to fifteen years of strict-régime camps. It is of interest that Western [press] agencies reported this as an accomplished fact in mid-January [and also that *Chronicle* 18 did so on 5 March].

\* \* \*

The Lithuanian sailor Simas Kudirka, convicted of attempting to flee from a Soviet ship to an American

[14. Reuter and U.P.I. dispatches of 26 November 1971 reported that her brother Samuel, supported by 67 others, had asked President Podgorny for her release and for permission for her to leave for Israel]

vessel (see *Chronicle* Nos. 18-20), is in Dubrovlag camp No. 3. He was recently deprived of the right to use the camp shop for refusing to attend political instruction. In September Kudirka was interviewed by members of a "delegation of the Lithuanian public", which was visiting various Dubrovlag camps. They insisted that Kudirka acknowledge himself to be an ordinary criminal [i.e. not a political], threatening that otherwise they would present him in the Lithuanian press as an immoral individual.

\* \* \*

By the beginning of October 1971 the following participants in "Jewish trials" [see *Chronicles* 17, 20] were in the Mordovian camps:<sup>15</sup>

No. 3: S. Dreizner,<sup>16</sup> V. Zalmanson,<sup>20</sup> I. Zalmanson,<sup>16</sup> S. Levit,<sup>19</sup> V. Mogilyover.<sup>17</sup>

No. 3 (women's): S. Zalmanson,<sup>16</sup> R. Alexandrovich<sup>18</sup> (released on 7 October).

No. 17: A. Voloshin,<sup>19</sup> L. Khnokh,<sup>16</sup> A. Shpilberg.<sup>18</sup>

No. 17-a: J. Mendelevich,<sup>16</sup> G. Shur.<sup>19</sup>

No. 19: A. Altman,<sup>16</sup> A. Galperin,<sup>19</sup> A. Goldfeld,<sup>19</sup> L. Kaminsky,<sup>17</sup> Kh. Kizhner,<sup>19</sup> L. Korenblit,<sup>17</sup> B. Penson,<sup>16</sup> M. Shepselovich,<sup>18</sup> L. Yagman.<sup>17</sup>

No. 10 (special-régime): E. Kuznetsov,<sup>16</sup> A. Murzhenko,<sup>16</sup> Yu. Fyodorov.<sup>16</sup>

M. Bodnya<sup>16</sup> is also in Mordovia, but in an "ordinary" [i.e. for non-politicals] hard-régime camp.

\* \* \*

On 1 November 1971 A. Osipov, head of the Directorate of ZhKh 385 (Dubrovlag) [i.e. of the whole complex of 15 camps], rejected a petition by the mother of E. Kuz-

[15. For the lay-out of 15 camps along a 30-mile railway line see the map in M. Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, reprinted in Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*.]

[16. Convicted at the Leningrad trial of the "hi-jackers". December 1970.]

[17. Convicted at the Leningrad trial of persons connected with the "aeroplane affair", May 1971.]

[18. Convicted at the Riga "trial of the four", May 1971.]

[19. Convicted at the Kishinyov "trial of the nine", June 1971.]

[20. Convicted by a Leningrad Military Tribunal, January 1971.]

netsov, Zinaida Vasilevna Kuznetsova, who had asked for her son to be allowed to see his wife S. Zalmanson, who is in another camp in the same complex. According to his régime Kuznetsov is allowed one personal and one general visit per year. Since Z. V. Kuznetsova is seriously ill in an invalids' home (she recently suffered a stroke and is almost completely paralysed) and is therefore unable to visit her son herself, she submitted her petition on 18 September 1971 to the Chief Directorate of Penal Institutions at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Her request was passed on to Osipov, head of ZhKh 385, who rejected it.

#### Material from the Regional Press

*Odessa*. On 6 March 1971 the newspaper *Banner of Communism* published an article (signed by I. Petrenko) entitled "Whose side are you on, Strokataya?", which reported that Nina Antonovna Strokataya, the wife of Svyatoslav Karavansky (see *Chronicle* Nos. 7, 13, 15),<sup>21</sup> who is at present serving a second term in Vladimir prison, had intended to defend her dissertation at the Central Scientific Research Laboratory of the Odessa Medical Institute, where she worked as a junior research officer (she has now been dismissed). But her plans were thwarted by the vigilance of the Odessa medical scientists, who interpreted as a call for action a separate decision of the Judicial Collegium of the Vladimir Regional Court, in which it drew "the attention of the Rectorate of the Odessa Medical Institute to a number of facts, in order that measures might be taken to exert social pressure on Strokataya N. A. with the object of instilling in her a sense of high patriotic duty as a citizen of the USSR". These facts were that "Strokataya . . . , despite having known for a long time of the anti-Soviet activities of her husband Karavansky, maintained contact with him by letter and by visiting him, taking no steps to influence him to cease his anti-Soviet activity, but in fact encouraging

[21. See also V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, Toronto, 1968, pp. 166-221, and M. Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, *passim*.]

this activity by her conduct". The author of the article endorses the actions of the Rector of the Odessa Medical Institute, who prevented Strokataya's dissertation from making any further progress when she refused to repudiate her husband. The author accused her of complicity and threatens: "It is not yet too late—choose which side you are to be on. Time waits for no man".<sup>22</sup>

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*Simferopol* [Crimea]. An article entitled "The Maligners" in *Crimean Pravda* on 17 October 1971, written by E. Pervomaiskaya and I. Nekrasov, reports on two very similar trials: in both cases (in Sevastopol and Kerch) the main defendants were "anonymous letter-writers" (in the first case—I. N. Slishevsky, in the second—N. I. Yabbenko), who had been prosecuted for slandering Soviet authority, but judged by forensic-psychiatric examinations to be of unsound mind and placed in psychiatric hospitals. In both cases, however, their accomplices (in Sevastopol—N. A. Nezdiiminoga, in Kerch—B. P. Chakovskikh) were sentenced to four years of strict-régime corrective-labour camps (in the former case to be followed by three years' exile); the newspaper does not indicate the articles [of the Criminal Code] under which the accused were convicted, but the additional penalty—exile—suggests article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code [anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda]. Both cases involved witnesses who were not prosecuted (in Sevastopol—T. Zablotskaya, in Kerch—workers A. D. Kutishchev, V. I. Obnorsky, G. E. Ponomaryov and V. F. Boichenko), who according to Pervomaiskaya and Nekrasov, the authors of the article, should "pass sentence on themselves, acting in accordance with the laws of a citizen's and a worker's conscience".

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*Samarkand* [Uzbekistan]. In September 1971, under the heading "From the court-room", the regional newspaper

[22. A Reuter dispatch of 11 December reported her arrest on 8 December at Odessa airport after her return from Nalchik.]

published Yu. Kruzhilin's article "We will not be slandered" (sub-titled "The Samarkand People's Court hears the case of an anonymous letter-writer at an assize session held at the club of the City Catering Concern"). The Judge was E. I. Doduyev, the prosecutor—A. K. Aleksanyants [Assistant Procurator of Samarkand], defence counsel—I. B. Betman; the indictment was under article 191-4 of the Uzbek Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code). The article goes on to relate that in February 1970 [in fact: 1971] a certain Emilia Trakhtenberg sent a letter to the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and in March a letter to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which she wrote of the oppressed circumstances of the Jews and of the absence of the right to emigrate to Israel. The court judged these letters to be libellous, but how Trakhtenberg's letters, addressed to the highest authorities, fell into the hands of the court—this the author of the article does not say. "The sentence is three years. Someone says: 'Too little.' No, not too little—just fair", comments Yu. Kruzhilin.

Emilia Ruvimovna Trakhtenberg was born in Kiev. Her father was an artist, her mother a doctor. They were both killed at Baby Yar [by the Germans]. After graduating from pedagogical institute E. Trakhtenberg worked as librarian in a school, and later as director of a children's library. In his article Yu. Kruzhilin compares the Hitlerite murderers of Baby Yar with E. Trakhtenberg, who in the opinion of the author had been preaching national exclusivity.

#### The Movement to Leave for Israel

On 16 September a group of 36 Moscow Jews went to the premises of the Central Committee and handed in a letter demanding to be received by a member of the Politbureau, in order to discuss the question of emigration to Israel. The letter quoted instances of the violation of legality. Tikhomirov, head of the Central Committee office [see *Chronicle* 20, p. 249], promised to give an answer the following day. On 17 September representatives of the group were told that the letter had been passed on to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but they continued to insist

on being received on the premises of the Central Committee.

On 20 September five members of the group<sup>23</sup> were received by A. I. Ivanov, an official of the Central Committee staff [a section chief in the Administrative Organs Department]; General [T.M.] Shukayev, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, and Colonel Ovchinnikov (of the Department of Visas and Registrations) were also present.<sup>24</sup>

Those who had been received stated that they had not come for a decision on their own individual cases. They said: "We consider that Jews have the right to leave for Israel whether or not they have been sent invitations by friends or relatives". In cases where invitations had been sent, they had often failed to reach those to whom they were addressed; and Jews who had submitted applications to leave were subjected to extra-judicial persecution. As a rule this began with the "problem", which defied common sense, of obtaining references from one's place of work. The consideration of applications submitted was subject to arbitrary delay. There were many unsubstantiated refusals.

A. I. Ivanov stated: "Since March 1971 hundreds of Jews have left the Soviet Union for Israel, but the question of emigration must be decided in each individual case by representatives of the Soviet state, taking the interests of the state into account—a 'brain drain', for example, would be inadmissible".

Representatives of the MVD gave assurances that organs of the Ministry would help to eliminate difficulties in obtaining references, and agreed that the anti-Semitic atmosphere at meetings held to discuss applications to emigrate was intolerable.

Ivanov gave a warning that any collective actions would be regarded as attempts to exert pressure on the state, and could only complicate the resolution of the problem. In any case the power to decide questions of emigration was vested in the MVD, and there was therefore no point

[23. Two of them were Gavriel Shapiro and the literary historian Pavel Goldshtein, who was dismissed from his post at the Main Literary Museum on 1 October 1971.]

[24. A 1,900-word *samizdat* summary of this 2½-hour meeting was reported in various press dispatches from Moscow of 6 October.]

in pestering all governmental departments.

The Jews taking part in the discussion pointed out that the right to appeal to any governmental or party body on any subject was guaranteed by law.

On 28 September a statement signed by 120 Jews from Moscow, Riga and Vilnius was submitted to the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the party. It expressed complete dissatisfaction with the "explanations" given by A. I. Ivanov; the signatories to the statement again insisted on being received by a member of the Politbureau or of the Central Committee secretariat. There has been no reply to the statement.

On 25 October, 92 residents of Moscow, Gurzuf [Crimea], Vilnius, Riga, Kaunas [Lithuania], Leningrad and Kisbinyov [Moldavia] submitted a statement to the Politbureau, pointing out that during the preceding one-and-a-half months no changes had been made in the direction of eliminating the violations of legality listed in previous letters.

At mid-day the authors of the statement approached the premises of the Central Committee reception room and submitted the statement. Immediately after submitting it they were apprehended, placed in buses and taken away to sobering-up station No. 9 at the *Volkovskaya* metro station. About four hours later questioning began. They were all accused of petty hooliganism (hampering the work of government bodies and non-compliance with the demands of the police). All those questioned refused to sign records of the interrogations and protested at the charge made against them. Shortly afterwards all the Jews were released, with the exception of those from the Baltic; these were taken to the railway station and despatched to their places of residence.<sup>25</sup>

On 17 October 1971 the film director Mikhail Kalik [on him see *Chronicle* No. 18] returned to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet the "Medal of Honour" decoration, which he had been awarded on 8 June 1960 for services to the development of Soviet cinematography. In a letter addressed to Podgorny, Kalik writes: "... My attempts to capture on the screen the national character

[25. For further accounts of this episode and extracts from the statement see *The Times*, 26 and 30 October 1971, and Reuter and U.P.I. dispatches of 25 October.]

of my long-suffering people, the subjects and themes associated with their life and history, have met with indifference, incomprehension and on occasion even malice . . . Regarding this as immoral, I decided to realise my creative plans further in the land of my fathers, with which I have never lost spiritual contact. Almost a year ago I submitted documents for emigration to the State of Israel—on the basis of the Soviet constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights. But I met with arbitrary official behaviour, deceit, and even an attempt to fabricate a criminal charge against me . . . I am returning my decoration to you as a vigorous protest against tyranny, as a sign of my unshakable will to continue the struggle for my rights as a man, as an artist and as a Jew". [On 14 November Kalik's efforts succeeded and he left for Israel.]

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The *Chronicle* is in possession of a transcript of a meeting, held on 26 October 1971, of the Department of Higher Mathematics of the Kuibyshev Institute of Engineering and Construction in Moscow. On the agenda was the question of giving a reference to OVIR [the Department of Visas and Registration of the M.V.D.] for a member of the department—V. A. Gaukhman, senior lecturer and Master of physico-mathematical sciences.<sup>26</sup>

These brief excerpts from the speeches of V. A. Gaukhman's colleagues do not require comment:

"He has committed an anti-patriotic, anti-Soviet act deserving the severest condemnation . . . an act incompatible with the exalted title of lecturer at an institute of higher education" (Prof. S. Ya. Khavinson, Doctor of physico-mathematical sciences, Head of Department).<sup>27</sup>  
"The mainstay of his position is nationalism. It is well-known that nationalism leads to fascism and ends with gas-chambers and crematoria" (V. V. Zorin). "This act re-echoes the murderous shots at children on the premises of the Soviet delegation to the UN" (L. Ya. Tslaf). And one woman present at the meeting: "I consider that V. A. Gaukhman's action displays high principles, honesty and civic courage".

[26. See four of his articles in *Doklady AN SSSR*, 1961-62.]

[27. See twelve of his articles in *ibid.*, 1958-67.]

V. A. Gaukman's reply was as follows: "I am a Jew, I wish to live among my people in the Jewish state and to share in constructive labour for the good of my motherland . . . My heart and my conscience tell me that I must live and work in Israel, in my historic and national motherland."

The meeting made the following decisions: (1) Angry to condemn V. A. Gaukman's action as anti-patriotic and anti-Soviet, (2) To dismiss V. A. Gaukman from his job as an ideologically alien element, and to petition for him to be stripped of the title of senior lecturer and teacher. (3) Unanimously to expel him from the trade union.

#### Appeals in Defence of Human Rights

On 24 October Pyotr Yakir addressed a letter to G. Pompidou and L. I. Brezhnev,<sup>28</sup> expressing his belief that the Paris talks would lead to further progress in the consolidation of peace on earth and in relations between France and the USSR. P. Yakir then expresses his opinion that one of the obstacles to mutual understanding and respect is the persecution of dissenters in the USSR, which he describes as a survival of the Stalin period which could be eradicated on the firm basis of the resolutions of the 20th party congress [of 1956]. "It is all the more painful," he says at the end of the letter, "to be aware that hundreds of our contemporaries are forced to endure the frightful conditions of prisons and camps only because their political and philosophical beliefs are at variance with the official line." In a postscript the author of the letter lists the names of persons known to him who are at present in prisons, camps, exile and psychiatric hospital-prisons for their political beliefs. He also mentions K. Bryantsev's article "False friends in the quagmire of slander" in *Izvestia*, 23 October 1971,<sup>29</sup> "which attempts to justify the vicious ways used to confine healthy people in psychiatric hospitals for their beliefs"; in this connection he expresses doubt about the possibility of an objective psychiatric

[28. See extracts also in a *New York Times* dispatch of 25 October.]

[29. I.e. the evening Moscow edition, which is distributed abroad carrying the date of a day later, in this case 24 October.]

examination of V. Bukovsky (see *Chronicle* No. 18 and the present issue), and on whether Bukovsky and N. Emelkina (see *Chronicle* No. 20), who acted in defence of Bukovsky and other political prisoners in the USSR, could possibly be acquitted.<sup>30</sup>

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*Appeal by V. Chalidze to the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.* Analysing the circumstances surrounding the arrest of J. Zdebskis, the author comes to the conclusion that the actions of Zdebskis, a Roman Catholic priest (see *Chronicle* No. 21 and [News in Brief in] the present issue), did not infringe any of the laws in force in the Soviet Union, while his arrest, on the other hand, not only violated the Convention on the Struggle against Discrimination in the Field of Education, which the USSR has ratified, but was also a criminally punishable act within the terms of article 145 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code [which penalizes obstruction of the performance of religious rites]. The author expresses the hope that "the Presidium will study the national and international guarantees of the rights of believers, and exercise its right to quash the prosecution of Zdebskis".

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*Letter from Chalidze to René Maillot, Director-General of UNESCO.* In connection with his letter in defence of J. Zdebskis, V. Chalidze informs Maillot that experience has convinced him "of the absence in the USSR of an effective procedure for applying the norms of this Convention to the examination of local cases" and asks for elucidation of "the measures taken by the Soviet Union to safeguard legislatively and administratively the rights proclaimed by the Convention" and of "the consultative methods open to UNESCO to assist individual countries in taking steps to implement those rights"; he expresses the hope that such elucidation will help him "to make

[30. She was sentenced to five years' exile on 24 November, and arrived in the central Siberian town of Eniseisk on 16 January 1972.]

more competent attempts to promote further progress in this field" (24 October 1971).

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*Letter from V. Chalidze* to the Ukrainian Supreme Court on the case of Reiza Palatnik.<sup>31</sup> Pointing out that the sentence of the Odessa court in the case of R. Palatnik (see *Chronicle* Nos. 17, 20) was based on the fact that certain works by A. Akhmatova, L. Chukovskaya, A. Galich and O. Mandelshtam were judged to be criminal, the author puts this question to the Ukrainian Supreme Court: "Will you confirm an unjust sentence, or will you acquit R. Palatnik, Mandelshtam, Akhmatova? . . ." (31 July 1971).

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*Press statement by V. Chalidze.* The statement announces that "in the first half of 1971 the Committee for Human Rights in Moscow studied a number of documents on the problem of the rights of persons judged to be mentally ill, *viz.* a report by R[oy] Medvedev [brother of Zhores; see *Chronicle* No. 14] and the comments of A. Volpin and V. Chalidze". "The Committee considers it essential to take account in a constructive way of the vagueness of the concept of mental illness when applying normative procedures for restricting the rights of such persons." "The Committee noted that inadequate guarantees of the rights of the mentally ill create the danger of Human Rights being violated with the object of discrediting unorthodox scientific, social, political and philosophical ideas by judging the originators of such ideas to be mentally ill." The Committee has appealed to a number of Soviet organisations and to the Fifth World Congress of Psychiatrists<sup>32</sup> to do all they can to improve the guarantees of the rights under discussion. The state-

[31. Her sister Katya reported in a letter to Golda Meir and the UN Human Rights Commission that she had recently carried out a 5-day hunger-strike in protest at the terrible sanitary conditions and the anti-semitism in her camp. See a UPI dispatch of 10 December 1971.]

[32. Text of appeal in *The Times*, 23 October 1971.]

ment reports that all the Committee's documents mentioned in it are published in issue No. 11 of the [unofficial] journal "Social Problems" (see *Chronicle* No. 21). (10 September 1971).<sup>33</sup>

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*Open Appeal by A. D. Sakharov* to members of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The author recalls "the tragic events arising in connection with the difficulties in leaving the USSR experienced by citizens who wish to emigrate to another country, and the legal, social, psychological and political aspects of this problem", the heavy sentences passed in the cases "of those who, having lost all hope of achieving their ambitions within the framework of the law, resolve to break it in one way or another" (in this connection he mentions the Leningrad case of the attempted hi-jacking of an aeroplane, the case of Simas Kudirka [see *Chronicle* Nos. 18-22] and the case of Dmitry Mikheyev and the Swiss national François de Perrégaux [see *Chronicle* No. 21, also *Possev* 10, 1971, pp. 8-9]) and the fact that persons wishing to emigrate find themselves in the position of "second-class" citizens in matters concerning the exercise of their rights (here the cases of R. Palatnik and V. Kukui are mentioned). He calls on the recipients of the Appeal to show initiative in seeking [1] a solution to this problem in a democratic spirit, [2] the amendment of the article of the Criminal Code dealing with betrayal of the fatherland, in such a way as to preclude the unwarranted expansion of this concept, [3] an amnesty for all citizens convicted in connection with attempts to leave the country, and [4] the release from compulsory treatment in mental hospitals of persons placed in them for the same reason.<sup>34</sup>

*On 24 October 1971 V. Chalidze wrote to Shchelokov,*

[33. The *Chronicle* editors appear to have overlooked that a similar summary of this statement appeared in No. 21, pp. 278-9. Nos. 1-8 of "Social Problems" will be published soon by the International Institute for the Rights of Man. Strasbourg, and no. 11 will also soon appear. Other issues have not yet reached the west.]

