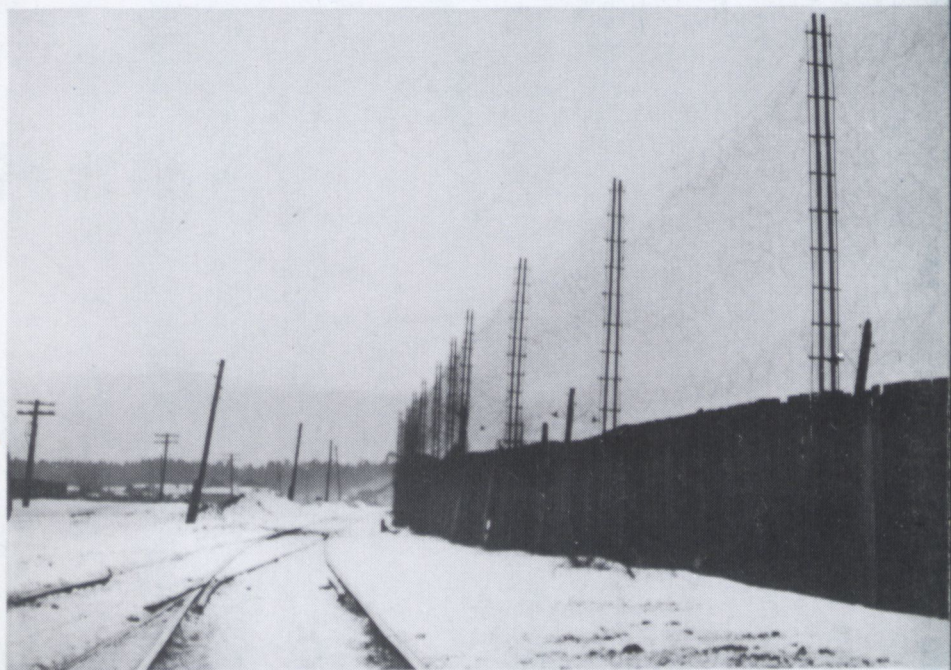


A CHRONICLE OF
CURRENT EVENTS

Nr 58

Journal of the Human Rights
Movement in the USSR



Amnesty International Publications

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A Chronicle of Current Events Number 58

**A Chronicle of
Current Events**

Number 58



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Preface

A Chronicle of Current Events was initially produced in 1968 as a bi-monthly journal. In the spring of that year members of the Soviet Civil Rights Movement created the journal with the stated intention of publicizing issues and events related to Soviet citizens' efforts to exercise fundamental human liberties. On the title page of every issue there appears the text of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which calls for universal freedom of opinion and expression. The authors are guided by the principle that such universal guarantees of human rights (also similar guarantees in their domestic law) should be firmly adhered to in their own country and elsewhere. They feel that 'it is essential that truthful information about violations of basic human rights in the Soviet Union should be available to all who are interested in it'. The *Chronicles* consist mostly of accounts of such violations.

In an early issue it was stated that 'the *Chronicle* does, and will do, its utmost to ensure that its strictly factual style is maintained to the greatest degree possible . . .' The *Chronicle* has consistently maintained a high standard of accuracy. As a regular practice the editors openly acknowledge when a piece of information has not been thoroughly verified. When mistakes in reporting occur, these mistakes are retrospectively drawn to the attention of readers.

In February 1971, starting with number 16, Amnesty International began publishing English translations of the *Chronicles* as they appeared. This latest volume, containing *Chronicle 57*, is, like previous ones, a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text (which reached London on 27 March 1981). The editorial insertions are the endnotes (numbered) and the words in square brackets. The table of contents, abbreviations, illustrations, index of names, bibliographical note and material on the outside and side of the cover have been added to help the general reader. None of this material appeared in the original text.

The endnotes have been kept to a minimum, partly because the Russian text already refers to earlier issues, and partly because the index of names gathers together all references to a particular person. Ukrainian names are usually given in transliteration from the Russian, not in Ukrainian forms.

Since Amnesty International has no control over the writing of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, we cannot guarantee the veracity of all its contents. Nor do we take responsibility for any opinions or judgements which may appear or be implied in its contents. Yet Amnesty International continues to regard *A Chronicle of Current Events* as an authentic and reliable source of information on matters of direct concern to our own work for the worldwide observance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Amnesty International June 1981

Abbreviations

ASSR & RSFSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Subordinate to any SSR (see below) and based on the minority nationality whose home is on the territory. The Mordovian ASSR, for example, is subordinate to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and so named because it is the home of the Mordovian national minority.
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
EC	Executive Committee.
KGB	Committee for State Security.
Komsomol	Communist Youth League.
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs.
OVD	Department of Internal Affairs.
OVIR	Department (of the MVD) for Visas and Registration.
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic, of which there are 15 in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the largest being the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic).
UVD	Administration for Internal Affairs.

The Struggle for Human Rights in the Soviet Union 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

Number 58

[November 1980]

Political Trials of Summer and Autumn, 1980

Tatyana Velikanova — Vyacheslav Bakhmin; Yakunin — Regelson — Kapitanchuk — Ogorodnikov; Sokirko — Abramkin — Grimm; Statkevičius — Terleckas and Sasnauskas; Barladyanu — Olga Matusevich — Stus — Goncharov; Treskunov — Goretoi — Markosyan — Kuzkin — Dyadkin and Gorbachëv — Davydov

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Dates of Trials

2 June [1980] — Treskunov
5-8 August — Goretoi
8-11 August — Statkevičius
11-13 August — Barladyanu
13 August — Markosyan
25-28 August — Yakunin
26 August — O. Matusevich
27-29 August — T. Velikanova
3-7 September — Ogorodnikov
8 September — Kuzkin
15-19 September — Terleckas and Sasnauskas
16-18 September — Dyadkin and Gorbachëv
18-19 September — Davydov
22-24 September — Vyacheslav Bakhmin
22-24 September — Regelson
29-30 September — Sokirko
29 September-
2 October — Stus
1-4 October — Abramkin
3-4 October — Goncharov
8-9 October — Grimm
8-9 October — Kapitanchuk

The Trial of Tatyana Velikanova

From 27 to 29 August the Moscow City Court, presided over by Deputy Chairman of the Court V. G. Romanov, examined the case of Tatyana Mikhailovna Velikanova (b. 1932; arrested 1 November 1979 — see *Chronicle* 54), who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecution was led by an Assistant Procurator of Moscow City, S. N. Chistyakov, and defence counsel (appointed by the court) was lawyer A. V. Batova.

The trial was held in the People's Court of the Lyublino District of Moscow, where A. E. Krasnov-Levitin (*Chronicle* 20), V. Bukovsky (*Chronicle* 23), A. Tverdokhlebov (*Chronicle* 40) and Yu. Orlov (*Chronicle* 50) also stood trial. The building is so designed as to facilitate the closure of all its entrances and the approaches to it.

* * *

The Velikanova 'case' consists of 12 volumes of material. During the pre-trial investigation some 40 witnesses were questioned, and the case materials contain extracts from the cases of P. Yakir and V. Krasin (for their trial see *Chronicle* 29), G. Superfin (trial — *Chronicle* 32) and S. Kovalëv (trial — *Chronicle* 38). The case file also contains material transcribed from Western radio broadcasts about the *Chronicle of Current Events*. At the request of the investigator the administrations of a number of corrective labour camps submitted information on conditions in their camps. Questioning of Velikanova began two months after her arrest. Most of the interrogation was conducted by Katalikov (*Chronicle* 54) and Malyshev (*Chronicle* 56). Velikanova did not reply to any of their questions throughout the pre-trial investigation. She was given D. Dudko's 'statement of repentance' to read (*Chronicle* 57).

Those questioned included M. Solovov (trial — *Chronicle* 56) and Pentecostal Bishop N. P. Goretoi (trial — see present issue). Both spoke approvingly of Velikanova. Attempts were made to interrogate Valentina Pailodze (*Chronicle* 56). When asked whether she spoke Russian, Pailodze replied that she spoke both Russian and Georgian only fairly well, and would therefore not give evidence in either language.

A search was conducted in the spring in connection with the case at the home of Ma-Khun (*Chronicle* 42), who was also questioned. The case record contains notes saying that grounds for prosecution under article 70 have been found in the activities of N. Lisovskaya, T. Osipova, S. Belanovsky and Ma-Khun.

The investigation of Velikanova's case ended in May. On 30 May she had a talk with lawyer Batova, but refused her services on learning that she had been appointed by the investigators.

* * *

Velikanova's relatives learned that the opening of the trial had been fixed for 27 August only on the morning of the same day, thanks to a telephone call from a foreign newspaper correspondent (they later discovered that Western radio-stations had transmitted the information the previous night).

The area around the court building was cordoned off by officers of the State Car Inspectorate to divert the flow of traffic. This happened throughout the trial. Local residents immediately 'interpreted' these signs as indicating a political trial, and when talking to the people who had gathered outside the building recalled the trial of Yu. Orlov there in May 1978.

Apart from the 'special public', only Velikanova's children and sisters were admitted to the courtroom. Her sisters were searched as they entered, to check they were not carrying tape-recorders. The children were admitted without searches, but during the first recess they were pushed into a side room containing some twelve policemen, who ordered them to 'present' the contents of their bags and pockets. When they refused they were forcibly searched. Nothing was confiscated.

* * *

Velikanova completely refused to take any part in the trial. The only occasions when she addressed the court were: (1) When she refused the appointed lawyer. 'I do not need a second prosecutor,' she said. In one of her statements on this subject she reported that according to the lawyer, she, Velikanova, was charged with 'illegal contacts with foreigners'. 'These are the juridical attitudes of thirty years ago,' observed Velikanova. She also said that during her talk with the lawyer, Batova referred to the trial as 'closed'. She ended by saying that in spite of her request, the lawyer had not informed her children of the opening of the trial, and she could not therefore have any faith in Batova. (According to the lawyer, she herself only learned of the venue of the trial one hour before its beginning.) Batova supported Velikanova's petition for her removal from the case. She stated that she was unable to find common ground with the accused, since Velikanova completely rejected her line of approach to the defence. Batova said in effect that she herself was incompetent in such matters. The court repeatedly rejected petitions for her removal.

(2) At the start of the trial Velikanova expressed astonishment at the absence in court of her sisters, mother and friends. (The sisters soon arrived; shortly before the trial her mother suffered a severe stroke, but Velikanova was not told of this; as for the absence of her friends, the Judge referred the matter to the court superintendent.) During the trial Velikanova made several requests for her friends to be admitted to the courtroom, since, she stated, she was sure they

were outside the court building. Finally the superintendent stated that there was no one outside the doors (in actual fact, at that moment the people who had gathered around the court building were being kept several dozen metres away from the doors).

During the second day of the trial Velikanova attempted to read out her statement explaining her refusal to take part in the trial. The Judge did not allow her to do this and proposed that she hand the statement to the court in written form. The full text is as follows:

I refuse to take part in the trial because I consider that, like all such previous trials, it is unlawful. The course of the previous trials is already known to me, and I can judge what the course of my own will be from the investigation and the indictment.

A large number of statements, appeals, etc. are cited against me, in addition to 26 issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events*. I am charged with libel. There is an enormous amount of material covering thousands of incidents and people, and I am convinced that neither the investigation nor this trial has as its aim the investigation of this material. Any objective and impartial analysis of it would naturally reveal no small number of mistakes. But such an analysis would also reveal other facts: that the journal *A Chronicle of Current Events* is in no way libellous and has as its aim the most objective and conscientious disclosure possible of material concerning the violation of laws by official bodies and their individual representatives, and of material on opposition to these violations. Most of the material from the *Chronicle* which features in the case file has not only not been investigated, but checking of it has been meticulously avoided.