[34. See full text of this appeal in *Possev* 10, 1971, p. 5, and slightly abbreviated translation in the *International Herald Tribune*, Paris, 11 October.]

USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, asking him to explain to Garkushov, commandant of camp ZhKh-385/17a (Ozyorniy settlement), Colonel Platonov, who carried out an inspection of the camp in the summer of this year, and Sergeant Kashirsky that according to the Constitution citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of worship, that this term must obviously be understood to include the performance of all the ritual and ethical ordinances of one's religion, and that citizens may be restricted in this respect only if they violate public order or encroach upon the rights of others. Chalidze made this appeal after receiving a letter from prisoner [Joseph] Mendelevich [see *Chronicles* 17, 19-21], which said that on 27 July, after Platonov and Garkushov had expressed displeasure at the fact that Mendelevich wore a skull-cap, Kashirsky had torn the skull-cap from his head. Chalidze's letter draws attention to a number of other instances of the infringement of prisoners' rights in connection with their desire to perform religious rituals (in particular, restrictions on their receiving religious books). Though remarking that in his reasoning he prefers to employ legal arguments, Chalidze nevertheless considers it worthwhile also to refer "to considerations of social usefulness: the basic aim of Soviet penal policy is the re-education of the prisoner. With this in mind, it is clear that an uncultured person (or institution) can have no claim to the authority of an educator. But the ability to respect the beliefs and ethical standards of others is a fundamental mark of culture. It is doubtful whether convicts being educated will regard an administrator as a cultured man if he is incapable of recognising the right (and religious obligation) of a Jew to wear a skull-cap, of a Moslem to cover his face with a cloth while sleeping, should solitude be unattainable, of a Christian to wear a cross, and so on. Any constructive steps in defence of the right of prisoners to practise their religion", V. Chalidze concludes his letter, "would be wise and humane, and would conform to international legal recommendations (see, for example, the *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*, a resolution of a UN Congress,<sup>35</sup> 1955.)"

[35. I.e. UN Document A/CONF/6/1, Annex I.A., endorsed by UNESCO on 31 July 1957. See *Everyman's United Nations*. New York, 1964, p. 297.]

#### News in Brief

On 27 January 1971 *Ostap Pastukh*, a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature, was arrested in the village of Petrichi in the Busk District of the Lvov Region. The following is known of O. Pastukh: he is about 40, a graduate of the Philology Faculty of Lvov University, married (his wife is a teacher of Russian in the same village) with two children. In 1967 Pastukh was arrested on being denounced by the headmaster of the school in the village of Nakrashe, where he was working at the time. Pastukh's arrest was due to certain remarks and attitudes which had struck the headmaster as nationalistic. A case was fabricated against Pastukh under article 166 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (exceeding one's authority or official powers). He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and banned from teaching for five years.

But the appeal court quashed the sentence.

On 28 January a search of Pastukh's home was carried out, nothing being found or confiscated. He was indicted under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code). At first the investigation was conducted by investigator Yaresko of the Lvov KGB. . .

On 21 April 1971 *Semyon Korolchuk*, born 1930, a resident of Lvov and a gynaecologist at the Institute for Maternity and Child Protection, was arrested in connection with the same case. The KGB first took an interest in Korolchuk in 1967, in connection with the case of the UNF (Ukrainian National Front [see *Chronicle* 17, pp. 64-66]). How the accused are conducting themselves is unknown.<sup>36</sup> (Excerpts from the *Ukrainian Herald* [the Ukrainian equivalent of the *Chronicle*], No. 5).

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During the night of 29-30 April 1971 the yellow and blue flag (of the Ukrainian People's Republic [of 1917-20]) appeared on a water-tower in the town of Novy Rozdol [in [36. Korolchuk was later sentenced to 4 years of strict-régime camps, under article 62 of the Ukrainian Code, for circulating samizdat, including works by V. Moroz,—according to information in *Ukrainsky samostiyky*, Munich, 1971, No 10.]

Lvov Region]. The flag was removed only at mid-day on 30 April. Next day *Pyotr Medved*, aged 18, an apprentice fitter from the Rozdol Mining Combine, was arrested.

P. Medved is being held in the KGB prison in Lvov. He is being pressed to confess that it was he who hung up the flag. When visited by his mother Pyotr complained that he was being beaten. (*Ukrainian Herald*, No. 5.)

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#### The trial of the Hutsul<sup>37</sup> *Nikolai Supenyuk*.

The trial was held on 27 July 1969 in the District Court in the village of Verkhovina (Ivano-Frankovsk Region). The indictment was under article 187-3 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-3 of the Russian Code). Nikolai Alekseyevich Supenyuk, born 1899, resident of the village of Bystritsy, is an illiterate collective farmer. He was "accused of organising a mob of people in Bystritsy with the object of illegally opening a church on 2 February 1969". (Supenyuk was a member of the Church Council.) The court sentenced Supenyuk to one year of ordinary-régime corrective-labour camps. He pleaded not guilty. (*Ukrainian Herald* No. 5.)

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Kiev. On 28 May *Anatoly Ivanovich Lupynis*, born 1937, was arrested. This was the second time he had been arrested. He was first sentenced in 1956 by the Ukrainian Supreme Court to six years of strict-régime corrective-labour camps under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (article 70 of the Russian Code). In Dubrovlag [in Mordovia] he received an additional sentence of four years (it is not known why). He was released in 1967. He returned home in an extremely grave condition, accompanied by a camp doctor. He was registered as a group 1 invalid (paralysis of the legs). Until his second arrest he worked as an administrator for the regional section of the Musical and Choral Society.

On 22 May Lupynis recited poetry at a meeting at the

[37. I.e. a man from the Hutsul region of the Carpathians, in S.W. Ukraine.]

Shevchenko memorial in Kiev, held to mark the hundredth anniversary of the return of the poet's remains from Petersburg to his homeland. A week later he was arrested. The indictment was again under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. During a search only works by Lupynis himself were confiscated. In October he was sent to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry (Moscow) for in-patient forensic-psychiatric examination. He was judged to be of unsound mind. The diagnosis was schizophrenia.

The investigation is being conducted by Berestovsky, senior investigator of the Republican KGB, and investigator Prokhorenko. Two witnesses have testified that Lupynis gave them works by [Academician] Sakharov to read. Photocopies of articles by Sakharov, taken from KGB archives, have been attached to the case. The trial is expected to take place at the beginning of December.

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#### *Prienai (Lithuania)*

The arrest on 26 August 1971 of the priest *Juozas Zdebskis* (see *Chronicle* No. 21) for preparing children for the First Communion provoked protests by the parents of the children and other believers. Two letters of protest were sent, one to the Central Committee of the party, the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR (2,000 signatures, 19 September 1971),<sup>38</sup> the other to the Procurators-General of the USSR and Lithuania and to the Party Control Committee attached to the Central Committee (400 signatures). The letters complain about the impossibility of obtaining religious literature and of preparing children for their First Communion, about the shortage of priests, and about other violations of the law regarding freedom of conscience. The children's parents state that Zdebskis had instructed the children at their request. V. Chalidze has also acted in defence of J. Zdebskis (see the present issue of the *Chronicle*).

On 26 September Catholics of another Lithuanian parish in Santaika (Alitus District) sent a letter signed by 1,190 people to L. I. Brezhnev.<sup>39</sup> It says, *inter alia*: "All this

[38. Summarised in a *New York Times* dispatch dated 26 September.]

[39. Summarised in AP and Reuter dispatches of 22 October.]

distresses us and engenders mistrust of the line taken by the government. No sooner had the priest A. Seskevičius, convicted for carrying out his spiritual duties, been released from a camp than the vicar Juozas Zdebskis was arrested in Prienai for preparing children, brought by their parents, for their First Communion. If his action is considered to be a crime, then freedom of conscience and worship remains a mere dream. . . .

"We Catholics have no prayer-books, and are forced to use old and tattered copies. Three years ago the authorities, as if mocking us, issued a pitifully small number of prayer-books,—yet every Catholic is obliged to possess a good one. We do not even have the Holy Scriptures to read!

"We deeply regret that Catholics are subject to discrimination in the same way as negroes suffer at the hands of racists. . . ."

The trial of Juozas Zdebskis took place at the end of October. The sentence of the court was one year of corrective-labour camps (the details are as yet unknown).<sup>40</sup>

*Moscow.* On 21 September a search was carried out at the home of *Sergei Grigorevich Myuge*.<sup>41</sup> The reason for the search, judging by the nature of the interrogations which Myuge underwent on 4 and 5 October, was the testimony of R. Fin, who had been arrested previously (see the present issue of the *Chronicle*). During the search a large amount of *samizdat* literature was confiscated. On 4 October Myuge was required to give an undertaking not to leave the city, as he was suspected of possessing and circulating libellous literature. S. Myuge, a biologist, was disabled in the war; he was arrested in 1949 and legally exculpated in 1956. In the middle of October S. Myuge sent a letter to V.V. Gagarsky, senior investigator of the Moscow Regional Procuracy, protesting at the charges which were being brought against him.

*Ashkhabad* [Turkmenia]. The Turkmenian poetess

[40. Agency dispatches of 26 November reported that 600 Catholics demonstrated outside Zdebskis's trial, that he had been severely beaten after his arrest, and that Fr. P. Bubnis of Raseiniai had also received a one-year sentence.]

[41. Myuge is a biologist who specialises in phytopathology and has published numerous learned articles, e.g., in *Doklady AN SSSR*, 1957, t. 115, No. 6.]

*Annasoltan Kekilova* (who has had three books published and whose songs have often been broadcast on the radio) twice wrote letters to the 24th party congress and the Central Committee of the party, in which she criticised shortcomings in Turkmenia. The repression she suffered in consequence of this (she was deprived of work and the publication of her books was stopped) led her to submit a renunciation of Soviet citizenship. On 26 August Kekilova was forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital. In a letter to the Central Committee of the party her mother, O. Seidova, states that her daughter is absolutely healthy and has never been registered with a psychiatrist.

O. Seidova also sent a statement<sup>42</sup> to the international section of the Central Committee of the party (to a certain "Comrade Nikolayev"; a copy was sent to Andropov Chairman of the KGB) setting out the circumstances of the case. At the end of the statement she says: "On 26 August an ambulance, which no-one had called and no-one needed, came to our home. My daughter, who is in perfect health, had her arms twisted behind her back, her little boy was roughly pushed aside, and she was forcibly put into the vehicle and taken away to a psychiatric hospital. I was told that she had been taken for examination. But this looks more like a reprisal. . . . In the hospital they can do anything they like with her. The doctors in that hospital have told her that she is in good health. And they said this: 'If you don't give us a signed statement that you wrote to the Central Committee because you were in a nervous condition, you'll stay in hospital for ever.' That is what they threatened her with. She refused to sign any such statement. I protest against this and demand her immediate release."

*Baku* [Azerbaijan]. *Enver Mishu-Oglu Odabashev*, chairman of the Meshetian Chief Organising Committee for Liberation, who was arrested on 7 August 1971 (see *Chronicle* No. 21) in the Saatly District of Azerbaijan, was sentenced on 24 August 1971 by the People's Court of the Nasimin District of Baku to two years' imprisonment under article 162 of the Azerbaijani Criminal Code (*unlawful seizure and use of collective-farm land*).<sup>43</sup>

[42. See details of this statement by Ogulsakhat Seidova (aged 72) in a *New York Times* dispatch of 27 September 1971.]

[43. See also a Reuter dispatch of 10 October.]

Odabashev, born 1917, a teacher of history who graduated from the Kirghizian Pedagogical Institute in 1955, was disabled in the second world war and is incapable of physical labour. A three-man delegation of Meskhetian Turks has sent a letter to L. Brezhnev expressing "indignation at the attitude of the authorities to the interests of our nation".

It is pointed out that since their eviction in 1944 from the area bordering on Turkey, the Meskhetian Turks have been scattered throughout Central Asia and the Caucasus, their families are separated and are unable to maintain family ties; there is no possibility of teaching their children in their native language, or of preserving their national culture. The Meskhetians are being assimilated by the surrounding population. Realising this, they are trying to achieve a return to their native lands, and have created the Turkic Association for the Defence of the National Rights of the Turkic People (of which Odabashev was elected chairman in 1964). The Association regularly holds congresses (see *Chronicle* No. 21).<sup>44</sup>

In the middle of September M. Niyazov (Odabashev's first deputy) was arrested. No detailed information has yet been received.

**Kiev.** On 29 September about a thousand people assembled at Baby Yar to honour the memory of the victims of the mass executions in 1941.<sup>45</sup> Those present, who included some who had travelled from other cities (there were wreaths from Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and Tbilisi bearing Hebrew inscriptions) and many young people, were surrounded by units of police and special detachments, who shone searchlights at them and photographed them.

**Pavlodar.** On 7 September Naum Shafer, senior lecturer at a pedagogical institute and Master of philological sciences, was arrested in Pavlodar in Kazakhstan. He was indicted under article 170-1 of the Kazakh Criminal Code (article 190-1 of the Russian Code). The materials on which the charge against Shafer is based include A. I. Solzhenitsyn's short story *An Easter Procession*, Yu. Daniel's story *This is Moscow Speaking*, A. Galich's song about the

[44. See also Chap. 13 in Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*.]

[45. See also a UPI dispatch of 29 September.]

"while columns", poetry by the Tselinograd [Kazakhstan] poet Prokurov (who was summoned as a witness in the case) and poetry by A. Akhmatova and Tvardovsky. Prior to his arrest Shafer had been subjected to various forms of persecution, in the course of which he was accused, among other things, of "Zionism"; as a result of this he was dismissed from his job, and the academic council recommended that he should be stripped of his academic title.

The investigation of his case, as later became clear, had already been completed by the time of his arrest, and on 7 October Shafer was brought before the Pavlodar Regional Court. The trial lasted two days.

The prosecutor was Regional Procurator Ivanov, the Judge was Ten, deputy chairman of the Regional Court, and defence counsel was Poryvai. The theoretically "open" trial was held, as is customary, in a room which was filled to overflowing by a specially invited "audience". Shafer's brother and wife were admitted to the court room only on the second day of the hearing, as witnesses for the prosecution.

The Prosecutor's address abounded in threats and anti-Semitic attacks. The defendant refused to plead guilty and countered in a well-reasoned manner the charges of circulating *samizdat*.

The court sentenced Naum Shafer to one-and-a-half years' imprisonment. An appeal hearing was fixed for 24 November in the Kazakh Supreme Court in Alma-Ata.

The court also delivered separate decisions concerning Shafer's "accomplices": Alexander Zhovtis and Izrail Smirin, senior lecturers at Kazakhstan State University;<sup>46</sup> Alexander Kenington, senior lecturer at the Alma-Ata Agricultural Institute; and Shtain, an acquaintance of Shafer, who was recently placed in a psychiatric hospital. They have all been dismissed from their jobs, as has Lazar Shafer, brother of the accused, lecturer at the Tselinograd Pedagogical College.

#### *Moscow. The trial of R. Fin*

The trial of R. T. Fin, a research officer at the Institute of Biophysics of the USSR Academy of Sciences (in

[46. Zhovtis is a long-time member of the USSR Writers' Union and a critic. He wrote the book *Stikhi nuzhny*, Alma-Ata, 1968. Smirin has written on Isaac Babel.]

Pushchino-na-Oke [60 m. S of Moscow]), who was arrested in the early spring of 1971 (see *Chronicle* No. 18), was held in the Moscow Regional Court on 13 October. Roman Fin, born 1941, who was sent to work at Pushchino on graduating from Gorky University in 1966, has had seven papers published (most of them as co-author).

Fin was charged with circulating deliberately false fabrications libelling the Soviet political and social system (article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code) and with the petty theft of state property (article 96, para. 1 of the Code: he was stopped by a janitor while trying to take a mirror out of the Institute).

Fin was charged with the circulation of the following works: *The Technology of Power* and *The Partocracy* by [the emigré, A.] Avtorkhanov, *The Foreign Correspondents in Moscow*<sup>47</sup> and *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* by A. Amalrik, *Mid-Day* by N. Gorbanevskaya and "An Open Letter to A. D. Sakharov" by P. G. Grigorenko [not yet available outside the USSR].

When questioned during the pre-trial investigation R. Fin had not admitted any guilt, although not disputing the facts alleged in the indictment.

Witnesses Kiselev, Opanasenko and others testified in court that Fin had given them *samizdat* works to read.

Defence counsel Rausov did not deny the charge or the conclusions of a [forensic-psychiatric] examination, and requested the court to prescribe compulsory treatment in a hospital of special type.

The court found the facts of the indictment proven and, judging Fin to be of unsound mind (diagnosis: mild chronic schizophrenia), sent him to a special psychiatric hospital for compulsory treatment.

Until his arrest Fin had never consulted a psychiatrist or been on a psychiatric register.

Fin's wife has engaged another defence counsel to submit an appeal. The appeal contains a petition for Fin to be treated in a hospital of general type.

S. Myuge, who underwent a search and two interrogations in September and October of this year, is suspected of supplying R. Fin with *samizdat* works. Myuge's case

[47. See abridged English text in the *New York Review of Books*, 25 March 1971, Russian text in A. Amalrik, *Stati i pisma*, Amsterdam, 1971, pp. 55-77.]

was separated from Fin's at the stage of the pre-trial investigation. Myuge was not summoned to Fin's trial (see the present issue of the *Chronicle*).

*Uzhgorod* [in W. Ukraine]. This spring Vilmos Kovacs, a Hungarian poet and prose-writer, a member of the USSR Union of Writers and the only editor for Hungarian books at the "Carpathians" publishing house,<sup>48</sup> and Andras Benedek (the *nom-de-plume* of A. Stumpf), a young Hungarian poet and a junior editor at the same establishment, were compelled to leave the publishing house, and to this day have been unable to find work. The editors of newspapers and journals in the area have been instructed not to print material submitted by Kovacs and Stumpf.

This repression was provoked by an article by Kovacs and Stumpf, "From the History of Trans-Carpathian Hungarian Literature", which appeared in the monthly journal *Tiszotai* (*On the Banks of the Tisza*, published in Szeged, Hungary), Nos. 10-12 for 1970.

In May 1971 Stumpf, who had previously been found unfit for military service (he suffers from rheumocarditis), was called up into the army, but by decision of a medical commission he was sent back from the regional assembly point for a second examination, which again confirmed that he was unfit for service (besides the rheumocarditis he has a liver complaint); the military commissariat, however, retained Stumpf's passport.

A few years ago the studio "Forras" ("Source"), uniting young authors writing in Hungarian (mostly students at Uzhgorod University), was formed by the regional division of the Union of Writers. The person responsible for the work of the studio was Kovacs. In August 1971 a "purge" of the studio began. At the end of August an editorial entitled "The Youth of Trans-Carpathia, the 'Forras' Studio and Alienation" appeared in the regional party newspaper (*Carpathian Pravda*), which is published in Hungarian. The editorial, in a sharply aggressive tone, accused the members of the studio of being apolitical. Their poetry, it said, was permeated with a spirit of alienation, and this "despite the fact that the motherland has given them a care-free childhood and the opportunity to study and live in a comfortable hostel catering for their

[48. See Kovacs's biography and photo in *Pismenniki rad. Ukrayiny*, Kiev, 1966.]

every need" (this is probably a reference to the building in which students at Uzhgorod University live; rooms designed for three people are occupied by five, there is no hot water and the heating is poor).

"It is clearly no coincidence", the editorial continues, "that a poem by the politically compromised Pasternak was published in the youth newspaper" (a translation into Hungarian published in the newspaper *Trans-Carpathian Youth*, which appears in Ukrainian and Hungarian).

The regional party committee has formed a commission to investigate attitudes prevalent among students of the Hungarian section of the Philology Faculty of the university.

*Leningrad.* The protracted hunger-strike (more than 70 days) held by *Vladimir Borisov* and *Victor Fainberg*, prisoners in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital, came to an end on 3 June (not 7 June, as reported in *Chronicle* No. 20).

After Borisov and Fainberg had seen defence counsel M. A. Linda [whom Borisov referred to as "an optimist" in an as yet unpublished letter], they were transferred to the eleventh (somatic) section. The hospital administration carried out all their demands except the basic one—a re-examination of the case in court with the participation of the accused (the head doctor explained that this was not within his power). All their other demands were met (termination of pharmacological treatment, permission to receive books, send and receive letters and take exercise, the placing of both of them in the same cell, visits by relatives and a lawyer).

The physical conditions of both of them have improved and they have regained their normal weight (as a result of the hunger-strike each lost about twelve kilograms). At the beginning of September the administration noted that Borisov and Fainberg exhibited "a liking for conflict situations". The grounds for this formulation were the following incidents:<sup>49</sup> an orderly, arriving for duty in an intoxicated condition, insulted one of the patients. Borisov demanded that the doctor on duty be called, and when he did not appear—the duty officer. No-one came in answer

[49. For other such incidents see Fainberg's "Appeal to Organisations which Defend Human Rights" in *Kaznimeye sumashestviem*, Possev Verlag, Frankfurt, 1971, pp. 381-99.]

to the call. Borisov and Fainberg then wrote a report addressed to the head doctor. Next day the head doctor stated that the orderly had been sober, and told them "to mind their own business". On another occasion an orderly was taunting a patient. Fainberg demanded that he should stop this humiliation. In reply the orderly said: "Why are you poking your nose in, you bloody Yid!" Unable to restrain himself, Fainberg struck the orderly across the face.

Condemning Fainberg's action, the head doctor said: "Why did you have to hit him? The orderly is only eighteen, and he has had no higher education." As far as is known, the orderly was not punished.

On 23 September a regular [i.e. six-monthly] meeting of the [visiting psychiatric] commission was held, under the chairmanship of Dr. Rabinovich of the Serbsky Institute. The commission decided to extend the term of Fainberg and Borisov until the next meeting of the commission (January 1972), since they were "inclined to provoke conflicts and unable properly to adapt themselves to their surroundings".

In October the administration's treatment of them took a turn for the worse: they were prohibited from receiving parcels and, in violation of the promise given previously, were separated once more (Borisov was transferred to another section, since "his physical condition has improved").<sup>50</sup>

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The following have been released from the camps:

On 7 October, from women's political camp ZhKh 385/3—*Ruta Alexandrovich* (sentenced to one year by the Latvian Supreme Court—see *Chronicle* No. 20).

On 7 October, on completing her sentence—*M. P. Semyonova* (sentenced to ten years in the case of the "True Orthodox Church" [*istinno pravoslavnaya tserkov'*]; on Semyonova see *Chronicle* No. 15,<sup>51</sup> "In-mates of the [51. Possev: *Shestoi spetsialnyi vypusk*, February 1971, p. 20.] women's political camp").

[50. *The Times*, 3 January 1972, reported that they had declared a new hunger-strike in protest, and also gave other details on the Leningrad prison-hospital.]

On 7 October, from camp No. 3—*Victor Kupin*, after serving ten years' imprisonment for attempting to cross the frontier (Kupin served in the Soviet Army on the territory of the GDR).

On 8 October, from an ordinary-régime camp, after serving a three-year sentence, the physicist *Rolan Kadiyev* (member of the Crimean Tatar movement, see *Chronicle* No. 9 [and Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, Ch. 12]).

On 12 October *Vladimir Tkachyov* was released after serving ten years for "betrayal of the fatherland".

According to unconfirmed reports, the artist *Yury Ivanov* (on him see *Chronicle* No. 10 [and Reddaway, Ch. 10]) has been released early from the Mordovian camps. He had recently been working in the hospital zone of camp No. 3. His present whereabouts are unknown.

*Victor Shilhans* (one of the accused at the second Leningrad Jewish trial [see *Chronicle* No. 20]) has been released from the Leningrad KGB investigation prison on completing his term of imprisonment (one year). He has been granted a Leningrad residence permit.

At the beginning of September *Victor Krasin* [see Reddaway, Ch. 7] returned to Moscow. The sentence under which he had been in exile since December 1969 (five years) was quashed after a protest by the Procurator.

In September 1971 *Genrikh Altunyan* (see *Chronicle* No. 21 for the latest report on him) was transferred from an ordinary-régime camp to a place of exile. His address is: Krasnoyarsky krai, Ilansky raion, pos. Khairuzovka. He is at present working as manager of a garage.

On 23 October *Natalya Gorbanetskaya* was transferred from the Kazan special psychiatric hospital to one of the general wards in Butyrka prison (Moscow, K-55, *uchrezhdeniye IZ-48/2*), where she is waiting to be placed in the Serbsky Institute.

\* \* \*

*Riga*. At the end of September *Ilya Rips*, who was released from the Riga psychiatric hospital in April 1971, was refused permission to leave for Israel (on him see *Chronicle* No. 20 [and Reddaway, Ch. 11]).

\* \* \*

The whereabouts of *A. E. Levitin-Krasnov* were given incorrectly in *Chronicle* No. 21. He is in an ordinary-régime camp in the town of Sychyovka in the Smolensk Region, *uchrezhdeniye YaO-100/7*. He is working as a labourer. [See also No. 20 and Reddaway, Ch. 16].

\* \* \*

*Vladimir Dremlyuga* is serving his new three-year term [see *Chronicle* 21] in a strict-régime camp with the address: Yakutskaya ASSR, g. Yakutsk, pos. B. Markha, p/ya Yad 40/5 [on him see N. Gorbanetskaya, *Red Square at Noon*].

\* \* \*

In Moscow in the middle of October the investigation into the case of *Nadezhda Emelkina* (on her see *Chronicle* No. 20) was concluded, the materials being signed in accordance with article 201 of the Russian Code of Criminal Procedure. The trial is expected to take place at the end of November [see note 30].

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On 3 November *J. Vishnevskaya* (on her see *Chronicle* Nos. 16, 19) and *V. Telnikov* (see *Chronicle* No. 16) left the USSR for Israel.

\* \* \*

The *Chronicle* is in possession of the following document:

The priest, the parish council, the choir-members, the working people, and all the members of the community of the Church of the Veil in Medvedok [Kirov Region], in accordance with their Christian conscience,

Consider it essential:

1. Under no circumstances to permit false, slanderous or other malicious gossip about our social life or the civil authorities.
2. To regard any violation of this obligation as a blow to the dignity of all members of the community.

3. That the name of the violator, should the occasion arise, be made known to the whole community.

\* \* \*

*Moscow.* On 17 October 1971 the historian Roy Alex- androvich Medvedev sent an Open Letter to the editors of *Pravda* and other newspapers complaining about a search of his home which had been illegally carried out on 12 October 1971 by Captain Zaiko, an investigator from the district station of the Moscow police. The search was carried out in connection with the case of A. A. Shakalskaya, with the object of "recovering books stolen by Shakalskaya from various Moscow libraries and given by her to Medvedev R. A.". Neither Zaiko nor the three men in plain clothes who directed the search found any "gifts", but they confiscated a large quantity of printed publications and manuscripts belonging to R. Medvedev and his brother Zhores, as well as scientific notes and records.

Next day Zaiko repeatedly telephoned R. Medvedev and asked him to come to the district police station, saying that "other people were waiting for him as well" and threatening him with "serious consequences", adding: "You realize that it was not I who was in charge of the search".

"I assume", writes R. Medvedev, "that the KGB, just as on the recent occasion when nine unknown persons broke into Solzhenitsyn's empty country cottage [see *Chronicle* No. 21], will deny all involvement in this confiscation. Who, then, were those three unknown men? Perhaps they were representatives of a new secret political police?". The unlawful confiscation of the scientific notes was the subject of a complaint submitted by R. A. Medvedev on 14 October to the Moscow City Procurator (attached to the letter was a list of the confiscated materials).<sup>52</sup>

[52. See also agency dispatches of 17 October and the *New York Times* dispatch of 19 October. Medvedev's book *Let History Judge*, about Stalinism, was published in the US in 1971, as was *A Question of Madness*, by him and his brother Zhores, and as was Zhores's *The Medvedev Papers*. *Vechernaya Moskva* of 11 February 1972 reported that A. A. Shokalskaya (*sic*) had been sentenced to 6 years.]

*Syktyvkar* [in the Komi Republic, 300 m. NW of Perm]. On 9 May 1971 R. I. Pimenov, who was sentenced in 1970 to five years' exile (see *Chronicle* No. 16)<sup>53</sup> and is at present living in the town of Syktyvkar, sent a statement to the Chairman of the Komi Council of Ministers pointing out that refusing him work in his speciality was both unlawful and completely irrational: Pimenov has been working at a saw-mill in the settlement of Krasny Zaton, first as a saw-operator and at present as an electrician. In November 1969 Pimenov defended his dissertation for the degree of Doctor of physico-mathematical sciences, which was unanimously approved by the Academic Council of the Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In May 1971, after Pimenov had been sentenced, the Higher Certifying Commission received a positive report on his dissertation, but after a letter from "a certain organisation", as a representative of the HCC stated, all the materials were returned to the Academic Council.

"The damage caused to the national economy by the employment in this manner of a unique specialist," writes Pimenov in his statement, "who has created a new direction in science on the border between mathematics and physics, and who speaks more than ten foreign languages, is obvious."

\* \* \*

On 13 September a Dutch group of the committee "Amnesty International"<sup>54</sup> wrote to R. I. Pimenov expressing its concern and sympathy for him, and inquiring about his health, his needs, and the conditions in which his family was living.

[53. Interesting new materials relating to this case have appeared in *Vestnik Russkogo studencheskogo Khristianskogo dvizheniya*, 91 due Olivier de Serre, Paris, 1971, No. 100, pp. 188-203. These are a transcript of one of Pimenov's interrogations and the record of the search of his home on 18 April 1970, with a full list of the 250 items of *samizdat* which were then confiscated from him.]

[54. Amnesty International is not in fact a committee but an organisation.]

### Samizdat News

J.-P. Sartre. *Reflections on the Jewish question*. Translated from Polish. The Polish translation, by Jerzy Lisowski, was published in the journal "Tworczosc" ("Creativity"), Warsaw, 1956, Nos. 9, 10. The essay was written in 1944-46 and published in France in 1946. It is a philosophical and publicistic work, containing an examination of the essence of the Jewish question and practical recommendations for its solution in the circumstances prevailing in contemporary France. In the analytical section the author, employing the existentialist concepts of "freedom", "situation" and "self-determination", describes the so-called "situation of the Jew". The essence of this situation is defined as follows: "A Jew is a person whom others regard as a Jew." Devoting a considerable part of his work to a refutation of current prejudices about the differences between Jews and "ordinary people", the author demonstrates that all the characteristics which distinguish, for example, French Jews from people who are simply Frenchmen, are exclusively of a secondary nature. These characteristics result from the situation of the Jews, which excludes all choice for oneself except to be a real Jew or to be a spurious Jew. The spurious Jew strives for assimilation, which is impossible where anti-Semitism exists. A real Jew accepts his situation, but is doomed to martyrdom. The situation of the Jew is created by anti-Semitism—the primitive, Manichean ideology of benighted, weak people with synthetic thought-processes, who strive towards self-affirmation at the expense of a persecuted group, which it has been the historical fate of the Jews to become.

\* \* \*

Yury Glazov:<sup>55</sup> "Idle remarks on myths and fairy-tales", 30 June 1971. Reflections on the national, moral, religious and social consciousness of Russians and Jews, set out in the form of a free essay with numerous excursions into comparative mythology. After giving a few details of his biography (the usual story of an intellectual dismissed from his job for signing a letter in defence of the

victims of tyranny"), the author writes: ". . . My good intentions to remain here, in this country, have been shattered by life like a house of cards. I am a Jew and must go to the land of my fathers. There I shall be able to continue my scientific work . . . The experiment in assimilation which life has carried out on me, with my willing assistance, has ended in failure . . . The years will pass, and I shall, I hope, be able to convince myself that it could not have been otherwise . . ."

\* \* \*

A Solitary Chronicler: "A game of lotto", Moscow, 1970. The story is set in the present. A few intellectuals are conversing over tea, skipping as the fancy takes them from philosophy and divinity to literature and history. A book which happens to be in the house, written in 1839 by the Marquis de Custine and [re-]published in 1930 with the title *Russia Under Nicholas*, gives the conversation a new direction. The "game of lotto" begins: quotations from the book serve as points, points being awarded for finding a "non-equivalent parallel" to a given quotation in the present day. For example: "In his life-time the Russian commoner is beaten as often as he bows". By 1939, although beatings still occurred in the course of the unlawful conducting of an investigation, bowing had died out altogether. When greeting their leaders, the workers did not bow, but stood up. Or: "Everyone here spies on others out of his love of the art, not even thinking of reward". Vigilance is a splendid characteristic of simple Soviet people. Vigilance and spying are completely different things.

\* \* \*

*Open Letter* from a "group of Russian nationalists" to the publishers of the *Ukrainian Herald*. The letter opens with the words: "On encountering your message in print we were inspired with an excited feeling of affinity, of unity of outlook on many problems, although one sometimes senses that you, unlike us, have no faith in Russia".

[55. See also *Chronicle* 20, p. 259. For letters signed by Glazov see P. Litvinov, *Protess chetyrekh*, Amsterdam, 1971.]

There follows an exposition of the moral, religious, social and political positions of the "Russian nationalists".

\* \* \*

"Social Problems." A collection of selected *samizdat* texts devoted to social problems. Compiler: V. Chalidze. Issue No. 12 (July-August 1971). Contents: 1. A Esenin-Volpin: On the Logic of Moral Sciences. 2. Mental Health: A Guide to Civil Rights (translated from English). 3. Documents of the Committee for Human Rights.

\* \* \*

German Smirnovsky. "A Hot Summer in Belgrade," September 1971. A brief survey of problems troubling Yugoslav society at present (summer 1971): economic difficulties, national enmities and separatism, hostility on the part of the USSR and Bulgaria, and an increase in censorship. It includes a chronicle of prohibitions imposed by the censorship between May and August 1971: on thirteen occasions publications were banned because they included discussions of controversial subjects, cartoons on questions of domestic policy, criticism of the censorship, and so on.

\* \* \*

*Veche* No. 3, 19 September 1971.<sup>56</sup> The central item in the journal is an article entitled "The House which we are Building". The author, in a detailed and closely-reasoned analysis, examines the complex of problems connected with Man's profligate attack on nature, which is leading humanity towards disaster.

The journal also includes a continuation of the biography of General Skobelev and the conclusion of M. Antonov's work "The teaching of the Slavophiles as the zenith of popular consciousness in Russia in the pre-Lenin period". M. Antonov devotes the last part of his work to

[56. For summaries of Nos. 1 and 2, dated January and May 1971, see *Chronicles* 18 and 20, pp. 139 and 257. Extracts from No. 2 have appeared in *Russkaya mysl*, 91 rue du Faubourg St. Denis, Paris 10, 30 December 1971.]

the philosophy of the Kireyevsky brothers. Discussing the prospects for the development of a Russian national consciousness, the author claims: "Only a *fusion of Orthodoxy and Leninism* (the author's italics) can provide a philosophy for the Russian people capable of synthesising the whole of the people's centuries-old experience of life".

The anonymous author of "In memory of [the poet] Gumilyov" develops the idea that true creativity is independent of the artist's political beliefs.

The journal also prints critical notes on the work of the poets V. Sidorov and E. Vinokurov [many of whose works have been published], a polemic with L. Rendel (see *Veche* No. 2), materials and reports on the life of the Russian Orthodox Church, and verses by N. Rubtsov.

*Veche* No. 3 publishes a statement by V. Osipov, the editor of the journal. The statement calls on "Russian patriots" to continue the publication of *Veche* if Osipov should be arrested. The fact that his arrest is certain, the statement says, was mentioned by officials of the KGB while they were interviewing persons connected with Osipov. The "Statement" reiterates the assertion that the journal *Veche* occupies a position loyal to the Soviet political and social system, and expresses the hope that "among the Soviet leaders there are honest men who are not indifferent to Russia" and "who will eventually understand what is meant by the honour of the constitution and the prestige of the Motherland".

\* \* \*

B. V. Efimov.<sup>57</sup> *A letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet*. The letter discusses the question of Jewish emigration to Israel. Its fundamental thesis: the right to self-determination includes the right to live in one's national state. The letter analyses the arguments usually advanced to justify the detention of Jews in the USSR; it ends with proposals for legislative measures to resolve problems of national self-determination and emigration from the USSR.

\* \* \*

[57. See Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, p. 168.]

*L. K. Chukovskaya* [daughter of the late Kornei Chukovsky]. A letter to the judicial board for criminal affairs of the Ukrainian Supreme Court (29 July 1971).<sup>58</sup>

The subject of the letter is the trial of R. Palatnik (see *Chronicle* No. 20), who was charged with "circulating anti-Soviet literature". L. Chukovskaya protests at the fact that Akhmatova's *Requiem*, poetry by Mandelshtam, two of her (Chukovskaya's) letters and other documents mentioned in the charge against R. Palatnik were described as anti-Soviet. All the above-mentioned documents and works, from the political point of view, are only of an anti-Stalinist nature. To lump together the terms "anti-Stalinist" and "anti-Soviet" is to ignore the decisions of the 20th and 22nd party congresses. In recent years, unfortunately, it has tended to become the practice of the courts and the censorship to do exactly this.

#### Letters and Statements

[1.] Editorial from the *Ukrainian Herald* No. 5 (here reproduced in abridged form):

"Some members of the Ukrainian public who are familiar with Russian *samizdat* works are studying the attitude towards the nationalities question in general, and to that of the Ukraine in particular, on the part of the Russian oppositional forces which made their appearance during the second half of the 1960s. In Moscow at the end of 1970 Academician Sakharov and the physicists Tverdokhlebov and Chalidze formed the Committee for Human Rights—a moderate oppositional group which aims to defend the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. The Committee has nowhere defined its attitude towards the nationalities question in the USSR or towards the rights of the non-Russian nations and the guarantees of those rights. There are only a few general phrases. The first appeal to the Central Committee of the party by Academician Sakharov and the scientists [V.F.] Turchin and R. Medvedev<sup>59</sup> contains the phrase that one of the reasons why the gradual democratisation of life in the

[58. See also summaries in the Western press, e.g., in *The Washington Post* and *The Times*, 11 October. On Chukovskaya see Reddaway, *passim*.]

[59. See text in *Survey*, London, No. 76, 1970, pp. 160-70.]

USSR is essential is that it will reduce the menace of nationalism. But the same appeal proposes putting only the phrase 'citizens of the USSR' in passports instead of the holder's nationality (proposals of this sort were put forward in Khrushchev's time, and were seen in the Union republics as a desire to make further encroachments on their sovereignty).

"In May 1969 the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR came into being in Moscow, at the same time submitting a petition to the UN about persecution of people in the USSR for their beliefs and for disseminating them. Among other things it mentioned the repression of persons advocating national equality. The Action Group has as yet made no other statements on this question. Many of its members were soon arrested. The periodical *A Chronicle of Current Events* adheres to the same principles—struggling for freedom of speech and belief—as the Action Group . . . Without advancing any programmatic postulates except freedom of speech and information, the journal attempts to throw light impartially on political persecution throughout the Soviet Union and to describe in brief new Russian (and, from time to time, non-Russian) *samizdat* works. Faithful to its objectivity, the *Chronicle* now and again includes material from the Ukraine. The brevity of the accounts and the occasional inaccuracies are clearly due solely to the lack of more detailed information. Issue No. 17 of the *Chronicle*, for example, reports on the trial of V. Moroz, gives the most detailed information yet available on the case of the UNF (which we reproduce), and in an attached list of arrests in 1969-70 [i.e. its supplement] enumerates persons arrested in the Ukraine.

"The Ukrainian reader has welcomed the appearance of the *Chronicle*. He has noted the objectivity, volume and relative accuracy of the information it supplies, which gives the reader an overall picture of various social developments in the USSR which are unknown to the majority. Individual voices, however, while not denying the importance of the *Chronicle*, draw attention to the fact that it arbitrarily lays claim to some sort of supra-national or all-union character, although to all intents and purposes it is a publication of Russian (and possibly, to some extent, Jewish) circles. It is also pointed out that the meagre

reports from the republics are inserted as additions to the detailed description of events in Russia, principally in Moscow, which in itself gives an inaccurate idea of the situation in the USSR.