The logical result of all this is the violations of procedure which occur in all such trials as this one. For example, I know of no law which stipulates who shall be present in the audience at a trial. I am sure that no such law could exist. Nevertheless, every time either the court or some persons unknown to me decide not only who shall not be admitted to the trial, but also who shall be specially invited. They sanction any means of preventing 'undesirable persons' from attending the trial or reaching the courtroom; some are detained on the street and taken to a police station on some invented charge of, for example, stealing someone's handbag. That did in fact happen to me, and it has happened many times to other people.

I do not believe in the impartiality of the court. I consider that all those taking part in it, the Judge, the assessors, the defence counsel and the Procurator, do not dare to act in accordance with the law or their own consciences. If they did, they would not have been appointed to this trial. By participating in this trial I would

be collaborating in an unlawful act. I respect the law and therefore I refuse to take part in this trial.

Apart from the above-mentioned petitions and statements, Velikanova entered into no relations with the court at all. She attended the sessions, maintained independent attitudes and with detachment, attention and occasional concentration followed the proceedings.

* * *

Velikanova was charged with the following:

— participation in the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR, 'together with her fellow-thinkers Yakir, Krasin, Kovalëv and others'; involvement in the discussion, composition and signing of documents of the Initiative Group; involvement in the circulation of these documents in the USSR and in sending them abroad, where they had been widely used by 'bourgeois propaganda centres' and 'foreign anti-Soviet organizations' with the aim of 'undermining the ideological, political and diplomatic positions of the Soviet state at an international level'. These activities dated from May 1969 (the organization of the Initiative Group — *Chronicle* 8) to January 1972 (*Chronicle* 24);

— involvement, 'together with A. Sakharov, T. Khodorovich, S. Kovalëv and other fellow-thinkers', in the composition, signing and circulation of various letters, statements and appeals during the period from September 1973 to October 1974. By this Velikanova 'facilitated acts of ideological diversion against our country';

— in October 1974 Velikanova organized a 'gathering which included foreign correspondents' to mark 'the so-called political prisoners' day'; at this meeting she gave the foreign correspondents a number of documents which had been 'illegally prepared and obtained from places of imprisonment' which contained 'libellous fabrications concerning State authorities, particular aspects of Soviet domestic policy, the Soviet system and Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Aid]' (*Chronicle* 33);

— in 1974, 'seeking new opportunities to continue her criminal activities', Velikanova, together with Kovalëv and Khodorovich, resumed the publication and circulation of a 'libellous, anti-Soviet, illegal journal, the *Chronicle of Current Events*', the publication of which had been halted (temporarily — *Chronicle*) in 1972'. (On 7 May 1974 T. Velikanova, S. Kovalëv and T. Khodorovich stated that they assumed responsibility for the circulation of the *Chronicle* — *Chronicle* 32); at the same time, 'together with Kovalëv and Khodorovich', Velikanova gave issues 28, 29 and 30 of the *Chronicle* to foreign correspondents;

— between 1974 and 1979, together with Kovalëv (arrested on 27 December 1974 — *Chronicle* 34), Khodorovich (emigrated on

6 November 1977 — *Chronicle* 47) 'and others', she prepared and circulated in the USSR 'to the detriment of the Soviet Union's interests', and sent abroad, 25 issues of the *Chronicle* — Nos. 28 to 52. She was responsible for collecting and editing the material for these issues. She collected and stored material for the 53rd issue. All these issues contained 'tendentiously selected and libellously presented' information on the activities of judicial and investigative authorities, 'distorted information on conditions for prisoners in places of imprisonment and for the mentally ill in psychiatric institutions', and gave publicity to anti-Soviet literature. The contents of the *Chronicle* were selected 'with a view to discrediting the domestic policies of the Soviet state';

— 'endeavouring to incite anti-Soviet activity', Velikanova 'maintained criminal links with her fellow-thinkers Chalidze, Litvinov, Alekseyeva, Zaks, Khodorovich and others who have now left the USSR'. With their help she organized the publication of copies of the *Chronicle* and 'other slanderous literature' by Khronika Press and 'other anti-Soviet publishers abroad', the circulation of this literature abroad and its 'unlawful despatch' to the USSR. In general, Velikanova 'coordinated the anti-Soviet activities both of individuals within the USSR and of societies and organizations abroad'.

In addition to these main charges it was also cited against her that in 1971 she gave copies of *The Technology of Power* by Avtorkhanov and *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* by Amalrik to her acquaintance K. Zainutdinov, and kept at her home a book published in Canada entitled *Karl Marx on Russia*.

* * *

The first witness to be called was **Glazko**, a former Head of Department in the computing centre at the Moscow Main Auto Transport Administration, where Velikanova had worked as a programmer. He exchanged rather friendly nods with Velikanova, and his evidence was given in a friendly manner. He said that they had worked together for five years, and their relations were good. Velikanova was the department's leading specialist, 'a very good and experienced worker', although 'she applied herself to the work only 40%, whereas it could have been 100%'. She was often late for work, saying that she often came in again in the evenings. An argument occurred when she refused to take on a task which she considered incorrectly presented. Glazko stressed that: 'as you probably know, Tatyana Mikhailovna is prepared to die for her beliefs'. She did not take on extra-curricular tasks, refused to vote in elections, and did not go to meet foreign visitors ('if I want to meet anybody I'll do it myself'); she did not have a television set. However, she did work on special Saturdays [extra work-days]. As regards her political views Glazko remarked that she considered the one-party system ineffective, and that it led

to 'social stagnation'. She believed that the elections were a farce and that Soviet newspapers and radio told lies. The witness considered that Velikanova was 'a fellow-thinker of Sakharov's'. He did not confirm the allegation that Velikanova had termed the Soviet state 'fascist' (this incident had featured in the indictment with reference to Glazko's evidence, but was omitted from the final judgment).

Witness **M. M. Kondratov** (*Chronicle* 40) is an official in the camp where **A. Feldman** (*Chronicle* 30) was imprisoned five years ago. He stated that Feldman had 'remained aloof from the collective' and spent all his time with books. He was not forbidden to read, and no restrictions were imposed on his correspondence. As for the reported assault on Feldman (*Chronicles* 32, 40), he confirmed that it had occurred, but said that he did not know who attacked him, only that he was not seriously injured. He rejected the *Chronicle's* statement that he was an anti-Semite with great pathos: it was ridiculous to say there was any anti-Semitism in the USSR!

Witness **G. E. Korolëva** is the niece of the owner of an apartment which Velikanova rented in 1974. Korolëva related an incident concerning the discovery of some papers in Velikanova's apartment, which had been handed to the police. (Her evidence on this point closely resembled similar evidence given on the episode in the trial of Sergei Kovalëv — see *Chronicle* 38).

Witness **Kolodko** (b. 1906) is a prisoner currently serving his twenty-third year of imprisonment. He spoke of conditions in his camp (Mordovian Camp 17). Conditions were good. Food was normal, and in hospital one even received stewed fruit. The work consisted in sewing sleeves, and Kolodko over-fulfilled his norm. Velikanova asked the witness to forgive her for being the unwitting cause of his exhausting journey to Moscow and back to Mordovia. 'I hope you are released as soon as possible,' she said, to which he replied: 'And you too.'

The next witness was also a prisoner, **Alexander Soldatov**, who had been convicted of 'theft' (*Chronicle* 45). He is the son of political prisoner **Sergei Soldatov** (trial — *Chronicle* 38). He seemed uneasy, and answered in words of one syllable, or sometimes by a mere nod of the head or shrugging of his shoulders. He thought for several minutes before answering each question. Those present in the courtroom considered that he seemed to have difficulty in understanding the questions (he has lived all his life in Estonia and does not speak Russian very well). However, he avoided giving careless replies which might have harmed himself or others. When asked by the Judge what his relations with Velikanova were, he could not reply.

'Why are you in prison?'

'You mean under which article?' (He then stated the article.) Then, later, he said: 'I don't exactly know why I'm in prison.'

Soldatov was also asked about conditions in the camp. Conditions were 'normal'; work was not heavy. When the Judge asked how he had been treated during the investigation of his case, he replied:

'I was beaten up.'

'Who beat you?'

'I don't remember.'

'The men in your cell?'

'No, not them.' (For this assault, see *Chronicle 48*.)

When the evidence Soldatov gave at an interrogation in connection with Velikanova's case was mentioned, he drew the court's attention to the fact that the record of the interrogation was not signed by him. He insisted that he knew nothing of Velikanova's activities. Soldatov was led from the courtroom and, when he passed the bench where the accused was sitting, Velikanova nodded to him and said a few words of approval to him.

The next witness was **Minakhmetova (?)**,¹ Chief Doctor at the Central Hospital of the Perm Camps. She stated that the hospital was equipped with all that was required, and any kind of specialist or medicine could be obtained from the medical centre without exception. Each camp had its own sick bay, each well equipped. Patients were received twice daily, morning and evening. No one was forcibly treated, but some patients at times required persuasion, for example when they required dental treatment.

Witness **Veniamin Kozharinov** (*Chronicles 19, 21, 30*) was asked:

'Do you know the accused?'

'No.'

'But during the pre-trial investigation you stated ...'

'I only knew her indirectly. I may have seen her.'

From 1968 to 1970 he had copied several texts at the request of Krasin, but after Krasin's arrest for 'parasitism' (*Chronicles 11, 22*) he had ceased this activity. It was through Krasin that he met Yakir, with whom he became friends, and he had visited Grigorenko at his home.

'Did you see Velikanova there?'

'I don't remember. It was a long time ago, more than ten years.'

'During an interrogation you stated that you saw her at Grigorenko's home.'

'If I said that, then it must be true.'

'Did they ever discuss the Initiative Group in your presence?'

'I don't remember.'

'But you stated at that interrogation that while you were at Grigorenko's home they discussed the formation of the Initiative Group. You stated that Yakir, Krasin, Velikanova and others were there.'

'I don't remember, but I won't deny my old testimony.'

A number of witnesses did not appear in court, and evidence given by three of them was read out.

Sergei Alekseyev (the son of **L. M. Alekseyeva**; he was questioned in winter 1980, but in May he emigrated — *Chronicle 57*) did not give evidence when first questioned (*Chronicle 56*), but subsequently testified that he knew Velikanova, and had seen her at his mother's home. He knew that his mother was involved in the movement to defend the rule of law, but was not himself interested in such matters. He never heard Velikanova and his mother discuss politics together. His impression of Velikanova was that she was a pleasant, good and honest woman. When shown a letter he stated that it was written by his mother, since he recognized her handwriting where she had added 'Greetings to Tanya!' (The letter itself was typewritten.)

Gainichenko (Commandant of one of the Mordovian camps) described the antisocial attitudes of a number of prisoners — **V. Osipov**, **S. Soldatov** and others (he mentioned five or six names). They were all parasites, renegades, did not attend political meetings, and did not participate in the social life of the camp.

Kamil Zainutdinov stated that he had first met Velikanova when she visited the settlement of Krasny Zaton, near Syktyvkar, where her husband **Konstantin Babitsky** (*Chronicle 4*) was serving exile during the years 1969-70. After Velikanova's visit to Krasny Zaton some samizdat literature had appeared there, including works by Avtorkhanov, Mandelshtam, Solzhenitsyn and others. Babitsky gave him some to read, beginning with *Cancer Ward*, and then some documents concerning court cases. Another visit from some of Babitsky's friends brought more books. Zainutdinov did not know who brought them, but he thought that they were left by Anatoly Yakobson and Leonid Flishman. Then he travelled to Moscow, where he lived at Velikanova's home for a month. Whilst there he noticed that there was samizdat literature standing openly on the bookshelves. With Velikanova's sister **Ksenia** he had visited the home of **Ernst Rudenko**, 'who bound anti-Soviet works for them'.² Accompanied by Velikanova's brother **Kirill** and **Vadim Delone** he had visited Daniel ('now they are all involved in anti-Soviet activities in the West'). He had also attended a party at Ksenia Velikanova's home, where samizdat was sold. He asked the price of a copy of *Cancer Ward*, but it was too expensive — 20 roubles. He then asked Ksenia to lend him the book, which she did. He knew nothing of Velikanova's activities since 1971.