"Extremely scanty information is given about the attitude towards the nationalities question of the various underground groups, organisations and 'parties' which have recently appeared in Russia (Leningrad, the Baltic Fleet,<sup>60</sup> the Volga region<sup>61</sup> and others). The existence of these organisations becomes known only after they have been broken up by the KGB, and their programmatic demands are known only in very rough outline. From the little that is known it can be deduced that none of these organisations had worked out any programme for the solution of the nationalities question in the USSR or declared its attitude towards national needs or national movements in the USSR. The impression is created that while aiming at the most radical changes in many spheres of social life, the members of these groups, as far as the nationalities question is concerned, desire in varying degrees to maintain the *status quo*.

"Simultaneously with organisations and groups which raise questions of democratic transformations in the USSR, others have appeared in Russia criticising the government and the 'liberals' from reactionary, openly chauvinistic standpoints, even aiming at the formal dissolution of the USSR and the creation of an indivisible military-democratic Russia. We reproduce a brief account, published in issue No. 17 of the *Chronicle*, of *Message to the Nation*, one of the Russian *samizdat* documents of this sort . . . The *Chronicle* then gives an equally brief account of a *samizdat* reply to the 'patriots' by V. Gusarov<sup>62</sup> . . . From this account, however, Gusarov himself does not appear to hold any constructive views on the nationalities question, apart from the claim that 'the national type' has not survived (and is therefore not worth preserving—let it be quickly reduced to a common denominator). It is not clear how the author imagines the future of the non-Russian

[60. On these see Reddaway, Chaps. 19 and 8.]

[61. On groups in Gorky and Saratov see *ibid.*, Ch. 19, and *Chronicle* 12, Possev: *Chetverti sp. vyp.*, June 1970, p. 10.]

[62. Both these documents were published in *Russkaya mysl.*, Paris, 25 November 1971.]

peoples of the USSR or how he would wish to see that future. He is concerned only that there should be 'openness and publicity' [*glasnost*] and not 'the whip and the rod'.

"Commenting on *Veche*, the type-written journal of the Russian nationalists, the *Chronicle* writes that it differs from the manifesto *Message to the Nation* mentioned above in being more restrained and tolerant towards other nations. The *Chronicle* points out, however: 'Judophobia and Stalinist sympathies are characteristic of some of the contributors to *Veche* . . .' It can be inferred from this report that the journal's publication appears to be within the law, and that its editor, Osipov, is a real person."<sup>63</sup>

[2.] *A final address by Ruta Alexandrovich before leaving for Israel (Moscow, 29 October 1971) (here reproduced in abridged form):*

"A few days have passed since I was released from the camp . . . From the bottom of my heart I thank my known and unknown friends for their sympathy and support—I consider that my swift release from imprisonment was the result of their efforts . . . While I am still in the Soviet Union I should like, without touching upon general questions, to recall once more the plight of my friends who are still in the camps, and above all of my friend Silva Zalmanson. She is gravely ill. She is losing her hearing and is unable to eat: life is draining out of her not by the day, but by the hour . . . I know that her fate will never cease to trouble my heart, and will remain in it like an open wound . . . A few months ago, in my final address in Riga, I said that it had never been my intention to inflict harm on the Soviet system, that my sole aim was to emigrate to Israel . . . Today . . . I stand before a new court—that of my own conscience. And in my final address before this court I say to myself: know that you are leaving for Israel because dozens of Jews and your friend Silva Zalmanson will pay for it with long years of prisons and camps. Never forget the price being paid for your happiness!"

[63. Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Ukrainian Herald* have appeared in *Ukrainsky visnyk*, Vyp. I-II, P.I.U.F., Paris; Smoloskyp, Baltimore; 1971.]

The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR  
Continues

## A Chronicle of Current Events

*"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression: this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."*

Universal Declaration of  
Human Rights, Article 19

No. 23 (p. 49)

5 January 1972 [Moscow]

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*Fifth Year of Publication*

### The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky

In a letter of 26 November 1971,<sup>64</sup> addressed to the Fifth International Congress of Psychiatrists in Mexico, the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR announced its support "for the appeal and proposals of the Committee for Human Rights, which are aimed at the working out of ways of limiting the possibility of arbitrariness and malpractices in relation to people who have been ruled to be mentally ill or who are undergoing psychiatric examination" (See *Chronicle* 22). "Sharing its anxiety about the imperfection of the guarantees of the rights of these people", the letter reads, "we consider it essential to try to draw the attention of the participants of the Congress in particular to the most immediate and in practice important, in our opinion, question, which concerns the psychiatric criteria of non-responsibility which are used in forensic medical diagnosis during the investigation and trial of people charged with political offences". Listing the documents, the study of which, in their opinion, would be useful in this connection (the diaries of P. G. Grigorenko,<sup>65</sup> the letter of V. Fainberg,<sup>66</sup> and the book of Zh. and R. Medvedev, *A Question of Madness*), the authors of the letter especially stress the achievement of Vladimir Bukovsky, thanks to whose initiative the participants in the Congress (also the whole world) have gained access to materials which describe the illegal methods of carrying out such examinations in the Soviet Union.<sup>67</sup>

\* \* \*

[64. Signed by nine members, including P. Yakir, and briefly summarized in an A.P. dispatch from Moscow of 28 November 1971.]

[65. Russian text in Possev, Frankfurt, 4, 1970, and *Kaznkiye sumasshestviem*, Possev-Verlag, 1971, pp. 300-333; French text in *La Russie contestataire*, Fayard, Paris, 1971, pp. 205-32.]

[66. Russian text in *Kaznkiye sumasshestviem*, pp. 381-99, French and German texts in the French and German editions of Bukovsky's documents (see Bibliography, section 1.b.)]

[67. The Congress produced no public condemnation of these practices, thanks in part to the intense diplomatic activity at it of Prof. Senezhnevsky and other Soviet psychiatrists. See an important critical review of the Congress and allied issues by I. F. Stone in the *New York Review of Books*, "Betrayal by Psychiatry", 10 February 1972 and his article

On 28 November 1971, the Action Group appealed to the Procurator-General of the USSR, R. A. Rudenko (with a copy to the International League for the Rights of Man), protesting against the new illegalities to which Bukovsky had fallen victim. His desire to use the services of lawyer D. I. Kaminskaya, who had defended him at an earlier trial, had been rejected by the investigator on the grounds that Kaminskaya did not possess "a security pass" to "secret" proceedings.<sup>68</sup> (This argument was repeated on 24 November 1971, by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Moscow Collegium of Lawyers, A. K. Apraksin.<sup>69</sup>) Noting the illegality of the practice of demanding "security passes" of this sort, and also the absence in the existing situation of any sort of guarantee that illegal methods of pressure would not be applied to Bukovsky by the investigators (Bukovsky's mother throughout the entire period of his arrest [8 months] had not had a single meeting with him, nor received a single letter, so that he had been completely deprived of contact with the outside world), the authors of the letter write: "Because of the absence of a lawyer until now, it is unknown what Bukovsky is actually accused of. The absence of a lawyer may facilitate the

in the *New York Times*, 15 February. However, the initiative of January 1971 by the Canadian Psychiatric Association was followed up in a resolution passed by the Executive Board of the World Federation of Mental Health on 25 November 1971. This reads in part: "In recent years there have been numerous public allegations concerning the current mis-use of psychiatric diagnoses, psychiatric 'treatment' and enforced confinement in psychiatric institutions of persons whose only 'symptoms' have been the avowal of opinions disapproved by their society. These accusations have been directed in particular—though not exclusively—against the alleged incarceration of political dissenters in prison mental hospitals in the USSR. The W.F.M.H. resolutely opposes any such abuse of psychiatric procedures and calls on its Member Associations throughout the world promptly to investigate all such allegations, and to defend the individual's freedom of opinion where it appears to be threatened."]

[68. On this episode see also *The Times*, London, 7 December 1971, where there is also a description of the annual Constitution Day demonstration of 5 December on Pushkin Square, and an interview with P. Yakir. And see U.P.I. dispatches from Moscow of 23 and 27 December.]

[69. See also Apraksin's role in V. Dremlyuga's case, *Chronicle* 20, p. 245.]

thickening of the mystery surrounding the trial itself, even including the possibility that its start might not be known been met without the participation of a lawyer" contradicts Soviet criminal procedural law. In addition, the whole practice of demanding "security passes" before lawyers can be admitted to "secret" cases contradicts international about in advance. We demand the admission to Bukovsky's case of the lawyer demanded by him, D. I. Kaminskaya, and full publicity for the forthcoming trial of Vladimir Bukovsky . . . We are convinced of the complete innocence of Vladimir Bukovsky, but at the present time we refrain from the natural demand for his release, as we are certain that full publicity for the trial proceedings, together with the granting of his right to a defence, will be enough to prove his innocence".

\* \* \*

On 29 November 1971, members of the Committee for Human Rights, V. N. Chalidze, A. D. Sakharov and A. N. Tverdokhlebov, and consultant of the Committee A. S. Volpin sent a supervisory complaint to USSR Procurator-General Rudenko, asking for an end to be put to the infringement of Vladimir Bukovsky's right to a defence on the part of the investigators. The statement of the chief investigator that "the requirements of the Russian Code of Criminal Procedure under Article 201 have already law, the Constitution of the USSR, the lawyers' statutes of the Russian Republic, and elementary logic. And this is not to mention the fact that "whatever the body which issued the decree on the basis of which Apraksin rejected Kaminskaya for her lack of a 'security pass' for 'secret' proceedings, it is clear that this body issued not only an illegal but also an ineffective decree, in the sense that the decree does not ensure the secrecy of proceedings. Certainly, according to the Code of Criminal Procedure the lawyer in a case has the right to study no larger a number of documents than the defendant himself, but the liability of a person to be charged with an offence does not depend, either according to the law or in practice, on his possession of a 'security pass' for secret proceedings. Such deliberate mistrust of a lawyer is unfounded and

undoubtedly infringes the professional dignity of a lawyer, especially as, according to the lawyers' statutes, Article 10, people 'who do not possess the moral and professional qualities to be a Soviet lawyer' are not elected to the Collegium of Lawyers."

\* \* \*

On 7 December 1971 the mother of Vladimir Bukovsky, Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya, appealed to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N. V. Podgorny, to issue an order for the right to a defence, as guaranteed by Soviet law, to be observed (the lawyer whom N. I. Bukovskaya had been able to find for her son had been refused by him, as the investigator had not presented this lawyer to Bukovsky personally, but had recommended him in his absence). N. I. Bukovskaya also writes about her fears that she might not be admitted to the courtroom, as she might be named as a witness in the case, and she asks to be protected from such an arbitrary act.

\* \* \*

On 12 December 1971 the members of the Committee for Human Rights, A. D. Sakharov, A. N. Tverdokhlebov, V. N. Chalidze and I. R. Shafarevich, appealed to the Chairman of the Moscow city court [N. A. Osetrov], expressing their desire to be present at the trial of Bukovsky and "to observe in person the workings of justice in this case, which has aroused great public interest", and asking him to inform them by telephone of the date of the court hearing.

\* \* \*

In a letter<sup>70</sup> to the Procurator-General of the USSR and the Minister of Justice of the USSR [V. I. Terebilov] Academician A. Sakharov, Academician M. Leontovich, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences I. Shafarevich and the writer A. Galich report that, having

[70. Summarized in A.P. and Reuter dispatches of 4 January from Moscow.]

studied materials which give a clear idea of Bukovsky's activity, they consider "that these materials cannot serve as the basis for the arrest and trial of Bukovsky. They do not contain libellous fabrications, nor agitation or propaganda with the aim of undermining the Soviet political and social system. His [TV] interview<sup>71</sup> is based on what he saw and heard and experienced himself during his imprisonment in a special psychiatric hospital and in a camp. As regards the medical documents sent by Bukovsky to Western psychiatrists,<sup>72</sup> they can in no way be regarded as libellous, as they are copies of genuine documents."

\* \* \*

On 27 December 1971 member of the USSR Writers' Union V. E. Maksimov,<sup>73</sup> whose secretary Bukovsky was right up to his arrest (see *Chronicle* 22), sent this statement to the Procurator-General of the USSR and the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court [A. F. Gorkin]: "Having studied the documents sent by my secretary Vladimir Bukovsky to the court of international psychiatry, I consider it my duty to state the following:

(1) As far as I know, extracts from a person's medical history, medical conclusions, and records of medical diagnoses have never been, and are not, state secrets. All the more so if they are written in a qualified and impartial way.

(2) Soviet psychiatrists should only welcome wide publicity being given to their, I dare to hope, impartial conclusions, so that the provocative rumours and idle fabrications of political speculators, which are used with great advantage to itself by so-called bourgeois propaganda, may be cut off at their very source.

On the basis of the above I consider the initiation of a case against Vladimir Bukovsky on these grounds to be unfounded.

[71. See text in *Survey*, London, No. 77, 1970.]

[72. See the French and German editions in the Bibliography, section 1.b., and selected documents in English in *Survey*, No. 81, 1971.]

[73. According to *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 29 February 1972, the K.G.B. is now considering laying charges against Maksimov.]

Naturally, the investigators may have additional information about which, until I can study it, it is difficult for me to judge. In that case it is the duty of the investigatory organs to present this information to our public".

\* \* \*

On 29 December 1971 the Action Group said, in an open letter about V. Bukovsky, that he had "obtained and collected forensic psychiatric diagnoses, on the basis of which people who have dared to criticize those things in our country which in their opinion deserve criticism, are being subjected to refined torture for many years. Bukovsky sent these documents to Western psychiatrists so that they could study the problem and raise it before the judgment of world public opinion....

... The fate of Bukovsky is now, and always will be, linked with this crucial social fact: the sentencing of Bukovsky is necessary to those people who wish to conceal the existence of the system of repressing people by psychiatric means, and to continue such repressions." The letter ends with the appeal: "Freedom to Vladimir Bukovsky!"

#### The Trial of Vladimir Bukovsky<sup>74</sup>

On 5 January 1972 the trial of Vladimir Konstantinovich Bukovsky took place in the District Court (Egorevskaya Street, 14) of Lyublino [a Moscow suburb].

The approaches to the court-house were sealed off by the police a block away on either side. Neither Bukovsky's mother, who had been summoned to appear as a witness in spite of her statement that she could not tell the court anything about the substance of the case, nor any of his friends, nor any member of the Committee for Human

[74. A 50-page *samizdat* transcript of the trial appeared in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, on 9 March 1972, and will appear soon in English in *Survey* 83, London. Long extracts were printed in *The Times*, London, 7 February 1972. See also numerous western press reports printed on 6 and 8 January, and a crudely distorted Soviet report in *Vechernaya Moskva*, 6 January.]

Rights was admitted to the courtroom ("because of the lack of unoccupied places").

The judicial examination was conducted by an assize session of the Moscow City Court. The Judge was V. Lubentsova,<sup>75</sup> the procurator was [Aza M.] Bobrushko, the people's assessors were Kondakov and Shlykov, the defence counsel was V. Ya. Shveisky,<sup>76</sup> and the secretary was Osina.

V. K. Bukovsky was charged with having circulated anti-Soviet materials of libellous content, with having communicated to foreign correspondents slanderous information, and with having asserted that in the Soviet Union healthy people are placed in psychiatric hospitals of prison type. In the indictment it was also stated that "Bukovsky had the aim of organizing an underground printing-press in order to circulate *sanizdat* materials".

V. Bukovsky announced to the court nine petitions, which concerned: making the charges more concrete; summoning to court witnesses who could confirm the truthfulness of his statements to Western correspondents; publicity for the court proceedings and admission to the courtroom of his friends and acquaintances; the attachment to the case of several documents, in particular the refusal of the Chairman of the Collegium of Lawyers, Apraksin, to appoint lawyer D. I. Kaminskaya because of her lack of "a security pass for secret proceedings."

The court rejected all the petitions made by Bukovsky and his lawyer Shveisky, and resolved merely to attach to the case materials a few of Bukovsky's written complaints.

V. Bukovsky informed the court that in the interview he had given to foreign correspondents he had spoken about the facts of his biography and about other people known to him, who, while absolutely healthy mentally, had been interned by courts in psychiatric hospitals without any medical or juridical grounds. He described the conditions of life in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital and

[75. Valentina G. Lubentsova was also the judge at the trial of the Red Square demonstrators in October 1968. See the transcript in N. Gorbaneskaya, *Red Square at Noon*.]

[76. Vladimir Shveisky was also defence counsel to A. Dobrovolsky, B. Talantov and A. Amalrik. See *Chronicles* 1, 10 and 17.]

the methods of forcible treatment applied there: he spoke about how injections of aminazin and sulphazin, which produce a heightening of the temperature and serious mental depression, are ordered following complaints by orderlies; and also of how it is possible to get oneself discharged from the hospital only by renouncing one's beliefs. Bukovsky informed the court of a series of inhuman actions concerning the prisoners in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital.

In reply to the question, what his motive had been in giving an interview to Western correspondents, and whether he had not had the aim of undermining or weakening Soviet authority, V. Bukovsky made a categorical denial and said that he had been thinking only of those people, his friends and others, whom, perhaps, it might be possible to save.

Bukovsky denied having handed two documents to the Belgian Hugo Sebrechts, an action with which he was charged.

Referring to the testimony of witness A. E. Nikitinsky, his school friend and now a customs official at [Moscow's] Sheremetev Airport, Bukovsky said that Nikitinsky had more than once offered to let through for him someone from abroad with a duplicating machine, without a customs examination, but that he, Bukovsky, had rejected such an idea, after which Nikitinsky had ceased to visit Bukovsky's home.

Under cross-examination witness Nikitinsky, in reply to the questions why he, a Communist, had listened at Bukovsky's flat to anti-Soviet statements which, according to him, had distressed him, and why he had been silent and continued to visit the house, replied: "I said to him: Volodya, chuck it, you're hitting your head against a wall".

Defence counsel V. Ya. Shveisky said that the prosecution had made a mistake by defining Bukovsky's actions under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, and that parts of the indictment, as the judicial examination had shown, had remained unproven. He asked for the acquittal of his client.

### The Final Speech of Vladimir Bukovsky<sup>77</sup>

I will not touch on the juridical side of the indictment, because I have already fully proved to the court its lack of substance. My lawyer in his speech has also proved the complete lack of substance of the indictment, and I agree with him on all the points of his defence.

I will say something else: the repression of me has been prepared for a long time, and I have known about this. On 9 June [1970] I was summoned by Procurator Vankovich and threatened with repression;<sup>78</sup> then there appeared the article in the paper *Pravda* [17 December 1970], under the heading "The Poverty of Anti-Communism", which the procurator has quoted almost in full in her speech. The article contained the charge that I, supposedly in return for small handouts, was "selling slanderous information to foreign correspondents in entrance-ways".

And finally, in the journal *Political Self-Education* No. 2, 1971, there was an article by [first] deputy-chairman of the KGB, S. Tsvigun, in which it was also stated that I occupied myself with anti-Soviet activities. So it is quite understandable that the low-level investigator investigating my case could not go against his boss, and was forced at whatever cost to try to prove my guilt.

Prior to my arrest continuous following of me took place. I was harrassed, threatened with murder, and one of the men who followed me went so far as to threaten me with his service pistol. When I was already under investigation I petitioned for a criminal case to be initiated against these people. I even indicated the number of the official car in which these people had followed me, and provided other facts which made it quite possible for them to be found. However I received no answer to this petition from the bodies to which I had sent it. Instead, the following quite eloquent reply was received from my investigator: "The behaviour of Bukovsky under investigation

[77. See extracts in *The Times* and other papers, 8 January 1972.]

[78. See Russian text of Bukovsky's transcript of this interview in *Russkaya mysl*, 3 and 10 February 1972, and a slightly condensed translation in the *New York Review of Books*, New York, 9 March 1972.]

gives grounds for ordering an examination of his mental condition".

The investigation was carried out with innumerable procedural infringements. One could say that not a single article of the Code of Criminal Procedure remained uninfringed. The investigators even took such a shameful step as to put an agent in my cell with me, a certain Trofimov, who admitted to me himself that he had been ordered to conduct provocative anti-Soviet conversations with me, the aim being to provoke me into similar statements. For doing this he had been promised an early release. As you see, what I have been incriminated with as a crime is permitted to some people, if this is required by "the interests of the case".