The summing up then began. The Procurator's speech began and ended with quotations from Lenin. In the middle he referred to the international situation, saying that Velikanova's activities served the interests of reactionary groups in the West, as was confirmed by her links with émigrés such as Bukovsky, Plyushch, Alekseyeva, Litvinov,

Zaks, Amalrik, Shragin and Khodorovich. These people were all connected with anti-Soviet organizations in the West. Proof of this could be seen in the correspondence confiscated from Velikanova, in the evidence of witnesses Glazko, Zainutdinov and Kozharinov, and in the materials from the cases of Kovalév and Superfin. He asked for Velikanova to be sentenced to four years in camps, followed by five years in exile.

Defence counsel Batova remarked in her speech that it was her first experience of such a complex case. The accused had insistently refused the services of defence counsel, 'who was now the person closest to her'. 'I say this in order to stress how difficult are the conditions in which I am working.' Nearly all the activities cited against the accused concerned the period up to 1974. In 1974 she received an official warning, which indicated that all her activities were well known. However, she was not arrested then, even at the height of the case of Yakir and Krasin (the Yakir-Krasin case ended in September 1973 — see *Chronicle* 30). Batova stated that the same crime could not be punished twice. The evidence given by Korolëva, Zainutdinov, Alekseyev and Kozharinov proved nothing, as it did not directly relate to Velikanova. Defence counsel read out a reference from Velikanova's last place of work (as an orderly in a children's hospital). It stated that she worked conscientiously and was sympathetic to the children. (Here someone in the courtroom shouted: 'How remarkable!') The accused had brought up three good, healthy children. Of course, the documents which she had signed 'bore an unmistakable stamp, but then punishment is intended to educate, not as revenge; is that not so, comrade Judge?' Article 70 provided for a wide range of punishments, one of which was two to five years' exile. Defence counsel considered it possible to sentence Velikanova to a punishment which did not involve imprisonment. When requested to make a final speech Velikanova merely said: 'The farce is ended, it's over.' On 29 August sentence was passed: four years in strict-regime camps and five years in exile. Velikanova preferred not to appeal. On 28 September she was despatched from Moscow, and on 3 October she arrived in Mordovian Camp No. 3.

* * *

The Soviet press responded to Velikanova's trial with a long article printed in *Soviet Russia* [*Sovetskaya Rossiya*] on 31 August. Entitled 'With a Shield of Libel', it was signed 'V. Ivanov'. Particular emphasis was laid in the article on Velikanova's links with the West. There were a large number of quotations from letters written to her from abroad. Much attention is given to the *Chronicle of Current Events*, without mentioning it by name:

The case materials (during the trial the evidence presented included

both typewritten lampoons and other libellous trash printed in New York by the anti-Soviet publishers Khronika Press and smuggled into the USSR) leave no room to doubt what the authors of this anti-Soviet trash considered to be the 'truth'.

All this 'information' was concocted to the same recipe: once it was learned that someone had been committed for trial, even some petty thief or hooligan, immediately they reported on persecution for beliefs; or if they heard of punishments imposed in some camp for violations of discipline, then at once they set up a cry about alleged brutality against prisoners ...

Velikanova and her accomplices, who call themselves 'defenders of rights', are least of all interested in rights in the broad and full sense in which they are proclaimed and guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR. Their interests are limited to an extremely small set of subjects: prisons, corrective labour camps and arrests. In brief, any filth is collected, from rumours and gossip to open slander, and it arouses feelings of revulsion in any normal person, surrounded as it is with an odour of refuse and garbage ...

Muscovites will remember the incident of the bomb in the Metro, when criminals caused injury to 44 people, seven of whom died. Now in court we are shown one of the latest issues of a journal which Velikanova was about to send abroad. Its slanderous contents include an entire section headed 'The Case of the Explosion on the Underground' (*Chronicle* 52 — *Chronicle*).

Every line of this is a mixture of fiction and malicious libel. It expresses regret at the 'excessively harsh sentence', and hints that the criminals had some alibis or other ...

* * *

After the trial those members of Committee to Defend Tatyana Velikanova who were still free, **L. I. Bogoraz, E. G. Bonner, S. V. Kalistratova** and **L. Z. Kopelev**, signed the following statement:

... It is pointless to talk about violations of the law in Velikanova's case. There was never a whiff of the law. The outward appearances were there, the phoney symbols of legality: the court building (cordoned off by three rows of policemen), the courtroom (more heavily defended from her friends than an ammunition store), the Procurator, the Judges and a person called the defence counsel (who was rejected by Velikanova — 'I don't need a second prosecutor!' — but who played out her role), people taking the part of witnesses (including some who had never seen Tanya face to face, nor heard anything about her or her activities), and twelve volumes of 'case materials'. Tatyana Velikanova was assigned the role of accused, a role she refused to play. The show fell to pieces and crumbled.

There was no trial, and the only reality left was the escort (in military, police and plain-clothes uniform) which separated Tatyana from her friends, and the prison van which at the end removed her from normal life for nine years.

We, Tanya's friends, stood in the street for three days outside the court, trying hard to get inside, not to 'listen to the trial' but to take one last look at her before a long separation which actually began ten months ago.

What was there to listen to in the courtroom? The Judge's questions about the soup in the camps, the confused and irrelevant replies of the 'witnesses', the helpless mumblings of the defence counsel, the vacuous rumbings of the Procurator, the rehearsed shouts about the sentence from the invited 'public' — 'Not enough!' It was all about nothing and to no purpose. The whole jumble could have dragged on for a week or been entirely dispensed with. Velikanova remained silent, and the blows prepared against her struck empty air. 'The farce is ended,' she said after the judgment was read out.

After the trial of Tatyana Velikanova the trials still to come lose all their significance for the authorities; Bakhmin, Abramkin, Podrabinek, Osipova, Lavut, Ternovsky and others await their turn in prison. For what purpose? The escort, the prisons, the camps, and the black Marias are always at the ready and need no trials.

On the first day of the trial Tanya managed to wave to us from afar.

On 29 August the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 140, 'The Trials of Tatyana Velikanova and Father Gleb Yakunin'. On the same day a letter entitled 'Who has been Condemned?', concerning the sentences given to Velikanova and Yakunin, was signed by 57 people: E. Alekseyeva, S. Anishchenko, N. Babitskaya, F. Babitsky, L. Bogoraz, L. Boitsova, E. Bonner, Yu. Velichkin, E. Gaidamachuk, Yu. Gastev, V. Gershuni, M. Gefer, A. Gorgan, A. Gotovtsev, S. Grimm, Z. Dzeboyeva, V. Dolgy, M. Dubakh, M. Zotov, V. Istomin, N. Istomina, A. Kabinova, D. Kazachkova, S. Kalistratova, I. Kovalëv, N. Komarova (Nekipelova), L. Kopelev, E. Kosterina, V. Kronrod, V. Kuvakin, T. Lavut, M. Landa, R. Lert, M. Liyatov (Yakovlev), N. Meiman, I. Myaskovsky, M. Novikov, G. Pavlovsky, Z. Perchatkina, M. Petrenko (Podyapolskaya), V. Poleshchuk, G. Poleshchuk, K. Popov, N. Prokopchik, T. Prokopchik, A. Sakharov, F. Serebrov, A. Smirnov (Kosterin), B. Smushkevich, V. Sorokin, S. Sorokina, L. Ternovskaya, V. Tolts, S. Khodorovich, Yu. Shikhanovich, V. Shcheglov and F. Yasinovskaya (Litvinova).

* * *

Tatyana Velikanova graduated from the Faculty of Mechanics and

Mathematics of Moscow University in 1954. She then taught in the northern Urals. On returning to Moscow she worked as a mathematician and programmer, first in the computing centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences, then in the Central Institute for Mathematical Economics, and afterwards in the computing centre of the Moscow Main Auto Transport Administration. In 1977 she left the centre to work for some time as an orderly in a children's hospital.

The Trial of Vyacheslav Bakhmin

From 22 to 24 September the Moscow City Court, presided over by N. A. Baikova, heard the case of Vyacheslav Ivanovich Bakhmin, a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes. Bakhmin (b. 1947; arrested on 12 February — see *Chronicle* 56) was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator T. P. Prazdnikova, and defence counsel (appointed) was lawyer A. Polyak.

The trial was held in the People's Court of the Lyublino District of Moscow, where Velikanova was also tried (see above). Apart from the 'special public', only Bakhmin's elder brother Vladimir was admitted to the courtroom. None of his friends was admitted. His wife and younger brother Viktor were called as witnesses. On 24 September Bakhmin's friends were forbidden even to enter the area in which the court is situated, because on the previous day they had 'violated public order' (when Bakhmin was led from the court building and placed in a black Maria, they had greet him with shouts).

Bakhmin was accused of preparing and circulating the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission and of circulating 'anti-Soviet literature', in particular the *Gulag Archipelago*. Of the 1,000 'episodes' (Bakhmin's estimate) contained in the 22 issues of the *Information Bulletin* produced before his arrest, only 14 were cited against him.

Also cited against him were an appeal to the International Congress of the World Psychiatric Association in Honolulu (*Chronicle* 47) and letters sent by him to psychiatric hospitals (concerning unlawful hospitalizations and other illegal acts). The indictment noted that these materials and the *Information Bulletin* had been published by Possev publishing house [W. Germany], and readings from them had been given by Radio Liberty.

Bakhmin made a number of petitions: he requested that the 'Directives on the urgent hospitalization of mentally ill persons who constitute a public danger'³ should be entered in the case file, that additional witnesses should be called, particularly from the Serbsky Institute, and that his wife and brother should be questioned first. The court granted only the first petition and part of the last:

Bakhmin's wife was questioned first, but his brother was the last to be called to the witness stand, following a demand by the Procurator. Defence counsel also entered a petition for A. Sokolov, who had testified during the pre-trial investigation about Bakhmin's circulation of the *Gulag Archipelago*, to be called as a witness. This petition was also overruled, whereupon Bakhmin renounced the services of defence counsel and declined to take part in the proceedings (he maintained a demonstrative silence). The court did not accept his refusal of defence counsel.

Of the 34 witnesses summoned to appear only 17 attended, mostly doctors from various psychiatric hospitals and clinics. They described conditions in the hospitals and stated that there had been no violations of the law during the hospitalization of patients. Matchenko, Chief Doctor at a Krasnoyarsk psychiatric hospital, and Gurevich, a Section Head at the Sychëvka Special Psychiatric Hospital, both disputed the report in the *Information Bulletin* about the persecution of psychiatrists and medical staff who had treated patients sympathetically and refused to perform inhuman acts; they stated that they had not been responsible for any 'persecution of medical staff'. Witness Koltsova, who works in Moscow Psychiatric Clinic No. 3, was unable to reply when asked by defence counsel which sorts of patients are considered socially dangerous.

Bakhmin's friends Boris and Marina Rumshisky (*Chronicle 57*) were also summoned. Before giving evidence Boris Rumshisky wished Bakhmin a happy birthday (September 25 was his 33rd birthday) and threw some flowers to him which landed on his lap. The Judge warned Rumshisky about his behaviour and declared a recess (during which the escort removed the flowers). Afterwards, Rumshisky was refused admittance to the court by the usher. His wife was also excluded, so that 'he wouldn't be bored on his own'. The Procurator, Prazdnikova, demanded the maximum punishment—three years in camps. Defence counsel Polyak stated that, according to article 301 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure ('The sentence must be lawful and justified'), the accused was not guilty, since the concept of 'intent' was absent from his actions.

In his final speech, which lasted 40 minutes, Bakhmin stated that only two of the 14 episodes held against him

contain inaccuracies. The case evidence on the other twelve either confirms the accuracy of our accounts of them, or else it is self-contradictory.

Bakhmin continued:

How was the investigation conducted? Those officials whom we know to be responsible for violations of the law were, on each investigated episode, sent such questions as: 'Please tell us what you

know about this or that incident concerning the criminal case against V. I. Bakhmin, who is charged under article 190-1 with circulating deliberately false fabrications ...' What could these people reply when asked such a question? When the Procuracy organs are already saying that a man is charged under this article with circulating deliberately false fabrications, then naturally the reply will always be of the same type, as can be seen from the testimonies of the doctors and section heads. They said that everything was fine, that there were no violations of the law either in hospital procedures or over hospitalizations ...

In her speech the Procurator often said that all the persons referred to in the *Bulletins* were ill. But the Commission never tried to debate this point. The real point is that a sick person has certain rights, just as any other one does, and these rights are firmly stated in the 'Directives' on the urgent hospitalization of mentally ill persons', which are very often violated. For example, Sebelev, mentioned by witness Koltsova, was forcibly hospitalized in a state of alcoholic intoxication by the police, who removed him from his own flat. He was shortly afterwards discharged, since it was considered that he did not require in-patient treatment. This was an example of flagrant violation of the Directives, as a state of alcoholic intoxication does not constitute one of the stated grounds for forcible hospitalization. More than this, in many cases even the psychiatrists themselves do not know the Directives. They are not only unfamiliar with their provisions; they do not even know of their existence. This was highlighted when it was discovered that among the members of the Commission charged with checking the medical reports of [Dr Alexander] Voloshanovich (see *Chronicle 51*), not one of them had ever heard of the Directives. The work of the Commission consisted in checking out the diagnoses made by Voloshanovich. Not one of the psychiatrists on the Commission even once saw any of the patients they were reporting on, throughout the entire period of their investigation. Their own diagnoses are founded only on the case histories, which they did just trouble to leaf through, and of course they agree with the diagnoses made earlier in the hospitals ...

In her speech the Procurator referred to the secrecy of our activities, yet the activities of the Working Commission were absolutely legal. We do not hide from anyone, something which cannot be said about this trial, which is being conducted virtually behind closed doors. Only three of my close relatives have been admitted to the court. As for my friends, they were not admitted; they were prevented from entering by police cordons. All this serves to prevent anyone from knowing what is happening in the courtroom. Who is afraid? The names and full addresses and telephone numbers of

the members of the Working Commission appear openly on the title page of every *Information Bulletin*. Issues of the *Bulletin* were regularly sent by me to the USSR Procuracy and the Ministry of Health. I enclosed letters requesting that if any inaccuracies or incorrect information were discovered, corrections should be sent to the members of the Working Commission, so that they could be included in the next issue. However, the Procuracy, which is supposed to ensure that the law is observed, would, the very next day, send the *Bulletin* to that organization so endearingly referred to by the Procurator as 'the committee', namely the KGB. The same happened to the issues of the *Bulletin* sent to the Ministry of Health. Probably the KGB is more competent in matters of psychiatry ... In our country the KGB decides what citizens shall read. The KGB is an organization which, should a citizen read literature which he is not supposed to, conducts a search at his home and confiscates from him books, articles and poetry of which our country should be proud. I am ashamed that in our country people are afraid of words ...

The court sentenced Bakhmin to three years in ordinary-regime camps.

* * *

Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 144, 'The Trial of Vyacheslav Bakhmin', adopted on 2 October 1980, states in part:

The judgment cites against Bakhmin the 'libellous' contents of the *Information Bulletins*, supposedly issued 'secretly and illegally'. In actual fact the libel is contained in the judgment itself, which also disproves it: it indicates that the names and addresses of the compilers appeared on the title page of every *Bulletin*. Moreover, the legality and openness of the Commission's activities are corroborated, as stated above, by the very act of sending copies of the *Bulletin* to official institutions and organizations ...

The case materials contain no proof that the *Bulletin* was deliberately inaccurate, and there is no reference to this in the judgment. As regards mistakes in the *Bulletin*, which are quite possible (particularly in the atmosphere of constant persecution and hindrance by the authorities of those who collect and check out information), their small number simply bears witness to the meticulous and conscientious checking performed by Bakhmin and other members of the Commission ...

Neither the investigators nor the court gave an honest test to the contents of the *Information Bulletin*, nor did the official institutions to which it was sent. Having refused Bakhmin's petitions, which had as their aim to achieve a truly objective evaluation of the facts (in particular the petition for additional witnesses to be called), the

court established the 'libellous' nature of the material cited against Bakhmin by referring to the evidence of witnesses who had an obvious interest in the outcome of the trial, namely the psychiatrists responsible for conditions in the psychiatric institutions and for the situation of the patients in them ...

It would be ridiculous to imagine that witnesses so directly interested in the outcome of the case would corroborate statements about their own unlawful actions. However, none of the evidence given by these witnesses proves the existence of deliberate falsehood in the concrete reports in the *Information Bulletin* which were cited against Bakhmin. Those witnesses who could have objectively confirmed the accuracy of these statements were not called either during the pre-trial investigation or at the trial ...

* * *

As already stated (*Chronicle 57*), a public hearing was held in London on 15 May at which witnesses' testimonies relevant to the cases of V. I. Bakhmin and L. B. Ternovsky were presented. The hearing was organized by British jurists and psychiatrists, by Amnesty International and members of the British Parliament. It was conducted by the British lawyer representing Bakhmin, L. Blom-Cooper (who earlier defended A. Podrabinek — *Chronicle 50*). He stated:

This hearing has as its aim ... the collection of testimonies and materials relating to the case and, once this is done, the sending of them to the Moscow Procuracy and to the court. In accordance with the norms of Soviet legal procedure this evidence must be taken into consideration, and the court is required to respond to it.

Evidence was given by P. G. Grigorenko, the Swedish psychiatrist H. Blomberg and consultant to the Working Commission A. Voloshanovich. Statements sent from Moscow by Irina Grivnina (*Chronicle 56*) and Yury Yarym-Agayev (*Chronicle 56*), and a joint letter in defence of Bakhmin (*Chronicle 56*) were read out.

* * *

In March Bakhmin's brother Viktor sent a letter to 60 deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, appealing to them to 'do all you can to re-establish justice and legality'. He received two replies. Z. Kiseleva wrote:

Your problem should be referred to the RSFSR Supreme Court, the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Procuracy. A deputy is not authorized to examine matters relating to investigations.

Collective farm chairman A. E. Terentev replied as follows:

I cannot give you a positive reply. If the matter requires investiga-

tion then I would have to go to the right place and gather all the paperwork, but I do not have time for that. My pleading would be unlawful because the case is taking place outside my constituency.

Later the USSR Procuracy (to which he had not written) sent a postcard:

I inform you that your complaint has been referred for checking out to the Moscow City Procuracy, which will inform you of its decision.

* * *

Bakhmin completed his studies at Moscow University Boarding School No. 18 ('the Kolmogorov Boarding School') in 1966, afterwards entering the Moscow Physics and Technology Institute.

On 1 September 1969 he was called to the KGB for a chat concerning the circulation of 'forbidden literature'. On 30 November 1969 (he was then a fourth-year student) he was arrested. In December, 'in honour of' the ninetieth anniversary of J. V. Stalin's birth, he intended to scatter anti-Stalinists pamphlets in the streets (*Chronicle 11*). In September 1970, when the pre-trial investigation was already completed, he was unexpectedly pardoned (*Chronicle 16*).

On his release he was warned that he could not continue his studies at the Institute. He had already been expelled from the Institute for 'non-attendance at lectures'; shortly afterwards he was expelled from the Komsomol by the Institute's Komsomol committee.

In 1974 Bakhmin completed his studies as an external student of the Moscow Institute of Economics and Statistics, whilst working as a computer programmer. In 1977 he was a founder-member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes (*Chronicle 44*). On 18 October 1979 he was called to the KGB for a 'chat', during which he was 'warned' (*Chronicle 54*).

The Trial of Yakunin

From 25 to 28 August Moscow City Court, presided over by V. G. Lubentsova (who also judged the 'demonstrators' in October 1968 — *Chronicle 4*; V. Bukovsky in January 1972 — *Chronicle 23*; and Yu. Orlov in May 1978 — *Chronicle 50*), heard the case of Father Gleb Pavlovich Yakunin, a member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR. Yakunin (b. 1934, arrested on 1 November 1979 — *Chronicle 54*) was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator Skaredov, and defence counsel was lawyer L. M. Popov (*Chronicles 21, 46*).

The trial was held in the Moscow City Court building. The court-

room selected is designed to hold approximately 30 people, but it was full of 'representatives of the public' who presented passes to obtain admission. Yakunin's wife **Iraida Yakunina** (*Chronicle 57*) was admitted to the trial, but 'there were not enough seats' for Yakunin's other friends and relatives. However, seats were found for at least four KGB officers, of whom one was responsible for detaining T. Shchepkova (*Chronicle 52*, trial — *Chronicle 56*), another took part in searches at the homes of members of the Christian seminar, the third interrogated T. Lebedeva (*Chronicles 54, 56, 57*), and the fourth had a chat with A. Naidenovich (*Chronicles 28, 54*) to persuade her to leave Moscow during the Olympic Games.

The indictment cited against Yakunin a number of letters and appeals, above all his appeal to the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi (*Chronicle 38*) and an appeal to Christians in Portugal (both appeals were made conjointly with **L. Regelson** — see below). Yakunin pleaded not guilty.

V. Kapitanchuk, a member of the Christian Committee, and **L. Regelson**, a participant in the Christian seminar, were called as witnesses. Both were at the time in detention in Lefortovo Prison (for their trials see below). **V. Popkov**, another participant in the seminar (for his trial see *Chronicle 56*), was also called as a witness. Regelson and Kapitanchuk both testified that they signed the documents cited against Yakunin and were involved in their composition. Kapitanchuk said that he had written and circulated several of them.

Popkov gave detailed evidence. In particular he confirmed that he was present at the meeting of Yakunin, D. Dudko (*Chronicles 56, 57*) and V. Kovalenko (*Chronicles 55, 57*) with some foreigners, and recounted what Yakunin had circulated at the meeting, and to whom. He also confirmed the 'incriminating' testimony of **E. Berini-Waldvogel**, a Swedish woman, which was read out in court. This testimony was also, during the pre-trial investigation, confirmed by Dudko and Kovalenko.

A. I. Osipov, a member of the delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi (*Chronicle 38*) and a Professor at the Moscow Theological Academy, and Father Superior Iosif Pustoutov, Head of Postgraduate Studies at the Moscow Theological Academy and an official in the Department of External Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, both stated in court that the letter from Yakunin and Regelson had harmed the prestige of the Soviet authorities. By his unpatriotic actions Father Yakunin had set Christians throughout the world against the Soviet government.

F. Karelin (once a close friend of Yakunin) stated that many of the documents written by Yakunin were directed to the West, which 'has never helped the Soviet state in any way'. When asked by the Judge whether he considered the documents cited against Yakunin to be

anti-Soviet, Karelin replied that it was for the court to answer that question.

Father **Krivoi** (from Lvov) quoted Yakunin as saying: 'The KGB has wrapped its feelers around the whole world.' He gave a very bad character sketch of Yakunin, saying that he was capable of drinking two bottles of vodka. (Yakunin then asked: 'Over how long a period?') In his indictment speech the Procurator referred to Krivoi's evidence, saying that Yakunin was a drunkard.) Krivoi also stated that he had bought an icon from Yakunin, who apparently, traded in them.