I sent complaints about this to various bodies and I have now demanded that the court attach them to the case; but the court "has been too embarrassed to do this".

As regards the investigator, instead of examining my complaint and giving me an answer, he sent me for an in-patient medical examination to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry.

The investigation department of the [Moscow] directorate of the KGB very much wanted me to be ruled insane. How convenient! After all, there was no case against me, the prosecution had nothing on which to build, but if such a ruling could be made it would not be necessary to prove the commission of any crime, there would simply be a person who was ill, mad . . .

And that's how everything would have gone. There would have been no need for this trial, and there would have been no final speech by me: I would have been sentenced in my absence,—if the intensive involvement of public opinion had not had its effect. For after the first period of examination—in the middle of September—the medical commission discovered an ominous lack of clarity in its clinical picture of me, and, from the questions of the doctors who dealt with me after this, I understood that they were preparing to rule me insane. Only on November 5, after the pressure exerted by public opinion, a new medical commission ruled me healthy. Here is reliable proof of my assertions (which here in this court

are called slanderous) that the psychiatric repression of dissenters is carried out on the orders of the KGB.

I have yet another proof of this. In 1966 I was interned in psychiatric hospitals for eight months, without trial or investigation, and was transferred, as different doctors discharged me, from one hospital to another.

Anyway, on 5 November I was ruled sane, was once again locked up in prison, and the procedural infringements continued. Crudely infringed was the execution of Article 201 of the Russian Code of Criminal Procedure at the end of the investigation. I demanded that the defence lawyer chosen by me should be provided. But the investigator refused me this and signed Article 201 by himself [without the statutory signature of defence counsel], even writing in addition that I had refused to acquaint myself with the case.

In accordance with my right to a defence, assured by Article 48 of the Procedural Code, I demanded that lawyer Dina Isaakovna Kaminskaya be invited to the court for my defence. I made this request to the Chairman of the Moscow Collegium of Lawyers and later received his refusal, which included this statement: "Lawyer Kaminskaya cannot be appointed for the defence, as she does not possess a security pass for secret proceedings". One asks what "secret proceedings" can be involved, when I am being tried for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda? And in any case, where, in which Soviet laws, is there any mention of this famous "security pass"? Nowhere. So, a lawyer was not provided for me. Moreover, the above-mentioned reply from the Collegium of Lawyers, which I was shown, and on which there is my signature, was removed from the case-file and returned to the Collegium of Lawyers, about which there is a note in the case-file. The document was then replaced by another, more innocent reply from the Chairman of the Collegium, which I was not shown. How is this to be evaluated? Simply as official fraudulence.

It necessitated my 12-day hunger-strike, a complaint to the USSR Procurator-General, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and also a new and active intervention by public opinion, for my legal right to a defence to be, at last, recognized,

and I was provided with lawyer Shveisky, who had been engaged by my mother.<sup>79</sup>

Today's trial has also been held with numerous procedural infringements. The indictment, in which the word "libellous" is used 33 times and the word "anti-Soviet" 18 times, does not contain any concrete indications as to precisely which facts out of those communicated by me to the Western correspondents are slanderous, nor as to precisely which materials out of those confiscated from me during a search and, allegedly, circulated by me, are anti-Soviet.

Of the nine petitions which I made at the beginning of the trial, and which were supported by my lawyer, eight were rejected. Not one of the witnesses requested by me, who could have refuted various points of the indictment, was summoned by the court.

I am incriminated, in particular, with the handing of anti-Soviet materials to the Fleming Hugo Sebrechts, who had come to Moscow. These materials were, allegedly, handed by me to him in the presence of [Alexander] Volpin and [Valery] Chalidze. However, my demand that these two people be summoned as witnesses was not granted. Nor was even one of the eight people who could have confirmed the truthfulness of my assertions regarding the facts about the internment and living conditions of people in the special psychiatric hospitals summoned to court.<sup>80</sup> The court rejected my petition to summon these witnesses, on the grounds that they are mentally ill people and cannot give evidence. However, among these people there are two—Z. M. Grigorenko [wife of Pyotr] and A. A. Fainberg [mother of Victor], who have never been interned in special psychiatric hospitals, and have visited these hospitals only as the relatives of internees: they could have

[79. Bukovsky's hunger-strike lasted from 9 to 21 December, and on 22 December his mother saw him for the first time in nine months and found him pale and haggard. See a U.P.I. dispatch of 23 December.]

[80. In addition, in a letter to the Moscow City Court Academician Sakharov had asked that three such people, ex-inmates, be summoned to testify, as documents written by them showed that Bukovsky had publicized "not defamatory inventions but true facts". See an A.P. dispatch from Moscow of 3 January.]

confirmed my evidence about the conditions of imprisonment in these hospitals.

Only those witnesses were summoned to court whom the prosecution asked for. But what sort of witnesses were they? Before my arrest there was sent to me, in all probability by officials of the KGB, a member of the state security forces, presently working in the customs inspection department at Sheremetev Airport, my former school comrade, a certain Nikitinsky, who had been instructed to provoke me into a crime—organizing the import from abroad of equipment for an underground printing-press. But the ill-starred provocateur did not succeed in this. Subsequently the investigators, and now also this court, have tried to turn him into a witness in connection with this charge in the indictment. We have seen here that Nikitinsky failed in this task too.

What were all these provocations and crude procedural infringements necessary for, this stream of slander and of false, unproven charges? Simply in order to punish one person?

No, there is here a “principle”, a sort of “philosophy”. Behind the stated charges stands another, unstated. In condemning me, the authorities are pursuing the aim of concealing their own crimes—the psychiatric repression of dissenters.

By the repression of myself they wish to frighten those people who try to tell the whole world of their crimes. They do not want “to wash our dirty linen in public”, so that they may appear on the world scene as unblemished defenders of the oppressed!

Our society is still sick. It is sick with the fear which has remained with us from the time of Stalinism. But the process of the gaining of spiritual insight by society has already begun, and it is impossible to stop. Society already understands that the criminal is not he who washes our dirty linen in public, but he who dirties the linen. However long I may have to spend in prison, I will never renounce my beliefs. I will express them, exercising the right given to me by Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution, to all who wish to listen to me. I will fight for legality and justice.

And I regret only this: that in the short period—one

year, two months and three days—which I have spent in freedom, I succeeded in doing too little to this end.

\* \* \*

The sentence of the court: seven years of imprisonment, of which the first two years in prison and the remaining five in a corrective labour colony of strict regime, plus five years of exile:<sup>81</sup> court expenses to the sum of 100 rubles to be paid by Bukovsky.

#### The Trial of Nadezhda Emelkina

On 25 November the trial took place in Moscow of Nadezhda Pavlovna Emelkina (on her arrest see *Chronicle* 20), charged with preparing and circulating libellous information which defamed the Soviet social and political system (Article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code).

On 27 June 1971, at 6.00 in the evening, Nadezhda Emelkina went onto Pushkin Square with a placard demanding freedom for the political prisoners of the USSR and freedom for Vladimir Bukovsky. In addition to this she threw into the crowd a bunch of leaflets with the following text: “In recent years hundreds of people in the USSR have been arrested and sentenced for being true to their beliefs, for demanding freedom of expression, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR. Those condemned are kept in the Mordovian camps—p/ya ZhKh-

[81. Numerous protests and appeals were made against this sentence, notably an appeal of 22 January by 52 of Bukovsky's friends to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim (text and signatories in *Russkaya mysl*, 23 March), a letter to *The Times* (31 January) from 39 prominent British writers, scholars and politicians, an appeal by 75 Swiss writers, scholars and politicians, members of the Swiss Writers' Association, to Kosygin (text and signatures in *Der Bund*, Bern, 20 January), and an appeal to Brezhnev by Academician Sakharov (*The Guardian*, London, 21 January). Nevertheless, the sentence was confirmed on 22 February at a two-hour session of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R., to which neither Bukovsky's friends, nor Academician Sakharov, nor independent journalists were admitted, but only his mother. See an A.P. dispatch of 22 February and *The Times*, 23 February. An A.P. dispatch from New York of 2 March reported that Bukovsky had been sent to the prison in Vladimir, and that his friends feared for his survival in view of his heart condition.]

385, Mordovskaya ASSR (if sentenced under Article 70 of the Code), and in camps for ordinary criminals (if under Article 190); alternatively, Nazi methods are applied to those sentenced—the internment of healthy people in special psychiatric prisons, where they receive forcible treatment and are held for an indefinite period.

*Citizens!* Understand that in your country people continue to this very day to be arrested for their beliefs, like in the terrible times of Stalin.

Nadezhda Emelkina, 25, worker, Moscow.  
27 June 1971."

That evening there was a holiday on the occasion of Youth Day and many people were in the square. After a few minutes Emelkina was seized by police officials and driven off to a police-station, whence she was transferred to the Butyrka Prison.

The trial took place in the people's court of the Babushkin District of Moscow. Judge [V.V.] Bogdanov presided, Procurator Biryukova led for the prosecution, and Emelkina was defended by lawyer [S.L.] Ariya.<sup>82</sup> The trial lasted from eleven a.m. to two p.m. Almost one and a half hours were spent on preparing the text of the sentence, and so the entire judicial examination lasted for not more than one and a half hours. Seven witnesses were questioned in connection with the case, including two police officials who had detained Emelkina, and who confirmed what had occurred on Pushkin Square on June 27. All of them recognized the placard which Emelkina had held, and copies of the leaflet which she had handed out. Emelkina confirmed the facts with which she was incriminated, but pleaded not guilty. She said that the facts stated in the leaflet corresponded to reality and were not libellous fabrications. She declared that the right to protest against the infringement of legality was her constitutional right. To the procurator's question whether she regretted what had happened, Emelkina answered in the negative.

Procurator Biryukova in her speech for the prosecution

[82. Bogdanov presided also at the trials of N. Gorbanevskaya, O. Iofe, M. Makarenko and A. Levitin (*Chronicles* 15, 16, 20). Biryukova prosecuted also at Levitin's trial. Ariya defended also V. Lashkova, I. Rips and J. Mendelevich (*Chronicles* 1, 10, 17).]

stated, among other things, that there were no political prisoners in the Soviet Union and that this term was in no way applicable to Soviet reality. She said also that in the Soviet Union no-one was tried for his beliefs. Emelkina's assertion that in our country people are imprisoned in psychiatric prisons she described as a monstrous slander. In conclusion she demanded as punishment for Emelkina five years of exile.

Defence Counsel Ariya, in his speech for the defence, said that five years of exile would be a clear infringement of the law, as Article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code laid down three years of imprisonment as the maximum punishment. Exile was a milder measure than imprisonment. If a milder measure was being applied, then it was juridically completely unfounded that the term of exile should significantly exceed the maximum term envisaged for the normal type of punishment.

N. Emelkina said that her final speech was the text of the leaflet which she had handed out.

The court sentenced N. P. Emelkina to five years of exile [see also note 30].

\* \* \*

A statement circulated by Emelkina's friends after the trial contains the words: "The time she spent calling for freedom for Soviet political prisoners on Pushkin Square was five minutes. For this she received five years."

#### Hunger Strikes by Political Prisoners *Dubrovlag* (st. Potma, Mordovskaya ASSR).

On 1 May 1971 Yu. [P.] Fyodorov, who is serving a fifteen-year term in connection with the Leningrad "aeroplane" case [see *Chronicle* 17], declared a week-long hunger-strike in protest against his sentence and against the lack of any reaction to his appeals by the supervisory bodies [e.g., the procuracy]. Fyodorov did, however, turn out for work. On this occasion the administration used threats, expressing particular regret that the hunger strike had been announced on a national holiday.

\* \* \*

A. Murzhenko (term 15 years, an "aeroplane" man) did not receive a meeting with his wife Lyuba. Here are some lines from a note received by her from him: "Dear Anechka and Lyuba! Since 18 November I have been on hunger strike, in protest at my illegal deprivation of a meeting with you. I will continue the hunger strike until they allow the meeting, although my head is already spinning and I can write only with difficulty. Will I really not see you?" . . .

\* \* \*

Eight political prisoners—V. Abankin, N. Bondar, G. Gavrilov, N. Ivanov, V. Pavlenkov, Yu. Fyodorov, A. Chekhovskoi and I. Kandyba—appealed on the eve of Human Rights Day, in an open letter to the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Human Rights Commission of the UN, and described in detail the lawlessness to which they, their families, and many Soviet citizens who share their fate were being subjected.<sup>83</sup> At the end of the letter they say: "Citizen Deputies! . . . On the 23rd anniversary of Freedom Day [i.e. of the Declaration of Human Rights] we, Soviet political prisoners, appeal to you, and demand:

(1) The observance by the Soviet government of those international and Soviet laws which do not contradict general democratic principles, e.g., those contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the USSR, the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, etc.<sup>84</sup>

(2) The ruling of Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, and of the corresponding articles of the criminal

[83. For extracts, which add significantly to those given here, see *The Times*, 10 December 1971, and a Reuter dispatch of 9 December. On Gennady Gavrilov, a naval officer of 34, Nikolai Ivanov, an art historian of 34, Vladlen Pavlenkov, a history lecturer of 42, Yury I. Fyodorov, a former MVD investigator of 35, and Ivan Kandyba, a Ukrainian lawyer of 41, see Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*. On Bondar see "News in Brief" below. Alexander K. Chekhovskoi, 24, and V. A. Abankin are both workers about whose cases little is yet known.]

[84. See texts in Ian Brownlie, ed., *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, Oxford, 1971.]

codes of the other union republics, to be anti-constitutional and contrary to the international legal obligations undertaken by the government of the USSR, and also a review of all the cases of people sentenced under these articles.

(3) An immediate end to the persecution of people for propagating their views and convictions, except in the case of those views and convictions which contradict international legal conventions.

(4) An immediate end to the persecution of people for propagating ideas of national self-determination.

(5) In the USSR not only Soviet, but also international legal norms are infringed. Therefore we appeal to the Human Rights Commission of the UN to send to Soviet concentration camps and prisons an international commission to study the real situation, and we demand that the Soviet government create all the conditions necessary for the commission to carry out its work freely.

(6) We demand that you show initiative in working out a convention on "the regime for the confinement of political prisoners" and table it for adoption by the 27th session of the General Assembly of the UN.

(7) In accordance with the working out and adoption of the above-mentioned convention we demand the immediate official recognition of us as political prisoners and the introduction of such conditions of detention as have become normal for people in this category in all civilized countries, namely: (a) voluntary labour and an immediate end to the system of paying for the camp and prison administrations out of the income of the political prisoners; (b) the removal of limitations on correspondence and meetings; (c) the removal of limitations on the receiving of literature; (d) the removal of limitations on the receiving of parcels and the purchasing of food products with one's personal means; (e) the chance to do academic work and to study by correspondence at academic institutions; (f) the right to wear one's own clothes and an end to the practice of having one's head shaved bare, which humiliates one's human dignity.

(8) The immediate release of the mentally ill, of wounded people, of chronically and seriously ill people, and of women with young children.

(9) The immediate abolition of all secret directives, and also of directives and regulations which contradict the law

but are operating in the concentration camps and prisons.

(10) An immediate end to the persecution in any form of our relatives, friends and acquaintances; and the punishment of the people who organize such persecution.

(11) An end to all extra-judicial punishments—"administrative surveillance", the ban on living in holiday towns, etc.—as contradicting the USSR Constitution, international legal norms and elementary justice.

(12) The preparation and declaration of a general political amnesty for people whose crimes are the result of the presence in the criminal codes of the Soviet Union Republics of articles which contradict the Declaration of Human Rights.

Deprived of the possibility to appeal to the governments of other countries, we, Soviet political prisoners, authorize the legislative organ of the USSR to demand in our name from the governments of those states which have political prisoners their immediate amnesty.

In support of our demands<sup>85</sup> we are exercising the only right which really exists for us—the right to a hunger strike, and we now announce one for December 8 to 10.

\* \* \*

In December 1971 nine political prisoners—J. Šilinskas, S. Kudirka, O. Frolov, P. Airikyan, S. Ponomaryov, A. Jastrauskas, S. Malchevsky, V. Platonov, and V. Rodionov—appealed to the International Red Cross<sup>86</sup> in order to

[85. For detailed descriptions of the situation which provokes these demands see especially A. Marchenko, *My Testimony*, Penguin, 1971, and various documents in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers* and Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*.]

[86. For additional extracts see *The Times*, 31 December 1971, and a Reuter dispatch of 30 December. *The Daily Telegraph*, London, reported on 1 January 1972 that the Red Cross had not yet received the full text of the appeal, but that the President of its International Committee in Geneva, M. Marcel Naville, intended to study the question of political imprisonment in the USSR without delay. On Sergei Ponomaryov, an arts graduate of 26, Sergei Malchevsky, an artillery-school graduate and taxi-driver of 36, and Vyacheslav Platonov, an orientalist of 30, see Reddaway, pp. 390-92, 480 and 376-80, and the "Register of People Sentenced in the 1960's", *Possev: 9-iy spetsialnyi vypusk*,

"draw the attention of the most representative international organization to our extremely severe situation and to ask for your intervention and help in combating the tyranny and the methodical physical, mental and spiritual oppression which we are suffering." Describing the inhuman conditions in which political prisoners are held in the USSR (officially they are considered, by the way, as ordinary criminals, although they are held separately from such people), the authors especially stress the inevitability of the repressions to which morally strong people are subjected when they defend their dignity and spiritual freedom (an example is the dispatch in spring 1971 to Vladimir Prison of the priest B. B. Zalivako).<sup>87</sup> This is true to an even greater degree as regards people who express active protests. "In July 1970, in camp 19, infuriated by the tyranny of the administration, 18 people carried out a six-day hunger-strike in protest.<sup>88</sup> They were all immediately subjected to various repressions, and four of them—N. Dragosh, N. Tarnavsky, V. Kulynin, and S. Zatikyan<sup>89</sup> were transferred to Vladimir Prison . . . for participating in a hunger-strike with the aim of avoiding work."

On 28 August [1971], also in camp 19, fourteen prisoners of various nationalities, convictions and religious beliefs

Frankfurt, October 1971, prisoners 85 and 62. On Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian naval telegrapher of 42, Oleg Frolov, a student of 23, Paruir Airikyan (can also be trans-literated Hairikyan), an Armenian student of 33, and Vyacheslav Rodionov, a carpenter of 26, see *Chronicle* 20, 12 and 14, 16 and 16 respectively, and the "Register", prisoners 6 and 58. Jonas Šilinskas is a Lithuanian student of 28, and A. A. Jastrauskas a Lithuanian worker of 29.]

[87. On Boris Zalivako, aged 31, see *Chronicle* 17.]

[88. On this strike see *Chronicle* 15, *Possev: Shestoi spetsialnyi vypusk*, February 1971, p. 19.]

[89. On Nikolai Dragesh, a head-waster of 39, and Nikolai Tarnavsky, a teacher of 31, see *Chronicle* 18 and 20 and the "Register", prisoners 37 and 38. On Vasilii Kulynin, a Ukrainian lathe-operator of 28, see *Chronicle* 17 and "Register", prisoner 35. On Stepan Zatikyan, an Armenian student of 25 sentenced in 1968, see "Register", prisoner 46, and *Chronicle* 18, which, however, erroneously suggests that he was sentenced at one of the Armenian trials described in No. 16. In fact, Zatikyan's group produced the paper *Paros* in 1968 or earlier, and later, at the second of these trials, in 1970, Airikyan was charged with having circulated it among his own group.]

declared a hunger strike, demanding the quashing of an illegal decision by a court which had sentenced two of their comrades to be transferred to Vladimir Prison (one for "malicious infringement of the regime", which consisted of "walking to the dining room out of line", "walking about the camp territory in slippers", "rising at reveille three minutes late", and so on, and the other for refusing to surrender a manuscript and a booklet of religious content during the humiliating procedure of a body search); all of these people, also, were subjected to various repressions.<sup>90</sup>

Cases are then listed of the death of political prisoners because of the criminal negligence of the camp doctors, who carry out the orders of "the operations officials" (the death before the eyes of the medical personnel in winter 1969 of [Rashid] Dinmukhamedov, who had slit his veins in protest at the refusal to give him medical aid (see *Chronicle* 17 and also its Supplement); the suicide of [Juozas] Lankauskas, who had earlier been ruled of unsound mind but later transferred from the hospital to a camp [No. 12 and Supplement to 17]; the murder by a guard of another mentally ill person, B. Zitkiavičius, who in summer 1967 got into the forbidden zone).