Witness **Fedotova** (whom Yakunin does not know) testified that she had heard a conversation between her son [Eduard-Georgy Fedotov] and **A. Ogorodnikov**, who complained that Father Gleb received money from Solzhenitsyn but did not share it with him.

Church-warden **A. Shushpanov** of Nikolo-Kuznetskaya church began shouting almost as soon as he entered the court that Yakunin was an abettor of imperialism and an anti-Sovietist and that he belonged in the dock. He also said that Yakunin was an enemy of peace and supporter of war. Yakunin replied by requesting that Shushpanov be sent for psychiatric examination. (Yakunin considers Shushpanov a KGB agent, and has written about this to Patriarch Pimen together with Khaibulin and Kapitanchuk — see *Chronicle* 46. Shushpanov once offered Yakunin a large sum of money to help the work of the Christian Committee, which he wanted to join. Yakunin did not accept the money and refused to admit Shushpanov to the Committee.)

Witness **E. B. Zagryazkina** (financial administrator of the church at Vagankovo cemetery) stated that in all her life she had never met such a decent, honest, good, brave and moral man as Father Yakunin. (Her evidence during the pre-trial investigation had been unfavourable; in 1973-74 she gave a large amount of evidence against Petrov-Agatov.)

Witness **Kudryavtsev** refused to give evidence in spite of the Judge's insistent demands. He stated that the authorities had awarded him a 'diploma of schizophrenia', and therefore had no right to question a person who was not mentally responsible.

Witness **A. I. Rogov** told the court that Yakunin hated the Soviet authorities and that he was a traitor to his people. Yakunin petitioned the court to be allowed to call as witness Khudyakov, who was present at his conversation with Rogov. Khudyakov was not called.

Dudko was similarly not called, even though Yakunin remarked that the name of Dudko had been mentioned many times in the indictment and that Dudko's testimony, given in the pre-trial investigation, was frequently quoted during the proceedings.

Among the witnesses whom the court listed as having failed to appear were **V. Fonchenkov** (*Chronicle* 53) and **L. Poluektova** (*Chronicle* 54), who had not received court summonses, but had asked

to be called as witnesses and were standing outside the court building, as they had not been admitted to the courtroom.

In his speech the Procurator stated that Yakunin was an inveterate criminal, an anti-Sovietist, an enemy of the Motherland and the Church and a thoroughly degenerate character, a drunkard. He asked for a special ruling from the court that, according to the facts ascertained during the proceedings, it was necessary to conduct a pre-trial investigation of actions by him contravening article 88 ('violation of the regulations on foreign-exchange dealings') and article 154 ('speculation') of the RSFSR Criminal Code. He stated that the guilt of the accused was fully proven, and asked the court to sentence Yakunin to five years in strict-regime camps and five years in exile. Defence counsel requested a mitigation of sentence.

Before making his final speech Father Yakunin asked: 'Are this court and the public here interested in the facts which motivated me to act in defence of the human rights of Christians?' Judge Lubentsova said that no one was interested in this. When Yakunin asked what would be of interest to the court, she replied that Yakunin could make a plea to the court, to which Yakunin in turn replied that he had no pleas to make. 'Then that's everything!' said Lubentsova. Father Yakunin's final speech consisted of a single phrase: 'I thank God for the fate he has given me'. His sentence was five years in strict-regime camps and five years in exile. While the judgment was being read out a television camera recorded the proceedings. This film was later shown on British television.

* * *

On 29 August the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 140, 'The Trials of Tatyana Velikanova and Father Gleb Yakunin'. On the same day a letter entitled 'Who has been Condemned?', concerning the trials of Velikanova and Yakunin, was signed by 57 people (see above).

On 2 September the newspaper *Trud* [Labour] published an article by L. Kolosov: 'Whom Was "Father" Gleb Serving?'. The article states in part:

During the trial it was ascertained that 'during the years 1964-79 G. P. Yakunin was engaged in the purchase and resale of articles used in church services, antiques, books, manufactured goods and artefacts made from precious metals and stones, including silver coins minted before the Revolution, all with the aim of systematically obtaining large amounts of illegal income ...'

The article also asserts that Yakunin

condemned the use of material written by him by Radio Liberty,

the NTS [Popular Labour Alliance] and other centres of subversion whose aims are hostile to the Soviet Union, and stated that he would in future desist from the activities for which he was convicted ...

* * *

Yakunin graduated from the Biology and Gamekeeping Faculty of the Irkutsk Agricultural Institute in 1958. He then entered Moscow Theological Seminary, but was expelled in 1959 'for delays in returning books to the library'.

In 1962 he was ordained a priest and began to work in the town of Dmitrov, Moscow Region. In 1965 Father Nikolai Eshliman and Gleb Yakunin sent an 'open letter' to Patriarch Aleksii. Aleksii replied by forbidding them to work as priests 'owing to their attempt to destroy the good relations which exist between Church and State', and 'for disturbing the peace of the Church'. (This appeal to Aleksii, and others to the Assembly of Bishops in 1971 and to Patriarch Pimen requesting a canonical Church trial, were all without effect. They both accepted the ruling.⁴)

Since 1966 Yakunin has worked as a reader and chorister at various churches in Moscow region. In 1974 he criticized a statement made by Metropolitan Serafim supporting the deportation of Solzhenitsyn.

In 1975, the USSR Council of Ministers declared Easter Day a working day, he sent an 'Open Letter' to them in which he termed the government's order 'blasphemous' (*Chronicle* 36). That same year he made a joint appeal with L. Regelson to the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi, calling for Christians of different denominations to join in the defence of persecuted Christians and in glorifying and honouring contemporary martyrs and confessors of the Christian faith.

In 1976 Yakunin and Regelson sent an analysis and criticism of Soviet legislation on religion to the World Council of Churches (*Chronicle* 41). They also sent a letter to Christians in Portugal concerning the possible consequences of the communists coming to power there, referring to the special spiritual link between Christians in Russia and Portugal. That same year Yakunin, Regelson and V. Kapitanchuk appealed to the leaders of the Russian Church in Exile to consider the possibility of canonizing martyrs of the Russian Church who had suffered during and after the Revolution. Then also, Yakunin, Kapitanchuk and V. Khaibulin founded the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR. In 1977 the Committee made an appeal to Brezhnev and to leaders of the Orthodox Church after the publication of the draft Constitution of the USSR (*Chronicle* 46).

In 1978 the magazine *Russian Revival* [*Russkoe vozrozhdenie*] pub-

lished an article by Yakunin on the attitude of the Moscow Patriarchate to the Stalin personality cult. That same year Yakunin, Kapitanchuk and V. Shcheglov issued an appeal to the Conclave of Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the Vatican's policy towards Eastern Europe.

In the years 1977 and 1979 Yakunin drew up two reports for the Christian Committee, one concerning economic discrimination against church officers by the State, the other on the present situation of the Russian Orthodox Church (*Chronicle* 56). In 1979 Yakunin, Kapitanchuk, Regelson and V. Fonchenkov called for support for the canonization of twentieth-century Russian martyrs and professors of the Christian faith, a process being prepared by the Russian Church in Exile.

The Trial of Regelson

From 22 to 24 September the Moscow City Court, presided over by Mironov, heard the case of Lev Lvovich Regelson (b. 1939; arrested 24 December 1979 — *Chronicle* 55), a participant in the Christian seminar, who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Assistant Moscow Procurator S. N. Chistyakov (who also prosecuted Velikanova — see above), and defence counsel (appointed by the court) was lawyer L. M. Popov (who also defended Yakunin — see above).

Regelson's wife **Lyudmila Ivanova** (*Chronicle* 54) learnt that Popov had been appointed her husband's defence counsel only by chance and shortly before the trial opened. Investigator Kapayev had previously telephoned her in an attempt to persuade her to make an agreement with Popov, claiming that this was in accordance with her husband's wishes. A week before the trial she called Popov to ask him to give her the date of the trial's opening. After repeated refusals he eventually told her. She then warned Popov that she intended to engage a different defence counsel, at which he shouted: 'You won't succeed in ruining the trial!' and hung up.

The trial was held in the Moscow City Court building. Also present at the trial, apart from Regelson's father and wife, was **L. Poluektova** (*Chronicle* 54), who was escorted in by a KGB officer who had searched her on entering. None of Regelson's other friends, who had come to the court, was admitted, and foreign correspondents were similarly refused admission.

The charges against Regelson consisted of letters and articles written by him between 1974 and 1979. Regelson stated in court that he agreed with the indictment: the writings cited against him were openly anti-Soviet in character, and had been sent to the West in order to

promote Western pressure on the domestic policy of our State and to change the position of religion in the USSR. In fighting against atheist propaganda he had in fact begun a struggle against the State. Regelson said that his faith in God was now strengthened, and he would now abstain from all political activity. He gave lengthy evidence. To the Judge's question: 'How did you reproduce the documents?', he replied that he typed the first set of copies, and then further copies were made by Yakunin. The meetings with foreigners were arranged by Yakunin. They had met at the homes of Voronel and Shragin. Yakunin had sent the documents to the West, through N. Solzhenitsyna, T. Khodorovich and foreign tourists. (Regelson read out all his testimony and his answers to questions from sheets of paper.)

The first witness to be called was **V. Popkov**, who entered the court under guard (see 'The Trial of Yakunin'). He spoke in detail about the Christian seminar (*Chronicles* 41, 43, 46, 49, 52), and said that the seminar met in the apartment of Father N. Gainov (a member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR—*Chronicle* 54).

V. Kapitanchuk, another member of the Committee, was then escorted into court (for his trial, see below). He confirmed that Regelson had been involved in the preparation and circulation of documents of the Christian Committee, and condemned the Committee's activities. He said he had once been visited by some foreigners brought by Vyacheslav Bakhmin. He took them to see Gainov, but then left. When asked about his acquaintance with foreign correspondents he replied that he had met Miletich. He had been introduced to Dakin by Regelson. He stated that he gave the Christian Committee's documents to Poluektova, who circulated them. (Kapitanchuk, too, read out his testimony from sheets of paper.)

Witnesses **Belyayeva** and **Muranova**, who both live in Kemerovo, testified that one of them had received from Regelson a copy of his book and a magazine containing an article by him, which she had given to the other, who had burned them. One of them recalled that she had seen a copy of Solzhenitsyn's *The Calf Butted the Oak* at Regelson's home. 'Enough, enough,' said the Judge, interrupting her.

Two former fellow-students of Regelson's, **Babushkina** and **Pogorelova**, were also called as witnesses. They testified that after leaving Moscow University they saw Regelson on three occasions at meetings of former students of their group. Babushkina stated that Regelson had brought a copy of his book to one of these meetings. Everyone had been interested in it, since Regelson was the only believer in their group. Pogorelova gave similar evidence, but said that Regelson's book professed an alien ideology (in fact she could not remember in which language the book she had seen was written).

Another former fellow-student of Regelson's, **Galtsev**, and **Father Alexander Men** were also questioned.

Yakunin's testimony was read out in court, as 'he could not attend owing to illness' (at the time he was held in Lefortovo Prison, unaware that Regelson's trial was in progress). His testimony referred to the joint signing of letters, and confirmed that Regelson was the author of the documents he had signed. He stated that a press conference had been organized at Dudko's flat with Dudko's knowledge, and gave the names of those who had attended, including the foreign correspondents (who had mostly already left the USSR) invited by Yakunin.

A detailed testimony given by **V. Kovalenko** was also read out. He had acted as interpreter at the press conference. Similarly, the testimony of **V. Prilutsky**, a former colleague of Regelson's, was read out. Prilutsky stated that Regelson had given him the text of some letter. The records of a number of searches were also read out.

In his speech the Procurator asked the court to give Regelson a five-year suspended sentence, since he had fully repented of his activities and had helped the investigators to uncover important state crimes.

Defence counsel related his impressions of the accused from meetings with him, and spoke approvingly of his character. He stated that at first Regelson had not given any testimony to the investigators, but later admitted responsibility for the composition of the documents cited against him, although refusing to acknowledge them as anti-Soviet. Afterwards he had agreed to this too. He had thus trodden a difficult and agonizing path. Popov did not consider Regelson socially dangerous and believed that he could remain free.

In his final speech Regelson again acknowledged his guilt, and admitted that his anti-Soviet activities had been due to spiritual vanity. He had wished to suffer and be persecuted by provoking the authorities with his anti-Soviet activities. Now he understood that this was due to lack of faith and a misunderstanding of Christian teaching. He distinguished between his religious and his anti-Soviet activities, and intended to convince other believers of the necessity of such a distinction. He realized that the Soviet authorities were not hostile to religion, and hoped, in view of his changed opinions, to persuade **Poresh** (for his trial see *Chronicle* 57) and **Ogorodnikov** (see present issue) to alter their position and thereby improve their lot. His sentence was five years, suspended.

Regelson was released from custody in the courtroom. As he left the court he told the foreign correspondents who were waiting for him: 'I am prepared to go to prison for Christ, but I am not prepared to go to prison for the human rights movement.' The trial was recorded on film.

* * *

On 29 or 30 September **Popkov** had a meeting with Regelson in

Lefortovo Prison. Regelson tried to persuade him to adopt his position, but Popkov said that he could not fully agree with him. At this point investigators Yakovlev and Kapayev entered. On learning that Popkov would not agree with Regelson they said that there were materials against Popkov which constituted grounds for prosecution under article 70. Since his release Regelson has maintained contact with the KGB.

* * *

In 1961 Regelson graduated from the Faculty of Physics at Moscow University. He then began work in a research institute. In 1965 he was baptized. In 1971, together with Kapitanchuk, F. Karelin and Father N. Gainov, he sent a study-paper to the Assembly of the Russian Orthodox Church criticizing the teaching of Metropolitan Nikodim (Rotov) and other hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church, who were trying to introduce elements of communist ideology into orthodox dogma.

In 1974 he wrote an open letter protesting against the exile of Solzhenitsyn. In 1975 he published a book in samizdat which was later published by the YMCA Press [in Paris in Russian] under the title *The Tragedy of the Russian Church, 1917-45*. For further information on the joint activities of Regelson and Yakunin between the years 1975-79, see 'The Trial of Yakunin'.

In the years 1978-9 Regelson was actively involved in the work of the Christian seminar, to which he gave papers on domestic theology and modern theological problems.

The Trial of Kapitanchuk

On 2 September Tatyana Kapitanchuk telephoned Moscow KGB investigator Levchenko, who was conducting the case against Viktor Kapitanchuk, a member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR (arrested 12 March — *Chronicle* 56). She asked him whether he knew what her husband's opinion was on the engagement of a defence counsel. Levchenko promised to find out and telephone her, and also asked her whether she was sending money to her husband.

On 10 September Levchenko telephoned to tell her that she could send her husband a parcel: 'Not too much sausage, but lots of cheese, and some coloured pencils.' When the parcel was delivered the pencils were not accepted.

On 12 September Tatyana Kapitanchuk was approached at Leninsky Prospekt Metro Station by a policeman, who asked for her documents

and took her to the police office in the station. He recorded where she lived and worked, and asked her where she was coming from. When she asked why the police were interested in this, the policeman replied that she 'had no right to ask'.

* * *

On 17 September Levchenko informed Tatyana that he would allow her a meeting with her husband. The meeting took place the following day in the presence of investigators Levchenko and Yakovlev.

The meeting was granted after a request from Kapitanchuk. He spoke favourably of conditions in the Lefortovo Investigations Prison and about the treatment he had received from the KGB officers. He said that he was allowed to read the Bible and to pray, and no pressure was being brought to bear on him. At first he had pleaded not guilty, refused to give testimony and written a protest letter about his arrest. Then, after studying the documents of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR, reports of medical examinations, court verdicts and other materials, he had realized that he had broken the law. On realizing this he had found strength, so he said, in religious meditation. He stated during the meeting that he was sure his activities had been contrary to the spirit of the Gospels.

According to Kapitanchuk, during the investigation he had not mentioned any names, nor was he asked to do so, since by the time of his arrest the investigators had already obtained all the necessary material. He had also had a confrontation with Yakunin. He was asked Yakunin whether he had any 'moral complaints' about his repentance. Yakunin asked whether the 'repentance' was sincere. Kapitanchuk told him that it was, to which Yakunin replied that he had no complaints. Kapitanchuk had great hopes for his future religious activities. 'The time of militant atheism in the USSR has already ended,' he said.

After the meeting, which lasted approximately two hours, the items confiscated during a search at their home were returned to Kapitanchuk's wife. These include tape-recordings on cassette and spool, notebooks, a typewriter, religious works by Kapitanchuk, and three religious pamphlets published abroad.

* * *

During the investigation Kapitanchuk was presented with approximately twenty documents of the Christian Committee. He stated that the documents contained assertions which he knew to be false at the time of the documents' composition, for example the claim that there existed special camps for believers, which were full of Baptists and Pentecostalists, and that hundreds and thousands of dissenters were

being treated in psychiatric hospitals for their beliefs. (He did not accept that the documents as a whole were libellous.) He stated that he had never been an enemy of the Soviet authorities: he had merely tried to rectify particular shortcomings.

Whilst under interrogation Kapitanchuk wrote a letter to the US Congress at the request of the KGB. In this he requested that documents he had signed should not be used for purposes hostile to the interests of the Soviet Union. He was also requested to state in the same letter his opinion of Sakharov and of the activities of Tatyana Velikanova. He refused.

* * *

From 8 to 9 October the Moscow City Court, presided over by V. G. Lubentsova (who also tried Yakunin — see above), heard the case of Viktor Afanasevich Kapitanchuk (b. 1945), who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was a Senior Assistant Procurator of Moscow City, Funtov, and defence counsel (appointed by the court) was lawyer Vasileva.

The trial was held in the Moscow City Court building. Apart from the 'special public', only the wife and brother of the accused were admitted to the courtroom. The proceedings were recorded on film and described in detail in a report by TASS correspondent Matvei Belov for distribution abroad.

The report says in part:

Viktor Kapitanchuk stated: 'I plead absolutely guilty of conducting anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda in written and spoken form, with the aim of weakening Soviet power, whilst living in Moscow between the years 1976 and 1979.'

He also admitted that, together with Gleb Yakunin and Lev Regelson, who were also convicted in the courts recently, and with others, he systematically prepared, reproduced and circulated literature containing libellous fabrications which defamed the Soviet social and political system. He also pleaded guilty to sending the literature which he wrote during these years in different ways to the West, where it was widely distributed and actively used by anti-Soviet organizations and centres of propaganda in their hostile activities against the Soviet State. He was aware of this before his arrest ...

'I fully admit,' Viktor Kapitanchuk stated in court today, 'that by my crimes I contributed to the hostile activities of anti-Soviet organizations and groups abroad against the Soviet Union.'

'These actions of mine have brought harm to the Soviet State,' said Kapitanchuk, 'and I deeply regret this.'

As stated in the indictment, which was read out today, during the

investigation Kapitanchuk pleaded guilty, stated that he sincerely repented of what he had done, condemned his anti-Soviet activities, and stated that he would desist from them in future.

In court today he gave a statement to the court which he asked to be published. Witnesses were called today at the open hearing of the criminal case against Viktor Kapitanchuk. Amongst those called were Lev Regelson and also Nazarenko, Shadrina, Prikhodko and others ...

Their testimonies confirmed Kapitanchuk's involvement in the writing and circulation of such anti-Soviet literature as a 'Statement to the Press on Adherence to HAIG [Helsinki Agreement Implementation Group]' of 19 October 1977 [*Chronicle* 47], and letters and statements dated 4 January and 18 May 1978 and 4 February 1979.

These documents formed part of the case materials and contain slanderous fabrications about allegedly systematic 'political repressions' in the USSR, and claims about alleged unlawful prosecutions of individuals not for actual crimes, but for their political or religious beliefs.

These and other letters and appeals in the case materials contain false claims that in the Soviet Union the authorities use 'psychiatric repression' against such individuals, and that people known to be sane are interned in psychiatric hospitals because of their beliefs, and are tortured there. In other writing he slandered the USSR Constitution, grossly distorted the policies of the Soviet State and the CPSU on religion and the Church, rejected the democratic nature of the mature socialist society, and subjected the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens to harsh criticism.

The evidence given in court demonstrates that Viktor Kapitanchuk maintained links with a number of foreign correspondents working in Moscow and with other citizens of capitalist states of an anti-Soviet disposition, in particular the journalists Vale, Kent, Le Gall, Miletich, Mydans, Ruane, Reppert, Satter, Savborg, Hastad, Hutter, Shieler, Evans and others. On a number of occasions Kapitanchuk arranged large gatherings at his own home or at the homes of his fellow-thinkers, which these correspondents attended. Slanderous documents were circulated and their contents discussed, Kapitanchuk made oral statements in which he slandered the Soviet social and political system, and he gave literature of similar contents to the journalists for wide distribution in the West ...

As a result of Kapitanchuk's crimes the anti-Soviet 'Washington [Street] Research Centre'⁶ published and distributed in the West more than ten compilations in English and Russian which defamed the Soviet system and were actively used by imperialist circles in the USA and several West European countries, and by foreign anti-

Soviet organizations and centres of subversion in their activities against the Soviet Union and their interference in its internal affairs. The accused stated that he had maintained links through Yakunin and Regelson with Dakin, an editor at the 'Washington Research Centre'. 'There was an agreement between Yakunin and myself,' said Kapitanchuk, 'that all the documents we wrote concerning the situation of believers in the Soviet Union should be sent to Dakin.'

The case materials also contain copies of archival summary records of criminal cases, copies of court decisions and other material connected with the investigation of certain individuals who are mentioned in the literature fabricated by the accused, which claims that, though not guilty, they suffered for their beliefs. This material demonstrates that these persons were prosecuted with justification for definite crimes (appropriation of state property, illegal possession of fire-arms, etc), and that the information about them circulated by Kapitanchuk is libellous.

The court examined excerpts from medical histories and statements submitted by psychiatric institutions concerning persons mentioned by Kapitanchuk in his fabrications. These documents prove that Kapitanchuk's claims of 'psychiatric repressions' in the USSR are libellous, in view of the long-standing illnesses of the persons concerned, who have undergone courses of treatment in psychiatric hospital. Psychiatrists from Moscow psycho-neurological clinics, questioned in court as witnesses, fully disproved the inventions of Kapitanchuk, and stressed that his libellous fabrications were defaming the work of Soviet psychiatric institutions ...

During the open trial of Viktor Kapitanchuk it was noted that his conduct, his full recognition of his guilt during both the investigation and the trial, and his detailed evidence about the circumstances of his crimes had all helped to establish the truth about the case ...

In his final speech Kapitanchuk stated: 'I fully repent of my crime, I condemn my criminal activities, and sincerely assure the investigators and the court that in future I will desist from such activities, and in my work I shall endeavour to make good the harm I have caused to the Soviet State and people.'

His sentence: five years, suspended. He was released from custody in the courtroom.

* * *

Kapitanchuk graduated from the Chemistry Faculty of Moscow University in 1967. Until recently he worked as the Director of a Laboratory in the All-Union Scientific Restoration Centre for Works of Art.