The letter reports that to mark the anniversary of the adoption by the UN of the Declaration of Human Rights many prisoners declared a hunger strike of protest from December 8 to 11; at Camp-section 3/1, for example, 30 people took part in the strike, and the flag of the United Nations was flown, together with symbolic ribbons of mourning. The names of those who suffered repressions for this strike are given. Among those repressed were several of the authors of the letter.

The last words of the letter are: "We ask for help, we ask for your collaboration, we ask you to bring this appeal to the knowledge of world public opinion."

\* \* \*

[90. See further details of this strike in No. 22, "News from the Mordovian Camps and Vladimir Prison".]

#### **The Renewal of the Hunger-Strike by V. Fainberg and V. Borisov in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital**

Victor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov, who are in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital, declared a new hunger-strike on 26 December 1971 (on their previous hunger-strike see *Chronicles* 19 and 22).

Between 20 and 26 December Fainberg appealed to the USSR Minister of Health, Academician Petrovsky, protesting about the brutal beating-up by hospital orderlies of the patient Valery Afanasev; about the blackmail and cruelties to which the patients are subjected; and about the open unwillingness of the medical personnel of the hospital to put an end to these disgraceful acts and to punish those guilty of them. "I ask you to take immediate steps to investigate this crime thoroughly," Fainberg finishes his letter, "and to bring the guilty people to criminal account. As regards myself, if no investigation is started in the next few days, and the affair is 'hushed up', as usually happens, then I will have no other choice but to renew my hunger strike". In a post-script Fainberg adds that head of the block Medvedsky (who, incidentally, confirmed the facts about the beating-up of Afanasev, but then renounced his testimony) has informed him that he had heard that Fainberg, after this episode, "would not be discharged".

On 26 December Fainberg announced to the hospital administration that he was renewing his hunger strike. The reasons were the violation by the administration of all the promises made to him and Borisov, and also its new crimes: "the covering up of the brutal beating of the patient Afanasev in section 11 and of patient Averyanov in section one; the ordering of neuroleptic drugs [?—neuroleptiki] for mentally healthy people—the political prisoners [Evgeny] Komarov [see *Chronicle* 18], Purtov and Ponomaryov". Fainberg reports that his comrade Borisov has also declared a hunger strike, and he states that he will conduct any discussions about ending the hunger strike only jointly with Borisov, and that the ending of the strike will be possible only when guarantees are given that their demands will not be rejected.

On the same day Fainberg and Borisov announced their

decision to strike in a letter addressed to world public opinion.<sup>91</sup>

\* \* \*

On 1 January 1972 A. D. Sakharov appealed to L. I. Brezhnev, A. N. Kosygin and N. V. Podgorny, informing them that the life of Fainberg and Borisov was in danger, and asking them: "(1) immediately to transfer Fainberg and Borisov to a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type, and thus to remove them from the authority of people whom they had accused of crimes.

(2) To carry out without delay an objective psychiatric examination of them."<sup>92</sup>

\* \* \*

#### The Anniversary of the "Aeroplane" Trial

On 24 December, the anniversary of the sentence in the Leningrad "aeroplane" case, 29 prisoners from this and subsequent Jewish trials carried out a three-day protest hunger-strike.<sup>93</sup> The only non-participants in this were M. Dymshits, G. Butman, and M. Korenblit, who were at that time in the KGB prison in [the Mordovian capital of] Saransk.

\* \* \*

[91. On 3 January 1972 *The Times* carried a long summary of this letter.]

[92. On 29 February *The Times* reported that Fainberg had attempted suicide with a broken light-bulb after doctors had used injections of aminazin to try to make him end his strike, and that his and Borisov's relatives had sent telegrams to the Ministers of Health and Internal Affairs on 14 January. On 7 March it reported that the two men had ended their two-month strike in late February and been brought to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow for a three-month in-patient examination.]

[93. See extracts from an appeal by the "aeroplane" prisoners, which calls among other things for a Red Cross inspection of the camps, in a U.P.I. dispatch of 24 December 1971.]

To mark their solidarity with the prisoners, Jews in many cities throughout the country declared hunger strikes.<sup>94</sup>

In Moscow 25 people began a three-day hunger strike at seven p.m. on 23 December. They sent a statement to the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, N. V. Podgorny. In the course of the following day 21 additional people joined the fasters. The hunger strike was carried out in five flats.

In Riga 22 Jews gathered beside the Supreme Court building on the morning of December 24. Two days earlier they had sent a letter to N. V. Podgorny, announcing their 72-hour protest hunger-strike. Beside the building of the Latvian Supreme Court the people who had gathered observed a minute of silence. Then they were arrested and taken to police headquarters in Riga, where they were held until the evening.

In Tbilisi eight people carried out a hunger strike and sent a letter to Podgorny, Rudenko, and the USSR Supreme Court.

In Kiev 19 people carried out a hunger strike in three flats, after sending a telegram to Podgorny.

In Rostov [-on-the-Don] Lazar Lyubarsky carried out a three-day hunger strike.

In Kishinyov [Moldavia] 14 Jews carried out a hunger strike to mark their solidarity with the prisoners.

Twenty Jews of Vilnius, in a letter to Podgorny, demanded the release of the prisoners. Eight people carried out a three-day hunger strike.

In Odessa four people joined the hunger strike on the second day.

\* \* \*

Many letters and telegrams were sent to N. V. Podgorny. In a letter from 31 people in Moscow the signatories write

[94. These were widely reported in the world press on 27 and 28 December, and massive detail, with texts of the statements is given in *News Bulletin on Soviet Jewry* [NBSJ], Tel-Aviv, No. 208, 15-25 December. For details of this bulletin, and of *Jews in the U.S.S.R.—Latest Information*, which also carries extensive news and documents, see Bibliography, sections I.c. and III.]

that the sentence in the case of the "aeroplane people", which by its cruelty and injustice provoked a wave of protests throughout the world, has not led to the results desired and expected by the organizers of the trial. The flow of requests to leave has only increased. The authors note that in the last year it has become easier to leave, and now the desperate step which was provoked by the circumstances of the previous year would probably not have been necessary. The letter ends with a request to review the case.

\* \* \*

155 inhabitants of Leningrad, Riga, Vilnius, Odessa, and Kishinyov have sent a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. "We appeal to you with this urgent request: in the name of Goodness and Justice, which ought to lie at the basis of all decision-making, release our relatives and friends, and give us the chance to leave with our families for the State of Israel."

\* \* \*

#### The Jewish Movement to leave for Israel

On 10 December, the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights, 27 Jews were apprehended outside the premises of the UN Information Centre in Moscow, where they had intended to hand in a protest at being refused permission to emigrate. They were held for several hours at a sobering-up station, where they were accused during questioning of attempting to carry out an anti-Soviet provocation. On the same day several Jews were detained outside their homes.<sup>95</sup>

\* \* \*

Numerous cases have become known of Jews being subjected to coercion, threats and physical violence after stating their desire to emigrate to Israel.

On 5 October, for example, while taking the lift up to her flat, *Rozita Rozenblyum* was threatened by "an unknown man" who held a knife at her throat. These

[95. See list in *NBSJ*, No. 207, 1-14 December.]

criminal acts were accompanied by anti-Semitic abuse: "So you want to go to Israel, you Jewish bitch!"

The family of *Dr. Yuly Nudelman* has also been the object of bullying anti-Semitic attacks.<sup>96</sup> On 27 September, at school No. 8 in Lyubertsy [near Moscow], a meeting was held at which Nudelman's daughter Anna, a pupil in the tenth class, was expelled from the Komsomol, whereupon the school-children came to the house where the Nudelman family resides and for about two hours chanted: "Beat it to Israel, Yids!" The police were called, but did not arrive for one-and-a-half hours. No measures were taken, and after the police had left stones were thrown through the windows of the flat. The windows of Nudelman's flat were again smashed on the night of 11-12 October, the festival of Simchat Torah. Major Sofiisky, who arrived in response to a call for the police, stated that it was difficult to protect Nudelman's family, since they were going to a fascist state, and consequently all the members of Nudelman's family were fascists.

At a meeting held in Simferopol [Crimea] for the purpose of issuing a reference to *Elizaveta Zhukovskaya*, the mother of two children, there were shouts of: "Her sort ought to be mercilessly done away with".

At a Moscow oil refinery engineer *Gennady Shner*<sup>97</sup> was shouted at in terms such as: "Put him up against a wall! Send him to the tundra! Not enough of you were shot in the war! They all ought to be wiped out! We've done it before and we'll do it again!"

At a Komsomol meeting held at the October Revolution Institute of Musical Education to consider the question of issuing a reference to *Alla Kleyer*, a student at the Institute, *Mikhailenko*, a student and Komsomol committee member, stated in the presence of the administration, lecturers and 150 students in Kleyer's year: "They used to execute traitors. I still would." At this there were shouts from the hall: "String 'em up, do them in!"

*Issa Yakovlevna Ginzburg-Chernyak*, senior lecturer in

[96. On these see also *NBSJ*, No. 202, 25 September-4 October. The family later, in mid-November, left for Israel.]

[97. See text of his letter to the UN Commission on Human Rights, in which he describes the events leading up to his dismissal on 20 September, in *NBSJ*, No. 203, 6-17 October 1971.]

French at the Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages, has worked there for 26 years. At the age of nineteen she was a secret agent fighting against fascism. Six years ago her ten-year-old son was murdered by anti-Semitic criminals. At an augmented meeting of the party committee of the Institute, her colleagues shouted at her: "So first you struggle against fascism, then you embrace fascism?"<sup>98</sup>

\* \* \*

Cases of dismissal after the submission of applications for a reference have become more frequent.

Here are a few examples.

*Dismissed from work under various articles [of the Code of Labour Legislation].*

*Moscow.* Yury Belyavsky, member of the All-Union Radio Large Symphony Orchestra, has been dismissed during an illness. Galina Ginzburg was dismissed from the All-Union Radio the day after submitting an application for a reference. Yuly Nudelman, head of the department of surgery at the Moscow Railwaymen's Hospital, has been dismissed under article 70 (at the request of trade union organisations). Pavel Goldshtein, a literary historian, has been dismissed from the Museum of Literature, after sixteen years' service as a senior research officer, under article 47 (unsuitability for one's post (1)). Issa Ginzburg-Chernyak has been dismissed from the Maurice Thorez Institute during an illness. Vladimir Zaretsky, senior research officer at the Institute of Biological and Medicinal Chemistry of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, has been dismissed "on grounds of redundancy". Grigory Sivashinsky, a mathematician, has been dismissed from a mechanics research institute. Engineer G. Shner has been dismissed after a meeting resembling a pogrom from the All-Union Research Institute for the Oil-refining Industry [VNIPIN], at the request of the local trade union committee.

*Reduced in rank.* In Simferopol: senior engineers Edgar Zhukovsky and Arkady Shtenbuk; in Moscow: Boris Orlov, a section head at the All-Union Research Institute of Standardization, transferred to the post of research officer; and Z. Karavanova, senior foreman at a footwear

[98. On this episode see *NBSJ*, No. 205, 1-15 November.]

factory, reduced in rank with a decrease in salary of one third.<sup>99</sup>

*Obliged to resign* by the creation of intolerable conditions at their places of work: Joseph Begun, Master of Technical Sciences; Vladimir Slepak, leading engineer at the Special Construction Bureau of the Institute of Organic Chemistry of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Larissa Milyavskaya, a teacher; Ilya Korenfeld and Victor Pol'sky, engineers; Alexander Slepak, laboratory assistant; Chernyavskaya, senior editor of the journal *Standards and Quality*; Gabriel Shapiro, Aron Lisyansky and Vladimir Rozenblyum, engineers; Rozita Rozenblyum, translator.

In Gurzuf in the Crimea, Joseph Shoikhet [see *NBSJ*, No. 202] and Riva Remenik, who had been members of their trade union for more than 30 years, have been expelled from the union and are now unemployed.

In July 1971 Joachim Braun, born 1929, a graduate of the Latvian State Conservatoire (in violin), a Master of Arts and a member of the USSR Union of Composers, submitted an application to emigrate to Israel to the OVIR [Department of Registrations and Visas] of the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs. On 26 July 1971 he was expelled in his absence from the Union of Composers by the Presidium of the Latvian Union (according to the constitution of the USSR Union of Composers, the personal cases of members must be examined in their presence). In August the Liesma publishing house [in Riga] withdrew from the press a research work by J. Braun on musical instruments after it had passed the second stage of proof-reading, and the publication of the entire ninth issue of the collection *Latvian Music*, which included this work of his, was postponed for a year. The Directorate of the book trade, in a letter of 22 November 1971 (no. 5/1306), gave instructions for J. Braun's books, *The Development of Violin Music in Latvia* (1962), *The Violin and the Viola* (1964) and *Violin Technique* (1968) to be withdrawn from book-shops. On 1 September Braun was dismissed from the post of teacher of violin at the E. Darzin special musical school by order of the headmaster of school No. 68-k, under article 15 of the Decree

[99. On Zhukovsky, Shtenbuk and Zoya Karavanova (wife of Lev Shenkar) see *NBSJ*, Nos. 202 and 203.]

of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of 30 November 1970 (this article confers the right to dismiss persons engaged in educational work for committing an immoral act). The people's court of the Leningrad District of Riga, in a decision of 13 October 1971, dismissed J. Braun's action for reinstatement (the submission of an application to leave the USSR to take up permanent residence in a capitalist country was deemed to be an "immoral act"). The Latvian Supreme Court, in a decision of 3 November 1971, upheld the decision of the people's court, stating: "the behaviour of the plaintiff, expressed in his intention to renounce Soviet citizenship, justified the administration of the school in no longer entrusting him with the education of its pupils". J. Braun had been working at the school since 1952.

J. Braun was refused permission to emigrate on 23 August 1971. The refusal was confirmed on 13 September and 29 November.

*Yakov Mikhailovich Levin*, head of the surgical division of medical post no. 47 of the Chief Moscow Construction concern [Glavmosstroy], was demoted in December for requesting a reference for emigration to Israel, and on 7 December was compelled to resign. His family consists of five persons.

At the beginning of October 1971 *Burshtein*, a junior research officer at the Gamalei Institute of Microbiology and Epidemiology of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, who had announced his decision to emigrate to Israel, failed to be re-elected to his post for a further term by the Academic Council of the institute. Besides the members of the Academic Council, the administration also invited to the meeting other leading employees and heads of laboratories who had been removed from the Council in 1968 (before the meeting which considered the case of A. E. Gurvich, who had signed one of the protests against the conviction of A. Ginzburg<sup>100</sup>). Many of those invited were Jews. The director of the institute, O. V. Baroyan (a KGB official of long standing [and an Assistant to the Director-General of the World Health Organization since 1963]), pressed them to state their opinion of Burshtein,

[100. See P. Litvinov, *Protess chetyrekh* (The Trial of the Four).]

although they had not requested the floor. Those who spoke condemned Burshtein and cited his decision to leave for Israel as a reason why he should not be re-elected.

On 7 December *Itala Belopolskaya*, who had worked as a proof-reader for the Kiev newspaper *Youth of the Ukraine* for fifteen years, was dismissed after applying for a reference for emigration to Israel. The terms of her dismissal—"unsuitability for her work".

Three fifth-year students at the Leningrad Electrotechnical Institute, *S. Rinchen* (from Chernovtsy [Ukraine]), *E. Rubinshtain* and *N. Fridman* (from Kishinyov [Moldavia]), have been expelled from the Komsomol and recommended for expulsion from the institute for studying Hebrew and the history of the state of Israel.

#### The Persecution of Believers in Lithuania

##### *The Trial of the priest J. Zdebskis*

The trial of the priest Juozas Zdebskis (see *Chronicle* Nos. 21, 22), who was arrested on 26 August in Prienai [30 m. S of Kaunas], took place on 11 November 1971 in the people's court of the Kaunas District. Zdebskis had been brutally beaten while in police custody, and until his trial he had been held in the Lukiski prison in Vilnius.

Despite the fact that the time and place of the trial had been carefully kept secret by the authorities, about 600 people had assembled outside the court-house by 10 a.m., many of them girls who had brought flowers. The police began to disperse the crowd; one woman suffered a broken rib, another lost consciousness from a blow on the head; women and girls were beaten, hurled to the ground, dragged along by their feet and shoved into police vans. In all about twenty people were driven away, including two priests. Bloodstains and trampled flowers were left on the steps and in the street. Pedestrians and vehicles were forbidden to stop outside the courthouse, and all the residents of neighbouring buildings were ordered to close their windows.

The chairman of the court was Gumuljauskas, People's Judge of the Kaunas District; in addition to the state prosecutor, who was the Prienai District Procurator, a public prosecutor had also been appointed—Rakitskas,

headmaster of the Prienai boarding-school. Counsel for Zdebskis was Rauba.

Question from the Judge: "What did you teach the children?"

Zdebskis: "To understand the holy sacraments and the Mass."

Judge: "What texts did you use?"

Zdebskis: "Old catechisms and prayer-books."

Judge: "You were warned that teaching was not allowed."

Zdebskis: "So I was told, but it was never forbidden in writing. Church and state are separated, but I think parents have the right to educate their own children. We were simply teaching at the [Sunday] school, there was no compulsion. What am I on trial for?"

Judge: "Did you tell the children that it was wrong to marry persons professing another religion?"

Zdebskis: "There is no Church law to that effect; it would be criminal for a priest to teach against the laws of the Church."

Judge: "Did you teach the children to contravene the laws of the state?"

Zdebskis: "I taught them obedience."

Judge: "Have you previously been convicted for giving children religious instruction?"

Zdebskis: "Yes, but when it was discovered that the instruction was voluntary I was legally exculpated. Why am I on trial today? What am I being tried for?"

About ten children, aged between nine and eleven, were questioned as witnesses. When they were asked "What did he teach you?" the children answered: "Not to steal or break windows". "Did he test whether you knew your prayers?"—"I can't remember." Many of them did not answer, but just cried.

The public prosecutor's address consisted, in effect, of nothing but rabble-rousing insults. The Procurator stated: "Children get all the teaching they need at school; there is no reason for them to go to church for more. We shall not allow children to be taught anywhere except at school". He demanded a sentence of one year of corrective-labour camps under article 143 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code [on the separation of church and state, and of church and school].

Defence counsel said that article 143 had not been violated, and drew attention to the public prosecutor's abusive tone.

In his ten-minute final address, which was three times interrupted by the Judge, Zdebskis said that he had nothing new to add to what the priest Šeškevičius had said in his speech for the defence at his trial the previous year [see *Chronicles* 17 and 20]. He had broken no laws, but had merely performed his clear duty: ". . . it is one of a priest's obligations . . . It was to apply my knowledge in practice that I graduated from a religious seminary. If priests are permitted to exist, then they must also be given the right to work . . . After all, the believers only pay my wages so that I can serve them in their religious affairs, as a specialist in this field . . . I have no right to refuse a request to instruct a child. Imagine, respected judge, how you would feel if you were put on trial, as I am now, for carrying out your duties. It can be inferred from what the public prosecutor and the Procurator have said that two sorts of laws exist in the Soviet Union: some are put on public view, but it is the others, the secret ones, which govern the practice of the authorities. If we are to believe the prosecutors, then the Church in the Soviet Union is not separated from the state, but is strictly subject to the atheistic law. If children may not be prepared for their first communion, then why do we need this Constitution of ours at all? Why all these solemn declarations about freedom of conscience? It is unattractive to say one thing and do another. It compromises the laws in the eyes of the people: they cease to respect such laws . . ."

After a two-hour recess sentence was passed: one year of ordinary-regime corrective-labour camps.

\* \* \*

On 6 November 1971 believers in Prienai addressed a letter to the [first] secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian communist party, A. Snečkus, and to the Chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers [J. A. Maniušis]:

"We, Christian working people of Soviet Lithuania, are celebrating with new successes in our life and in our labour an auspicious occasion—the 54th anniversary of the October Revolution.

"We would wish this to be an occasion for rejoicing. But alas, our hearts are saddened by the malicious persecution visited upon us for our desire to study our religion.

"How can we, as parents, feel other than resentful when someone tries to take away our parental rights in the moral upbringing of our children, and is determined to turn them into atheists?

"The thousands of working people who have signed appeals to the USSR Authorities have expressed their wishes in no uncertain terms.

"We await the day when those ringing phrases about justice, liberty and happiness will no longer merely be trumpeted from platforms and blazoned on roofs, but will also exist in reality."

The letter was accompanied by a photograph of the priest J. Zdebskis surrounded by children and their parents.

\* \* \*

#### *The Trial of the Priest P. Bubnis*

In the summer of 1971 the Bishop of Kaunas was given official permission to carry out the confirmation of children in the church at Raseiniai. Priests informed believers accordingly.

During the period when the children were being tested on their knowledge, the Raseiniai District authorities repeatedly burst into the churches. When this happened in the village of Girkalnis on 23 July there were no children in the church, but on 25 July the priest P. Bubnis was examining a boy while about 30 other children waited their turn. The children were seized and dragged off to the fire station, where they were each given pencil and paper to write "prosecution testimony", which was dictated to them, against Bubnis. Many of the children were taken ill. Later the children and their parents were summoned to the District Executive Committee and to the school for questioning.

In the indictment, which was drawn up by the Raseiniai Procurator, Bubnis's notification to the believers that their children's knowledge was to be *tested* was described as a call for them to undergo *instruction*: and it was "the organised instruction of children" of which he was accused.

Bubnis was tried by the Raseiniai people's court on 12 November 1971. The sentence—one year of ordinary-regime corrective-labour camps [see note 40].

Parishioners in the village of Kučiunai, in the Lazdijai District, applied to the republican authorities for permission to complete the construction of a brick-built church to replace the dilapidated wooden building functioning at present.

The sole reaction to this letter was a statement to the incumbent of the church by [Justas] Rugenis, chairman of the Committee for Religious Affairs [attached to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers], to the effect that he would have to leave his parish.

In December 700 parishioners (including six deputies of local Soviets) addressed a complaint to L. I. Brezhnev about the actions of the local authorities.

\* \* \*

On 4 October 1971 the Varena District Executive Committee imposed a fine of 50 roubles on [A.] Keina, the incumbent of the parish of Valkininkai, for allowing children to act as servers during church services. The priest was not permitted to speak at a meeting of the administrative affairs commission of the executive committee. For these actions Keina instituted legal proceedings against the authorities.

At the hearing in Varena on 15 November 1971 he explained that he had taken no action with regard to the instruction of the children, and that they had acted as servers on the initiative of their parents, who were believers. Visockis, deputy chairman of the Varena District Executive Committee, who was representing the defendants, accused the priest of breaking the law, referring to documents in the possession of Rugenis (see the foregoing item); the hearing was postponed.

At a hearing on 7 December it emerged that one of the statements mentioned by Visockis bore a false signature, while he had written another himself and then forced a boy named Kazlaukas to sign it by threatening him.

The Procurator defended the decision of the commission of the executive committee: "What would happen if parents were allowed to decide questions concerning the instruction of their children? . . ."

The court dismissed Keina's action. In response to the intense indignation of those present, a police detachment was summoned.

\* \* \*

The same Visockis (see the foregoing item), in company with a woman-teacher, Klukaite, and the headmaster of the school, threatened the schoolboy Kazlauskas with a bad mark for conduct if he did not give him the name of children who went to church. Klukaite and another teacher, Maisaitene, told a schoolgirl named Kazukaite that if she went to church she would be given bad references and would be unable to get a job. Grezaite, another schoolgirl, was warned that if she continued to go to church she would be barred from taking her examinations.

\* \* \*

In response to complaints by the parents of these and other children who had been subjected to blackmail of a similar nature, Voroneckas, chairman of the Varena District Executive Committee, stated that "teachers are entitled to educate children in the spirit of atheism".

\* \* \*

At the secondary school in the village of Urkioniai [or Jurkonai?] a schoolgirl named Lusickaite was threatened by Saulenene, a teacher, with being given low marks because she went to church.

#### News in Brief

##### Tashkent

At the end of July 1971 two members of the national movement of the Crimean Tatar people were convicted—Aishe Seitmuratova,<sup>101</sup> a [history] lecturer at Samarkand University, and Lenur [or Denur?] Ibragimov, a teacher. They were charged with the preparation and circulation of material slandering the Soviet social and political system (article 191[-4] of the Uzbek Criminal Code) and sentenced to three and two years' imprisonment respectively.

[101. I.e. Aishe Muratova, daughter of Seit, born 1937. On her and Ibragimov see *Chronicle* 20.]

##### Lithuania

Jonas Lauce, born 1917, a teacher of literature and academic administrator at a school in Birzai, was arrested in August 1971. (This fact was reported very briefly, without even giving Lauce's name, in the "Letter from a group of Lithuanian intellectuals"—see *Chronicle* No. 22.) Lauce had written a four-part novel *The Turtle-Dove*, about the road taken by the Lithuanian people after the loss of independence in 1940 and about the fate of the Lithuanian partisans.

The investigation was conducted by Major Pilelis. In November 1971, after undergoing a psychiatric examination which had begun in September, Lauce was judged to be of sound mind. Even before his trial Lauce's wife, who is also a teacher, was banished with their children to a village where there is no school.

On 16-17 December Lauce's case was considered by the Lithuanian Supreme Court, Judge Misiunas<sup>102</sup> presiding. The Procurator demanded five years' imprisonment. At the request of his defence counsel, the basis of the charge against Lauce was changed from article 68 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code to article 199-1 (equivalent to articles 70 and 190-1 of the Russian Code). The sentence: two years of corrective-labour camps.

\* \* \*

In Simnas at the beginning of 1971 Antanas Jankauskas [mis-typed in No. 22 as Jablaskus], a worker born in 1942, was placed in a psychiatric hospital for circulating leaflets. In August he was released, whereupon he wrote a letter to Sniečkus, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. In October he was again placed in a psychiatric hospital, this time in Novovilnia [a suburb of Vilnius]; he is being "treated" with aminazin and tablets which paralyse the tongue.

##### Odessa

On 8 December Nina Strokata [Ukrainian form of Strokataya] was arrested by officials of the Odessa KGB [see note 22]. When arrested she was on her way from

[102. Jonas-Algirdas P. Misiunas presided also at S. Kudirka's trial. See *Chronicle* 20.]

Nalchik to Odessa, where she was going in order to make the final arrangements for the exchange of her flat. On the same day a search of her Odessa flat was carried out. Two poems<sup>103</sup> by S. Karavansky [her husband] were confiscated, as well as an old book on ethnography and a book of Shakespeare's sonnets containing a dedication by D[mitry F.] Palamarchuk, the translator, in which N. Strokata is called a Decembrist's wife.<sup>104</sup> Strokata's flat in Nalchik was also searched. In connection with the same case the home of L. Tymchuk, a sailor working at the port of Odessa,<sup>105</sup> was searched, but nothing was confiscated.

N. Strokata has been indicted under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the Russian Code). There is reason to suppose that she was arrested as a result of testimony given by the doctor Aleksei Prityka, who was arrested on 9 July. (In addition to her, A. Prityka's testimony also resulted in the arrest on 9 November 1971 of the writer Aleksei Riznykiv). The investigation of N. Strokata's case is being conducted by investigator Rybak.

Nina Antonovna Strokata is the wife of Svyatoslav Karavansky (see *Chronicle* Nos. 13, 18) and is a scientific worker and microbiologist. N. Strokata has in the past been subjected to administrative persecution (see *Chronicle* No. 18) and vicious attacks in the press (see *Chronicle* No. 21).

#### *Mordovian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]*

From 10 November to 10 December Nikolai Bondar carried out a hunger strike (in Dubrovlag camp no. 17-a) in protest at his conviction. From 1968 to 1969 Bondar, who was born in 1939, worked as a lecturer in philosophy at Uzhgorod University [SW Ukraine]; but in 1969 he went

[103. See a poem by him, written in Vladimir prison in 1970, in *Ukrainsky visnyk* No. 4, Suchasnist, Munich, 1971, p. 109. See also the attack on him in *Literatura Ukrayiny*, Kiev, 21 January 1972.]

[104. The Decembrists were a group of liberal aristocrats who tried unsuccessfully to overthrow the tsarist regime in December 1825. Many of their wives gained reputations for heroism by following their husbands into the severe conditions of Siberian exile.]

[105. See his letter in P. Litvinov, *The Trial of the Four* (English edition due from Longman in summer 1972).]

to work in a boiler-house (in Cherkassy [90 m. SW of Kiev]), having been obliged to leave the university because he had openly expressed his opinion about the immoderate festivities marking the Lenin centenary, and had also expressed his discontent at certain acts of the Soviet leadership in the field of foreign policy.

Bondar was arrested in Kiev on 7 November 1970, during the [official] demonstration on the Kreshchatik, where he had mingled with the demonstrators and unfurled a banner criticising the leadership of the communist party.

Bondar was also charged with circulating slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet social and political system, both verbally—among lecturers at the university, and in writing—in statements sent on the eve of 7 November to Redko, head of the department of philosophy of Uzhgorod University, and to party and state leaders, as well as in his personal correspondence with a friend (all these documents, including the letters to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny, were attached to the case).

On 12 May 1971 the judicial board of the Kiev Regional Court, Judge Matsko<sup>106</sup> presiding, sentenced Bondar under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the Russian Code) to imprisonment in a strict-regime camp for a period of seven years.

Bondar pleaded not guilty.

\* \* \*

#### *[Kiev]*

The trial of Lupynis (see *Chronicle* No. 22) took place in Kiev on 28 December. The court sent him for compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital of special type.

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#### *Moscow*

At the beginning of January 1972 a medical commission at the Moscow City psychiatric hospital No. 8 (the Solov'ev) deemed it possible to discharge Valeria Novodvorskaya (see *Chronicle* Nos. 11, 13, 21). A court will now have to consider the commission's decision.

[106. Presided at another Ukrainian political trial in 1969. See Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, p. 289.]

In August 1971 V. S. Ter-Grigorov, Master of medical sciences and author of 60 scientific works [in medical biology], was dismissed from the P. A. Herzen Oncological Institute in Moscow for a speech which he had made at a trade-union meeting. After condemning the desire of one of the institute's employees to emigrate to Israel, V. S. Ter-Grigorov objected to a number of groundless and anti-Semitic statements made at the meeting. Not long previously the work which V. S. Ter-Grigorov had been supervising had been put forward for certification as a discovery, and the State Committee for Science and Technology had allocated twenty research workers for its development.

\* \* \*

On 10 December V. N. Chalidze called on the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to pardon A. A. Amalrik, pointing out the acute deterioration in his health (see *Chronicles* [19 and] 20),<sup>107</sup> the existence in Soviet law of the principle "the infliction of physical suffering is not an objective of punishment", and the lack of an effective procedure for the investigation of infringements of this principle on the initiative of the convicted person or his friends.

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In December 1971 Alexander Dronov, a post-graduate student at the Moscow Oil Institute, was arrested. During a search *samizdat* literature was confiscated; he has been indicted under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. The KGB has informed the institute that Dronov "is refusing to assist in the investigation". There is information to the effect that five other persons have been arrested in connection with the same case.

\* \* \*

On 14 December 1971 S. G. Myuge was summoned to the Moscow City Procuracy as a witness, and was questioned by senior investigator Yu. P. Maloyedov. It became

[107. See also, for details of his near-death on the long journey to N.E. Siberia, *The Times*, 25 January 1972.]

clear from what was said that Myuge is still in the category of a suspect (see *Chronicle* No. 22).

\* \* \*

A. D. Sakharov, A. N. Tverdokhlebov, V. N. Chalidze and I. R. Shafarevich, the members of the Committee for Human Rights, and A. S. Volpin, one of the Committee's experts, sent greetings to U Thant on the occasion of a dinner given in his honour [in New York in January 1972] by the International League for the Rights of Man to mark his retirement from the post of General Secretary of the UN. The letter ends with the words: "In our view, the years of U Thant's period of office as General Secretary have seen a marked increase in the authority of the UN in the efforts made by all mankind in the defence of Human Rights. There are many who hope that in future the United Nations will be in a position to defend Human Rights not only when the party guilty of their violation is weak, or the cries of the victim reach all ears, but above all when the evil done is especially great".

\* \* \*

The following exchange of letters took place at the beginning of November 1971:

"To Valery Nikolayevich Chalidze (address).

"The investigation department of the Committee for State Security [KGB] of the USSR Council of Ministers requests you to call at (address) at 5 pm on 9 November 1971 to collect property belonging to you.

"Sevastyanov, senior investigator of the investigation department of the KGB.  
3 November 1971."

"To A. A. Sevastyanov, KGB investigation department.

"I acknowledge receipt of your letter of 3 November 1971, in which you invite me to call to collect property belonging to me.

"I found this communication gratifying, since although I had given up hope of recovering the items confiscated and did not intend to solicit their return, I nevertheless felt the lack of many of the things which you now wish to return to me.

"I am prepared to accept the property belonging to me

at my flat, i.e. at the place where that property was confiscated. I shall be at home at 6 pm on 9 November. If this is not convenient, another date can be arranged. It is possible, of course, that this invitation should be addressed not to you, but to Dmitry Sergeyevich [i.e. KGB Major Yusephuk], who carried out the search, and naturally it will be alright if my property is delivered by any of the other persons who were at my flat with him.

V. Chalidze,  
7 November 1971."

We also give (in an abridged form) the text of the following letter:<sup>108</sup>

"To the USSR Minister of Communications [N. D. Psurtsev].

"I am most aggrieved that yesterday evening, the anniversary of the foundation of our Committee for Human Rights, Mr. John Carey, chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man, was unable to contact me by telephone for three hours . . .

"I was at home on 4 November and made numerous telephone calls, but . . . the operator told Mr. Carey that there was no reply.

"I am also most aggrieved that the Post Office systematically fails to deliver letters to me from my colleagues abroad dealing with the problem of Human Rights . . .

"I would remind you of my right to maintain creative contacts with foreign colleagues, of my right to conduct telephone conversations on payment of the appropriate charge, of my right to receive letters by post.

"I would remind you that it is your official responsibility to ensure that these rights are implemented.

Chalidze.  
5 November 1971."

[108. See background and extracts in a U.P.I. dispatch of 5 November 1971 and *The Times*, 6 November. See also interviews with Chalidze in *The Times*, 5 November, and, in a special article by the Rev. Donald Harrington, the *New York Times*, 20 November. See also the parliamentary report in *The Times*, 23 March 1972, where Mr. Barnet Janner, a Labour M.P., asked the British government to protest to the Universal Postal Union about the non-delivery by the Soviet Post Office of mail and telegrams to Soviet Jews. He received a favourable reply.]

On 5 July 1971 N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was sent a petition for the ratification of the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Pact on Civil and Political Rights, which were adopted by the UN General Assembly on 16 December 1966.<sup>109</sup> The petition was signed by 26 persons. (In late 1968 and early 1969 this petition was signed by 96 persons, but the signatures were confiscated by officials of the KGB during searches, including 86 signatures at the home of Boris Efimov [see note 57]).

There has as yet been no reply to the petition.

\* \* \*

On 4 December A. I. Solzhenitsyn sent a letter to Mr. K. R. Gierow, Secretary of the Royal Swedish Academy [see note 2]. Discussing the factors impeding the presentation to him of the Nobel Prize in a dignified atmosphere, Solzhenitsyn suggests that the ceremony should be arranged in his flat in the presence of a few dozen people invited by himself and the Academy: ". . . this, I think, would provide perfectly dignified circumstances for the public delivery of the Nobel lecture. It is the simplest solution".

\* \* \*

On 29 December the board of the Moscow Writers' Organisation expelled Alexander Galich from the Union of Writers.<sup>110</sup> He was expelled because of his songs. Songs mentioned during the three-day discussion which preceded his expulsion included: "I choose freedom", "Clouds", "A mistake" and "The prospector's waltz" [*staratelsky valsok*].

\* \* \*

[109. Texts in I. Brownlie, *Basic Documents on Human Rights*.]

[110. See also *The Times*, January 4 and March 6, where his expulsion from the film-workers' union is reported, and March 9, where a letter from five colleagues reports that a new heart-attack "seriously threatens his life". He is 53. The collection of his songs, *Pesni*, Frankfurt, 1969, contains the last three mentioned here.]

### *Ukraine*

On 4 December 1971 Boris Kochubihevsky (for his trial see *Chronicle* No. 8) was released from the "Yellow waters" camp (Dnepropetrovskaya oblast, p/ya YaE 308-26) on completing his sentence. Kochubihevsky's wife was told that he had been transferred to "Yellow waters" from the "Kiev Hydro-electric" camp for "anti-Soviet agitation". Vladislav Nedobora, Kochubihevsky's close friend from Kharkov, is still in "Yellow waters" (see *Chronicle* No. 13 [and 17 and Reddaway, p. 167]).

On 21 December Kochubihevsky left to take up permanent residence in Israel.<sup>111</sup>

\* \* \*

On 5 December 1971 Meri Khnokh-Mendelevich left by air for Israel with her eleven-month-old child at the insistence of her husband Arie Khnokh, who was convicted in the Leningrad "aeroplane case" and who is now in the Mordovian political camps.

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Ilya Rips (see *Chronicle* Nos. 7, 10, 22) left for Israel at the end of December.<sup>112</sup>

\* \* \*

On 11 November 1971 Oleg Georgiyevich Bakhtiyarov (see *Chronicle* No. 13 [and Reddaway, p. 157]) was released on parole nine months before the expiry of his sentence.

\* \* \*

### *Syktyvkar* [in the Komi Republic]

In reply to the offer of help by the Netherlands committee of Amnesty International (Boschlaan 15, Leersum-Utrecht), which was reported in *Chronicle* No. 22, R. I. Pimenov has sent a letter of thanks to J. Budde-Hesp, a representative of the committee. All he would like to be sent by the committee is a Dutch dictionary and information on the subject of persecution for one's beliefs in various countries.

[111. See a report of a speech by him about his experiences in the paper *Nasha strana*, Salomon St. 7, Tel-Aviv, 5 January 1972.]

[112. See his interview in the Russian paper *Tribuna*, Tel-Aviv, 3 January 1972, and in *Possev* 2, 1972, p. 25.]

The address of Mikhail Yanovich Makarenko (see *Chronicle* No. 16) is: Mordovskaya ASSR, Zubovo-Polyansky r-n, pos. Ozyorny, *uchrezhdeniye* 385-17-2.

### **Samizdat News**

*Yu. Glazov, V. Kabachnik, V. Turkina, Yu. Shtein:* "A message from friends"—an Open Letter on the expulsion of Alexander Galich from the USSR Union of Writers.<sup>113</sup>

"... Fifteen writers, by voting for his expulsion, have covered themselves with a new shame:

We shall remember the names of all  
Who raised their hands!

"Four, Valentin Katayev among them, ... asked that the poet should be ... only reprimanded..."

The authors of the letter recall Galich's words:

How easy it is to become rich!  
How easy it is to become famous!  
How easy it is to become a hangman!  
Keep quiet! Keep quiet! Keep quiet!

\* \* \*

*Grigory Svirsky:* "Why?" November 1971, 7 pages. An Open Letter to his friends on the reasons for his decision to leave for Israel. G. Svirsky is a writer who in 1965 spoke at a writers' party meeting against anti-Semitism. Since then, for seven years, his name has been on the prohibited list; nothing written by him has been printed.

The main reason for his determination to emigrate, Svirsky writes, is the anti-Semitism which exists in the USSR. The expression "point five", which has now become part of the language, is clear proof of this. In addition Svirsky cites incidents from literary life: the publication of Ivan Shevtsov's pogrom-minded novels and of V. Mishin's book *Social Progress* (Gorky, 1970), which welcomed the *numerus clausus* [see Svirsky's letter on this book in No. 21]; lines from the collection of poems *Fate*, by Ivan Lystsov (Moscow Worker, 1969, p. 93);

[113. See text in *Possev* 2, 1972. See also the letter by Glazov, Shtein and three others to *The Times*, 9 March 1972. By mid-March Kabachnik, Shtein and his wife V. Turkina had left the USSR.]

admissions by two Central Committee secretaries, Pelshe and Demichev, and so on.