In 1965 he was baptized. For further information on the joint activi-

ties of Kapitanchuk, Yakunin and Regelson between the years 1971-9 see 'The Trial of Yakunin' and 'The Trial of Regelson'.

In 1978 the samizdat journal *Community* No. 2 (*Chronicle* 57) published an article by Kapitanchuk entitled 'The Ontological Problem of Russian Sophiology'.

The Trial of Ogorodnikov

From 3 to 7 September the Kalinin Regional Court heard the case of Alexander Ioilevich Ogorodnikov (b. 1950), who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Ogorodnikov was arrested on 20 November 1978 (*Chronicle* 51) and sentenced to one year in ordinary-regime camps for 'parasitism' (*Chronicle* 52). On completing his sentence he was not released from custody, as a new case had been instituted against him (*Chronicle* 55). In protest against this Ogorodnikov declared a hunger-strike, which entered its hundredth day some time before the trial opened. His spleen has been removed, and he also has a stomach ulcer. He is very weak and had to be carried out of the courtroom.

On the first day of the trial only Ogorodnikov's mother was admitted to the courtroom, which was full of a 'special public'. His father and wife [Elena Levashova] were informed that they would be called as witnesses. Ogorodnikov's friends were similarly denied admission to the trial.

At the beginning of the first court session Ogorodnikov presented a petition requesting the court to 'remove all these bastards' and admit his friends. The court refused his petition. He then filed a petition challenging the composition of the court. This too was refused. He then thanked the defence counsel and renounced his services, whereupon counsel left the courtroom. The court then ruled that Ogorodnikov's mother be escorted from the court (the reason for this is unknown to the *Chronicle*). Ogorodnikov shouted: 'Don't go, mother, or I'll slash my wrists!' His mother was then escorted from the courtroom by policemen.

On the third day Ogorodnikov appeared in court with a bandage around his neck, and all that day an ambulance was in attendance outside the court building. On the same day Ogorodnikov's mother was allowed to attend the trial and his mother and wife were called as witnesses. After questioning they were allowed to remain in court. The 'special public' behaved in such a hostile way towards Ogorodnikov that the Judge was forced to have several people removed from the court. Ogorodnikov was accused of involvement in the publication

*The literature written in the USSR, printed abroad, and sent back in.

of the journal Community, the circulation of tamizdat* and samizdat and 'oral anti-Soviet agitation'.

V. Poresh and V. Popkov were called as witnesses; they had already referred to Ogorodnikov's involvement in the publication of the journal Community at Poresh's trial (Chronicle 57). A number of Ogorodnikov's acquaintances were also questioned as witnesses. They stated that Ogorodnikov had given them 'literature' when he lived in Moscow. Prisoners from the camp where Ogorodnikov had served his sentence for 'parasitism' spoke favourably of the accused, but said that he conducted anti-Soviet conversations. Witness M. Timonina stated that Ogorodnikov had tried to rape her. It was said in court that while living in Sverdlovsk (where he attended university), Ogorodnikov 'cohabited with a girl who was under the age of consent'. The report of a forensic psychiatric examination was also read out, which stated that Ogorodnikov was 'responsible for his actions, but pathologically hysterical'.

Ogorodnikov's speech in his own defence lasted five hours. He was sentenced to six years in strict-regime camps and five years in subsequent exile.

* * *

On 23 September the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 141, about Ogorodnikov's trial. The document states in part:

The instigation of proceedings against Ogorodnikov and his arrest in 1980 (correction: 1979 — Chronicle), during the last days of his sentence for 'parasitism', were an unlawful means of prolonging his sentence ...

The harshness of Ogorodnikov's sentence is convincing evidence of the authorities' determination to crush completely the movement for freedom of religious belief.

The Case of the Journal 'Searches' (Chronicles 52-57)

The samizdat journal *Searches* began to appear in 1978. On the front page of the first two issues were printed the names of the editors: P. Abovin-Egides, V. Abramkin, R. Lert and P. Pryzhov (Chronicle 51). Succeeding issues bore the names of other editors: V. Gershuni (Chronicle 51), Yu. Grimm (Chronicle 52) and V. Sokirko (Chronicle 52). In issue No. 6 Pryzhov's name has been replaced by G. Pavlovsky [whose pen name is Pryzhov].

In January 1979 a series of searches was conducted at the homes of several editors and contributors to the journal in connection with

Case No. 46012/18-76 (Chronicle 52). In April of the same year the Moscow City Procuracy opened an investigation into Case No. 50611/14-79, the case of the journal *Searches* (Chronicle 53). In the months that followed, those involved in the journal were subjected to interrogations, detentions, searches, etc; one of them was even placed under administrative arrest (Grimm, in August 1979), and another was interned in a psychiatric hospital (Gershuni — Chronicle 57).

On 4 December 1979 Valery Abramkin was arrested (Chronicle 55). The investigators declared him their 'hostage' the following spring (investigator Yu. A. Burtsev had threatened to arrest Abramkin if a sixth issue of the journal appeared). On 23 January 1980 Yury Grimm and Viktor Sokirko were arrested (Chronicle 56). All those arrested were charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

On 31 December 1979 the sixth, seventh and eighth issues of *Searches* appeared in samizdat. Issue No. 8 included a statement that publication would be halted (Chronicle 56). Grimm and Sokirko were arrested after the journal had ceased publication.

In the early summer 1980 a new typewritten journal, *Searches and Reflections*, began to appear (Chronicle 57). The anonymous editors of the new journal wished to stress that they were continuing the work of *Searches*, and gave the new journal double numbers, eg No. 1(9), No. 2(10). Four issues of the journal have so far appeared.

* * *

The investigators define certain articles in *Searches* as libellous, quoting 'reviews' written by Professor B. S. Ukraintsev, a Doctor of Philosophy and Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR AS [Academy of Sciences], by his colleagues at the Institute — Professor E. D. Modrzhinskaya, a Doctor of Philosophy, and P. F. Kazin, Candidate of Philosophy, by Head of the Source Study Sector at the History Institute of the USSR AS, G. A. Trukan, a Doctor of Historical Science, by O. Rzheshesky, Doctor of Historical Science at the General History Institute of the USSR AS, and by T. Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR AS and Director of the International Workers' Movement Institute. Their reviews were submitted to Moscow City Procuracy in response to a written request from Yu. A. Burtsev, which read:

Issues of the samizdat journal *Searches* are enclosed for the attention of the Director of the Institute ... Please evaluate the socio-political tendency of the journal's contents and submit your findings to Moscow City Procuracy for filing in the criminal case materials.

These 'findings', termed 'reviews' or 'conclusions' by their authors, contain such phrases as 'politically shameless maniacs', 'disgusting slander' and 'schizophrenic delusions'. The public were informed of

the involvement of a number of Moscow scholars in the preparation of charges against the arrested editors of the journal *Searches* by S. Kalistratova, R. Lert and F. Serebrov, who wrote on 9 September, in a document entitled 'Information for the Press':

All this recalls the 'campaigns', the 'slatings' and trials of the 'thirties and 'forties, and is evidence of the successful regeneration in the academic world of such 'scholars' as Vyshinsky, Lysenko, Pevzner and others like them.⁶

Let us hope that scholars at home and abroad will judge the spare-time fervour of their above-mentioned colleagues for what it is worth ...

* * *

On 8 August Burtsev interrogated Oleg Kurgansky (*Chronicle* 56). When asked whether he knew Grimm, Sokirko and Abramkin, he explained that he knew only Grimm, whom he had met at Shcharansky's trial. Grimm never gave him a copy of *Searches*, nor any other samizdat. He had been unable to help Grimm find a typist for *Searches*. Grimm had not encouraged his interest in the Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People, since he was already interested in it himself. He had not seen Grimm's article on the Olympic Games, but Grimm had told him that he wanted to go to a country cottage while the Games were in progress. Kurgansky again (he had been questioned previously, in February, about this at work) confirmed that he had written an article about his detention of 10 December 1978, and stated that he had circulated it in samizdat himself, without any help from Grimm.

On 11 August Grigory Kreidlin, a literary specialist, received a telephone call from the personnel department of the All-Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information, where he works, requesting him to visit the department the following day at 5 pm. His wife received an identical request the same day. On 13 August a search was conducted at their home on orders from Burtsev. During the search Alla Kreidlina became distraught and named the man for whom she had typed a letter in defence of Bakhmin, a letter written by Bakhmin's former fellow-student at the Moscow Physics and Technology Institute.

* * *

The Abramkin-Grimm-Sokirko case was not divided into three separate cases until 20 August.

* * *

Viktor Sokirko was threatened that his case might be redefined for charges under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. In April he

was placed in a punishment cell. From the punishment cell he was taken to a hotel, where he had a talk with some economist. In July Sokirko submitted a statement to the investigator in which he said that if his name and writings (he did not accept that they were libellous, but was prepared to admit that they contained errors) were used abroad to harm the country, then he would condemn such use. In a statement to the investigator made in August he renounced his 'samizdat activities'. On 3 September he signed the following statement:

Statement to the Press
from Sokirko, Soviet citizen:

It has come to my attention that certain information concerning myself has appeared in the Western media, terming me 'a victim of the Soviet regime'. In reply to this I must state the following: For many years, out of deep conviction, I was engaged in activities which defamed the Soviet social and political system. Unfortunately, certain of my articles were used by our enemies in the West, causing harm to our country. Now that I recognize the anti-Soviet nature of my activities, I condemn what I did and am prepared to atone for my guilt towards our people by honest labour for the good of our Motherland. I therefore categorically forbid the use of my name and my writings to the detriment of my country or for the purposes of conducting a psychological war against it.

This statement may with my consent be published by the Soviet press, by the Novosti Press Agency and through television.

(This text was the result of several revisions of Sokirko's July statement). On 4 September Sokirko was released from custody until his trial, after signing a statement that he would not leave Moscow.

* * *

On 4 September Abramkin and his defence counsel Akselbant refused to continue with their examination of his case file, as Abramkin had not been released from custody after nine months in detention.

On 5 September S. Kalistratova, R. Lert, E. Gaidamachuk (Abramkin's wife), F. Serebrov, I. Kovalëv and V. Gershuni sent an open letter to the USSR Procurator-General demanding the 'immediate release of Valery Abramkin', and pointing out that Abramkin's detention in prison was 'not only a violation of the law, but a blatant crime on the part of the officials at Butyrka Prison — see article 126 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Unlawful deprivation of freedom').

On the same day investigator Burtsev, with the approval of V. Yu. Smirnov, an Assistant Moscow City Procurator, sent a resolution to legal consultancy office No. 16 (where Akselbant works) concerning Akselbant's suspension of his examination of Abramkin's case file.

The resolution stated that the suspension was considered by the investigation 'as intended to prolong artificially the pre-trial investigation' and 'as an effective renunciation of defence counsel', since 'his (and Abramkin's) petition does not constitute sufficient grounds for the suspension of the examination of the case file'. The 'actual established deadline for Abramkin's release from custody' was not 8.20 on 4 September (as stated in the petition) but nine hours 55 minutes later. It says nothing of the reason for Abramkin's continued detention beyond the deadline, but states that: 'The Moscow Procuracy has petitioned for the extension of Abramkin's detention in custody until 4 November 1980'. (In violation of existing regulations the petition was submitted to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet by Burtsev on 26 August, ie not one calendar month but a mere nine days before the termination of the nine-month period. Also, it did not bear the stamp of the USSR Procuracy.)

Burtsev's resolution was contested by Akselbant, who referred it to the RSFSR Procuracy. On 15 September Akselbant went on holiday and in this connection E. Gaidamachuk sent a statement to the court requesting a postponement of the trial until his return.