"... If my very name is banned, then that is the same as killing me or hounding me out of the country! I choose a different road... I have not changed my beliefs: I have not ceased to love the land for which I shed my blood, nor my friends, nor the Russian language as a medium in which to work... I am a former soldier of Russia, who spent four uninterrupted years in battle, ... I am a Russian born and bred, my great-grandfather fought for the salvation of Russia during the first defence of Sevastopol... I do not want to be the highest among equals, nor the lowest among equals—I want to be equal... 'Go to your Israel!'—I have seen in the eyes of people who exclaim: 'How is it possible for him to be a Russian writer—and a Jew?!' All right, my friends, that suits me... I no longer believe in the assimilation of the Jews in Russia. I have the right to live as each one of you lives, whether you be Russians, Ukrainians or anything else—without any 'point five' [which designates nationality in all identity cards]. Among my own national majority..."

\* \* \*

V. Chornovil.<sup>114</sup> "What Bohdan Stenchuk stands for and how he does it". On the book *What I. Dzyuba stands for and how he does it*<sup>115</sup> by B. Stenchuk (the pseudonym of a group of employees of the Kiev Institute of Marxism-Leninism), published [in English] by the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad, Kiev, 1969.

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Vladimir Škutina: "Prisoner of the President", a translation of an article in the April 1968 issue of the Czech journal *Reporter*. The story of a Czech journalist who later

[114. One of some 15 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested in mid-January 1972. See details in *The Economist*, London, 26 February, and *The Guardian*, London, 13 March, and an attack on Chornovil, I. Svitlychny and Yevhen Sverstyuk in *Pravda Ukrayiny*, Kiev, 11 February.]

[115. On this book see the editor's postscript in the second edition of *Internationalism or Russification?*, London, 1970, by the Kiev critic I. Dzyuba, who was expelled from the Writers' Union of the Ukraine in February 1972.]

became a television commentator. In 1961 Škutina was summoned by the state security organisation and accused of calling President Antonin Novotny "a tyrant, a scoundrel and an idiot" in 1958. At his trial, which took place in January 1962, the prosecution was unable to substantiate this charge for lack of witnesses, and V. Škutina was given a suspended sentence of six months' imprisonment.

Considering that no-one could be tried twice for the same offence, V. Škutina shortly afterwards announced that he had never called the President an idiot, but since he had been convicted of doing so then it was clearly God's will that he should. In May 1962 he was arrested and sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment for undermining the authority of the President. The greater part of the article deals with the period spent by the author in various Czech prisons.

Škutina was later freed under an amnesty, and was legally exculpated even before 1968. On 18 February 1971 he was again convicted, this time of activity hostile to Czechoslovakia and her allies, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. On 30 June 1971 he was sentenced to another four years' imprisonment. In September he became seriously ill in prison.

\* \* \*

"Social Problems" (A collection of selected samizdat texts devoted to social problems), issue No. 13<sup>116</sup> (September-October 1971), Moscow. Compiled by Valery Chalidze. 13 pages. The content includes the following UN documents: a draft Declaration on the rights of the mentally backward; a resolution on the acceptability of reports by a Sub-commission on the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities; and a draft of the Principles of freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention.

The section "Documents of the Committee for Human Rights" includes a Note on the term "political prisoner", which was submitted to the Committee by the compiler

[116. Issues 1-8 of this journal are due to be published in spring 1972 by the International Institute for the Rights of Man, 6 place de Bordeaux, 67 Strasbourg, France. Issues 9-13 are now also available and will appear in due course.]

of this collection; in an addendum to the note, which was written after it had been discussed by the Committee, the author particularly emphasises that of the two possible approaches to a definition of the term "political offence"—an action carried out with political aims and an action prosecuted by the state with political aims—he has chosen the latter, though he makes it clear that this is not the only possible approach; one of the consequences of this is that the author is not inclined to regard any political motives for a crime either as aggravating or extenuating circumstances, in which he differs from widespread opinions to the contrary.

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*Herald of the Exodus*, No. 2, 1971. (For No. 1 see *Chronicle* No. 20). Contents: trials (the second Leningrad trial, the Kishinyov trial, the trials of V. Kukui, R. Palatnik and A. Gorbach (Kharkov)—on which see also *Chronicle* Nos. 19, 20); reactions to the trials; information on hunger-strikes by Jews; the "emigration case" of A. Kroncher [see *Chronicle* 20]; a brief account of the trial of Boris Azernikov;<sup>117</sup> and a report on activities in Kiev on 29 September 1971 marking the day of remembrance for those who lost their lives at Baby Yar [see *NBSJ*, No. 203].

The section "Facts and Documents" includes a statement by L. M. Lyubarsky, a resident of Rostov [-on-Don], against whom criminal proceedings were instituted in September 1970 under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code (see *Chronicle* No. 19);<sup>118</sup> in August 1971, however, proceedings were terminated under article 6 of the Code (termination of proceedings owing to a change of circumstances). L. M. Lyubarsky is demanding that V. A. Smirnov, Procurator of the Zheleznodorozhny District of Rostov, issue a statement that proceedings were terminated on the grounds that there was no evidence that a crime had been committed; he is also demanding the return of items confiscated during a search of his home, viz. note-

[117. A Leningrad dentist born in 1946, he was sentenced by the Leningrad City Court on 6-7 October 1971 to 3½ years of strict-regime camps. See *The Times*, 7, 9 and 11 October.]

[118. See also *NBSJ*, 17 July 1971, for his letter to Podgorny, and No. 210, 5-15 January 1972.]

books containing verses in Ivrit [Modern Hebrew], and tape-recordings of Jewish folk and classical music and of the voice of his eight-year-old daughter.

The "News in brief" section contains reports on extra-judicial persecution and on the plight of Jewish political prisoners.

\* \* \*

"Review" No. 1 (October 1971). A type-written journal consisting of six sections....

1. *The death of N. S. Khrushchev*. Whereas in the USSR the report of Khrushchev's death only appeared two days after the event (with no obituary), in Warsaw, for example, normal radio broadcasting was interrupted for an announcement of the death of the former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet communist party. The announcement spoke of the services of the deceased to the cause of de-Stalinisation in the USSR, which was the direct stimulus to the de-Stalinisation of Poland.

Richard Nixon, Pietro Nenni, Anwar Sadat, Janos Kadar and many others commented on the event, as did the majority of newspapers, including the communist press (*Borba*, *Politika*). Not only Khrushchev's merits were recalled, but also his crimes (repression against those who took part in the Hungarian Revolution, the construction of the Berlin Wall).

The Chinese press, like its Soviet counterpart, gave a brief report of Khrushchev's death, while the Albanian press, on the other hand, called him "the leader of a revisionist group which attempted to restore capitalism in the USSR".

About a thousand Muscovites tried to attend his funeral, but entry to the cemetery was only by special pass. Only a few individuals managed to pay their last respects to N. S. Khrushchev, among them the poet E. Evtushenko and the historian A. Nekrich. (P. Yakir was detained by the police that morning and was released only after the funeral had ended).

Speeches were made at the grave by Sergei Khrushchev, Vadim Vasilev (whose father had been posthumously rehabilitated) and Nadezhda Simanshevich, an old party-member from the Donbass.

A wreath was sent by the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. A wreath from Mikoyan's family was also laid.

2. An interview with J. Smrkovsky, given to an Italian communist weekly at the end of September 1971.<sup>119</sup>

Fabrications to the effect that "fraternal aid" was given to Czechoslovakia at the request of many thousands of Czechoslovak communists are described by Smrkovsky as "a stupid and abortive fiction which no schoolboy of the meanest intellect would ever believe" . . . The people of Czechoslovakia will never become reconciled to the occupation, and so it is necessary to find a solution acceptable to them. It would have been feasible to continue with the reform programme, though at a reduced pace, even after the occupation, if there had been unity in the party leadership.

After the interview J. Smrkovsky was subjected to interrogation by the state security agency and warned that if any such action were to take place again, criminal proceedings would be instituted against him.

3. Vladimir Bukovsky. A brief biography of Bukovsky and the protests at his latest arrest.

4. From the history of samizdat. The early post-war years saw the appearance of the underground anti-Stalinist organisations "Leninist opposition", "Leninist group", "Workers' opposition", which circulated leaflets and proclamations among the population.

The first samizdat journals were: *Syntax* (1959, A. Ginzburg), *Boomerang* (1960, V. Osipov) and *Phoenix* (1961, Yu. Galanskov).<sup>120</sup>

Samizdat activity has been increasing in intensity since 1965.

##### 5. Kaleidoscope.

At some time after 1954, in connection with the Beria affair, S. M. Shtemenko was removed from the post of Chief of the General Staff and demoted to the post of chief of a divisional HQ (with a corresponding reduction in rank from General of the army to Major-General). He reappeared on the scene in the second half of 1965.

[119. I.e. the weekly *Giorni-vie nuove*, 16 September. See long extracts in *The Times*, 17 September.]

[120. *Syntax* appeared in *Grani*, Frankfurt, No. 58, and *Phoenix* in No. 52.]

In August 1971 the writers Yury Belostotsky [a member of the Writers' Union], Leonid Topehy and Avan Taktash were questioned in Kazan by officials of the KGB about the circulation in Kazan literary circles of the *Chronicle* and other samizdat material.

Yu[ry M.] Aranovich, the conductor of the All-Union Radio and Television Symphony Orchestra [since 1964], has been removed from his job for submitting documents to emigrate to Israel [see a Reuter dispatch of 21 November 1971].

(The editors of *Review* are proposing to introduce a new section, "From the history of the USSR"; the next issue, for example, will contain information on the fall of Yagoda, on Ezhov and on the trials of 1937-38).

6. Literary chronicle. Notes on the following works are given: *The Seven Days of Creation* [Sem dnei tvoreniya, Frankfurt, 1971] by V. Maksimov, *August 1914* by A. Solzhenitsyn, *Dear Kinfolk* by P. Dudochnik,<sup>121</sup> *My Daddy Murdered Mikhoels*<sup>122</sup> (with the essay "And Shepilov who joined them")<sup>123</sup> by V. Gusarov, *The Faculty of Useless Things* (part 2 of the novel *Guardian of Antiquities*, which was published in the journal *Novy mir* in 1964 [and later in English translation]) by Yu. Dombrovsky. Biographies of the authors are given in brief. The issue ends with notes on the journal *Veche* [edited by V. Osipov. See *Chronicles* 18, 20 and 22].

##### Obituary

Alexander Trifonovich Tvardovsky died on 18 December 1971. The *Chronicle* considers it suitable to publish the following text as his obituary:

There are many ways of killing a poet.

The method chosen for Tvardovsky was to take away his off-spring, his passion, his journal.

The sixteen years of insults meekly endured by this hero were little, so long as his journal survived, so long

[121. On an article of his see *Chronicle* 13, Possev: 4-iyi spets. vypusk, Frankfurt, June 1970.]

[122. On this see Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, p. 418.]

[123. Text in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, Nos. 2834-36, 1971.]

as literature was not stopped, so long as people were printed in it and people read it. Too little! So they heaped the coals of disbandment, destruction and injustice upon him. Within six months these coals had consumed him. Six months later he took to his death-bed, and only his characteristic fortitude sustained him up to now—till the last hour in full consciousness. In suffering.

*Third day.* Above the coffin is a portrait, in which the dead man is about forty, his brow unfurrowed by sweetly bitter burdens, radiant with that childishly luminescent trust which he carried with him throughout his life, and which was returning to him even when he was already doomed.

To the best music they are bearing wreaths, bearing wreaths . . . "From Soviet fighting men" . . . As it should be. I remember how the soldiers at the front as one man preferred the marvel of his trusty "Tyorkin" to the other wartime books. But we remember too how the army libraries have been forbidden to subscribe to *Novy mir*. Only recently people have been hauled before their CO for interrogation after reading the soft blue journal.

And now the whole gang from the *Secretariat* [of the Writers' Union] has flopped onto the scene. The guard of honour comprises those same mortally flabby people who hunted him down with unholy shrieks. This is an old custom of ours, from Pushkin's day: it is precisely into the hands of his enemies that the dead poet falls. And they hastily dispose of the body, and extract themselves from the situation with glib speeches.

They have crowded round the coffin in a solid ring and think they have fenced it off. They've destroyed our only journal and think they've won.

You have to know and understand nothing about the last century of Russian history to regard this as a victory, not as an irreparable blunder!

Madmen! When the voices of the young resound, fiercely, how you will miss this patient critic, whose gentle admonitory voice was heeded by all. You will be set to tearing up the earth with your hands, to bring Trifonych back. But then it will be too late.

*For the ninth day*

A. Solzhenitsyn

## PUBLICATIONS in WESTERN LANGUAGES on the HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT in the USSR:

### A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### I — DOCUMENTS

##### I.a. General

Anon, ed., *La Russie Contestataire: Documents de l'Opposition Soviétique*, Fayard (Paris), 1971.

A rather eclectic but very useful collection.

Anon, ed., *Samizdat I*, Seuil (Paris), 1969.

A big collection, useful despite its Trotskyist bias.

A. Brumberg, ed., *In Quest of Justice; Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union Today*, Praeger (N.Y.) and Pall Mall (London), 1970.

A wide-ranging collection covering the period 1966 to spring 1969, with detailed commentaries.

M. Ferzetti, ed., *La Voz de los Valientes: La Disensión en Rusia*, Editorial Intercontinental, 1971.

A useful collection coming up to 1970.

C. Gerstenmaier, *Die Stimme der Stummen: Die demokratische Bewegung in der Sowjetunion*, Seewald (Stuttgart), 1971.

An excellent collection with extensive commentary.

*Il Tempo*, Rome, 9, 11, 14, 15, 18 January 1972. A wide-ranging collection of recent documents.

P. Reddaway, ed., *Uncensored Russia: The Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union*, Cape (London) and McGraw-Hill (N.Y.), 1972.

The heavily annotated text of the first 11 *Chronicles*, arranged according to theme. 76 photographs, introduction by Julius Telesin.

M. Slavinsky, ed., *La Presse Clandestine en URSS, 1960-1970*, Nouvelles Editions Latines (Paris), 1970.

A useful and wide-ranging collection.

A. von Tarnow, ed., *Demokratie in der Illegalität: Die "Chronik der laufenden Ereignisse"*, Seewald (Stuttgart), 1971. Selections from the *Chronicle*.

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Anon, ed., *For Human Rights*, Possev (Frankfurt), 1969.

Texts (in Russian and English) of the first Action Group appeal to the U.N. and of letters by P. Yakir and L. Petrovsky.

Wladimir Bukowski, ed., *Opposition. Eine neue Geisteskrankheit in der Sowjetunion?*, Carl Hanser Verlag, 1972.

Documents on the internment of dissenters in prison-hospitals.

- V. Boukovsky, *Une nouvelle maladie mentale en URSS: L'opposition*, Seuil (Paris), 1971.  
French version of above item.
- A. Ginsburg, *Weisbuch in Sachen Sinyawskij-Daniel*, Possev (Frankfurt), 1967. Ginsburg's "White Book" on the Sinyavsky-Daniel case, also published in French (La Table Ronde) and Italian (Jaca Book).
- N. Gorbanovskaya, *Red Square at Noon*, Deutsch (London) and Holt, Rinehart (N.Y.), 1972.  
Documents on the demonstration of August 25, 1968, in Red Square and the ensuing trial of P. Litvinov and L. Daniel.
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- M. Hayward and L. Labedz, eds., *On Trial*, Collins-Harvill (London) and Harper and Row (N.Y.), 1967.  
The record of the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel with associated documents. Closely parallels the White Book compiled in the USSR by A. Ginsburg and is an important study of the case which was critical for the development of the human rights movement.
- L. Labedz, ed., *Solzhenitsyn*, Penguin (London) 1972, and Harper and Row (N.Y.), 1971.  
A documentary record of the tribulations and triumphs of Solzhenitsyn. Contains many important letters and statements by Solzhenitsyn.
- P. Litvinov, ed., *The Demonstration in Pushkin Square*, Collins-Harvill (London) and Gambit (Boston), 1969.  
A record of the trials of Khaustov, and of Bukovsky, Delone and Kushev.
- P. Litvinov, ed., *The Trial of the Four*, Longman (London) and Viking (N.Y.), due in summer 1972.  
A very extensive collection of documents on the case of Ginzburg, Galanskov, Dobrovolsky and Lashkova.
- R. and Zh. Medvedev, *A Question of Madness*, Macmillan (London) and Knopf (N.Y.), 1971.  
The dramatic record of Zhores Medvedev's involuntary confinement in a psychiatric hospital in June 1970.
- Survey (135 Oxford Street, London, W.1), Nos. 77, 1970; and 81, 1971.  
Collections of documents on dissent and the treatment of dissenters in prison-hospitals.
- The Bell* (from B. R. Francis, c/o 304 Prince of Wales Lane, Warstock, Birmingham 14), No. 33-34, August 1971. A collection of documents on the abuse of Soviet psychiatry.

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## II—BOOKS BY SOVIET PARTICIPANTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

(Most of these books have appeared in other languages as well as English.)

### II.a. Problems of Soviet Society

- A. Amalrik, *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Harper and Row (N.Y.), 1971, and Allen Lane, The Penguin Press (London), 1970.  
A stimulating analysis of the development and prospects of the democratic movement in the USSR. The second section of the essay, discussing a possible conflict with China, is less convincing. Additional letters by Amalrik are appended.
- A. Amalrik, *Involuntary Journey to Siberia*, Collins-Harvill (London) and Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (N.Y.), 1970.  
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- I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification?*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson (London), 2nd revised ed., 1970.  
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- P. Grigorenko, *Staline et la deuxième guerre mondiale*, L'Herne (Paris), 1969.  
An anti-Stalin contribution to the historians' debate on the blame Stalin should bear for the Soviet collapse in 1941.
- P. Grigorenko, *Der sowjetische Zusammenbruch 1941*, Possev (Frankfurt), 1969. A better edited version of the above item.
- A. Marchenko, *My Testimony*, Penguin (Harmondsworth) and Dutton (N.Y.), 1971.  
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- N. Mandelstam, *Hope against Hope*, Atheneum (N.Y.), 1970, and Collins-Harvill (London), 1971.  
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Four stories written before 1965 that contain interesting insights into Soviet society. Daniel served five years in prison camps for writing these stories and sending them to the West.
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A thinly fictionalized account of the author's involuntary confinement in 1962-63 in a Moscow lunatic asylum. After his release from the asylum, he played an active role in formation of the literary opposition and then emigrated to the West.

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- R. Conquest, *The Nation Killers*, Macmillan (London), 1970.  
A study of the deportation and current status of eight Soviet national groups, notably the Crimean Tatars and Meskhetians, whose causes have been taken up by the human rights movement.
- R. Conquest, *The Pasternak Affair*, Collins (London) and Lippincott (Philadelphia), 1962.  
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- R. Gaucher, *Opposition in the USSR 1917-1967*, Funk and Wagnalls (N.Y.), 1969.  
A survey with about 100 pages devoted to events since the death of Stalin.
- Human Rights in USSR*, Journal of the International Committee on the Situation of Minorities and on Human Rights in the USSR (28, place Flagey, B-1050 Brussels). An interesting monthly, begun in 1972.

- Jews in the USSR—Latest Information*, Board of Deputies of British Jews (Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, London W.C.1). A new weekly, begun in 1972.
- Jews in Eastern Europe* (31 Percy Street, London, W.1). A committed but useful journal on Jewish developments.
- J. Kolasky, *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine*, P. Martin (Toronto), 1970.  
A first-hand account of the struggle for Ukrainian rights, as witnessed in 1963-65.
- Ann Sheehy, *The Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans*, Minority Rights Group, 36 Craven Street, London, W.C.2, 1971.  
A solid but concise account of the Crimean Tatars' 14-year campaign to return home. Sketchier on the Volga Germans.
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A report on the USSR from 1967-1969, including chapters on the democratic movement and *samizdat*.
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Group	Number of subjects	Mean age (years)	Mean height (cm)	Mean weight (kg)	Mean body mass index (kg/m <sup>2</sup> )		Mean systolic blood pressure (mmHg)	Mean diastolic blood pressure (mmHg)	Mean heart rate (beats/min)
					Men	Women			
Control group	10	29.2	171.0	70.0	22.5	21.5	132.0	82.0	70.0
Obese group	10	29.2	171.0	110.0	28.0	26.0	134.0	83.0	71.0
Overweight group	10	29.2	171.0	85.0	25.0	24.0	133.0	82.0	70.0
Normal weight group	10	29.2	171.0	65.0	21.0	20.0	131.0	81.0	69.0

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