On 1 October, in reply to the open letter of 5 September, Komarov, Deputy Head of the RSFSR Procuracy Investigations Administration, informed 'E. Gaidamachuk and others' that 'the necessary measures have been taken against the investigation officials who did not complete the investigation by the required date'.

* * *

In the indictments all three editors are charged with preparing and circulating the journal *Searches* (Abramkin — issues 1-2 to 7; Grimm and Sokirko — 4-7; Sokirko was also charged with other offences — see 'The Trial of Sokirko'). The eighth issue of the journal is not mentioned at all: evidently the investigation did not have a copy. The following articles in the journal were cited as libellous:

— all the articles by Sokirko (signed both 'Sokirko' and with his pseudonym 'K. Burzhuademov'); Abramkin's article on the trial of A. Ginzburg (*Chronicle* 50) and his interview 'To the Readers of *Searches*' (written jointly with P. Egides); a note by Yu. Grimm 'It May Still Happen' (about his fifteen-day imprisonment);

— R. Lert's articles 'Two Fingers or Two Meanings' and 'Late Experience'; all the articles by G. Pavlovsky and P. Pryzhov; all the articles by P. Egides (two of which were written jointly with P. Podrabinek);

— the article by V. Tamarin, '25 Years without Stalin on the Stalinist Path'; republication of the appeal to the arrested participants in the Conference of Factory Officials in Petrograd in 1918; M. Baitalsky's 'Religion and the State'; 'Unpolitical Letters' by P. Rastin;

A. Kuznetsov's book 'The Poverty of the Peoples'; 'Notes on Pessimism' by M. Gefter; V. Kuvakin's article 'Social Security'; essays by G. Pomerants, 'Dreams of the Earth'; 'Whose Land Is It?' by Ponyrev; excerpts from the works of G. Vladimov and V. Voinovich; 'RD-3' by G. Snegirëv (the name under which *Searches* No. 6 published the notes he wrote prior to his death — see *Chronicle* 52); 'An Interview' by B. Chernykh; R. Pimenov's article on an exhibition of Ilya Glazunov's work; 'Fate behind Bars' by R. O'Connor; the publication of S. Shagin's appeal 'Dear Blood Comrades!'; 'On The Non-Accidental Decembrists' by V. Repnikov; an open letter from the editors of *Searches* to the editors of the independent Chinese journal *Searches*; and publication of the [Czech] document *Charter-77*.

The Trial of Sokirko

On 29 and 30 September the Moscow City Court, presided over by N. A. Baikova (who also tried Bakhmin — see above), heard the case of Viktor Vladimirovich Sokirko (b. 1939). The prosecutor was Procurator T. P. Prazdnikova (who was also prosecutor at Bakhmin's trial). Sokirko refused the appointed defence counsel. The trial was held in the Moscow City Court building. Apart from a 'special public', Sokirko's wife and two of his friends were admitted to the courtroom. (Sokirko had on his own initiative drawn up a list of 'non-dissident' friends whom he would like to see at the trial. The investigation had crossed out all but two of these names.)

Sokirko was charged with involvement in the composition and circulation of issues 4 to 7 of the journal *Searches* (see above), and also of compiling (under the pseudonym 'K. Burzhuademov') issues 1 to 6 of the journal *In Defence of Economic Freedoms* (*Chronicles* 49, 56; issue No. 7 was not cited against Sokirko). During the pre-trial investigation the pseudonym 'K. Burzhuademov' was investigated, even though Sokirko did not deny that it was his.

A petition by the accused for expert witnesses to be called — the authors of the official reviews of *Searches* and Sokirko's journal — was rejected by the court. (A review of his journal had been submitted by Kapustin, Director of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences.)

To the question: 'Do you plead guilty?' Sokirko replied: 'My answer to this question is complex. I have given it in my statement, which I shall now read out.' He then read the statement which he had signed on 3 September (see above).

(During negotiations with the investigators shortly before his release from prison Sokirko had made an agreement with a certain 'over-

seer', claiming not to belong to the KGB, that when asked: 'Do you plead guilty?' he would read out such a statement and would refer to it when refusing to make a final speech. The statement was only given to Sokirko by the 'overseer' on the Metro immediately before the trial. As requested by the 'overseer', Sokirko added to the title the words 'To the court' and changed the date on it.)

Judge The court must record whether you plead wholly or partially guilty, or not guilty.

Sokirko I insist that my reply is contained in the statement I have read out and I ask you to enter it in the record. I will say that in so far as my writings were used abroad for hostile anti-Soviet activities, I recognize my guilt, but I do not accept the charge of libel, as I do not understand it.

Judge Therefore you plead partially guilty, and we shall enter your statement in the record of the proceedings.

During the trial Sokirko admitted his involvement in the journal *Searches* and in compiling the journal *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*. He stressed that he had been moved by his sense of civic responsibility (as he then understood it). 'I voiced my thoughts,' he stated, 'in the many letters which I sent to the State authorities and to the Soviet press, but I hardly ever received any concrete answer.' His concern for the country's future had moved him to try to increase the circle of people who participated in discussions of the burning economic and moral problems of our society.

At the time Sokirko considered that the persecution of samizdat in the court was a 'type of judicial error'. In his opinion, the judicial and investigative organs had 'paid very little attention' in such cases to the need to find clear proof of libel, and this was 'a bad tradition'.

Sokirko was convinced that libel and debate were 'logically, and therefore judicially, incompatible'. He referred to the openness of *Searches*, and said that the editors of the journal were convinced that they had acted within the law. He insisted that the indictment had incorrectly referred to *Searches* and his own journal as being illegal.

Sokirko had no involvement in the technical aspects of publishing *Searches*. He had disagreed with many items in the journal, but did not consider any of them libellous. He knew of the proposed publication of the journal abroad, but had not objected; he also knew that the journal was being sent abroad. His attitude toward links with the West were on the whole cautious: 'I avoided them myself, but considered them essential.' He had not received any financial assistance from abroad for the journal.

As regards his 'economics' journals, Sokirko stated that he was in fact the only person involved in their composition and circulation in the Moscow area. When the problem of speculation, which was dis-

cussed in his journal, was mentioned (K. Burzhuademov had considered that speculation played a positive role in the country's economy), Procurator Prazdnikova asked: 'So you opposed the law? But the law expresses the will of the people ...'

Sokirko I consider that laws should be really observed. But it is quite possible to dispute them intellectually ...

Procurator Who made the photocopies of the journal, and where? After all, photocopies cannot be made without official permission.

Sokirko It has now become common practice to make photocopies of artistic literature. Artistic samizdat circulates, and my journal was among such books. It aroused no questions. As for who actually copied them, I couldn't remember at the time, tried to forget afterwards, and now even more so.

Procurator Then you refuse to answer the question.

Sokirko You may take it that I do.

Procurator Who did you give copies of the journal to? Did you give it to Velikanova?

Sokirko Yes, I gave it to Velikanova, but as for how Belanovsky, Abramkin and Pomerants got hold of it, I don't know. It could even be that they got it from me.

V. Sorokin, M. Yakovlev, V. Tomachinsky and T. Petrova (the typist who typed Sokirko's articles), Sokirko's boss at work at the All-Union Research Institute for Oil Industry Machinery, A. Shmidt, G. Avdeyeva and E. Polishchuk were called as witnesses during the trial.

Viktor Sorokin (*Chronicles* 52, 54-6) described Sokirko as 'an honest, thoughtful person' who never allowed himself to make 'knowingly false judgments'. Sorokin told the court that the journal *Searches* did not contain, and in principle could not contain, 'assertions known to be untrue'—it simply publicized opinions and judgments, which, 'by definition', could not be libellous. Sorokin was then questioned about the search conducted at his home on 25 January 1979 (*Chronicle* 52), and about the testimony which, according to the record of the interrogation, he gave on 26 January.

This record stated that he had read issue No. 3 of *Searches* at Abramkin's home; that he had seen issue No. 4 only when it was confiscated from Maikova, who had visited the Sorokins during the search; and that issue No. 5 was typed in his apartment. At the end of a second interrogation Sorokin had stated that he repudiated the records of both interrogations, since his testimony had been written down in generalized terms and was capable of being interpreted very broadly, and also because the interrogations had been conducted in ways which violated the Code of Criminal Procedure in many respects.

In reply to questions from the court, Sorokin stated that the inter-

rogation of 26 January was not an interrogation but a 'chat', that issue No. 4 of *Searches* had not been confiscated from him personally, and that he had never said that issue No. 5 had been typed in his apartment. He accepted that the signature on the record was his own.

(The judgment noted that the judicial board did not believe Sorokin's testimony given in court, 'where he denied that issue No. 5 of *Searches* was copied at his apartment, since he gave no reason for renouncing his former testimony'. No ruling was made concerning Sorokin when sentence was pronounced. However, on 4 November the Moscow City Procuracy issued an order for Sorokin's prosecution under article 181, part 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Perjury', penalty, up to one year in camps). The case file on Sorokin included a 'decision of the judicial board of the Moscow City Court' on the instigation of criminal proceedings against him under article 181.)'

Referring to his right and obligation, under article 283 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, to relate all he knew concerning the case, Sorokin asked to be informed of the charge against Sokirko. The court replied that this was 'none of his business'. After questioning, Sorokin was refused permission by Judge Baikova to remain in the courtroom.

Mikhail Yakovlev (*Chronicles* 53-5) testified that the issue of *Searches* which was confiscated from him during a search had not been given to him by Sokirko. He refused to answer when asked who had told him of the journal's existence.

Witness V. Tomachinsky (*Chronicle* 56) stated that he had read the first seven issues of *Searches* and found nothing libellous in them. When asked where he had obtained them he said he hoped the court would not begin a political investigation. Tomachinsky did not know Sokirko and had never visited his home.

Petrova stated in evidence that she had met Sokirko for the first time in April 1979. On 10 May 1979 she had been called to a police station and forced to write a statement that she had been copying for Sokirko material containing libels. She was ordered to 'maintain contact', and in particular to make an agreement with Sokirko to take some more material from him for copying, and to arrange a meeting for this purpose. At this meeting Sokirko was detained and searched (*Chronicle* 53).

Shmidt described Sokirko as a good worker. The testimony of Sokirko's neighbour **V. Konkov**, a lecturer at the Moscow Motor Road Institute, was read out in court. Konkov lives on the same floor as Sokirko, but at the time of the trial he was abroad on a visit connected with his work. His testimony related how once, when taking his dog for a walk, he had looked up and seen the light from a cinema projector in Sokirko's window. The Sokirkos were always receiving visitors who stood on the landing smoking. These included a woman

whom, after some thought, he had labelled to himself 'the Jewess', and a young man who called her 'Mummy'. When this testimony was read out those present in the courtroom could hardly restrain their laughter, including the 'special public'.

The Procurator asked the court to give Sokirko a suspended sentence. During the trial Sokirko tried not to argue with the prosecution. However, when speaking in the role of his own defence counsel he was not bound by his agreement with the 'overseer', and he analysed the indictment and demonstrated the juridical hollowness of the charge of libel. Concerning one particular point of the indictment, he showed that a text attributed to him (as the author of the journal *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*), and termed slanderous, was in fact taken from Brezhnev's book *Virgin Soil*. 'In which case,' observed Sokirko, 'he belongs with me here' (during the next recess he was reprimanded by the 'overseer').

Ending his speech, Sokirko said in part:

I recognize my great guilt before the State in allowing my name and writings to be used abroad to the detriment of the State by its enemies ... I must now, in undertaking my own defence, list the factors which mitigate my offence: (1) I never acted with evil intentions, and could only have made innocent mistakes, since I was certain that I was fulfilling my civic duty, trying to free myself from a feeling of profound alarm, tortured as I was by my responsibility for the future of my country and my children.

(2) I always tried to retain a patriotic standpoint, and was therefore always very restrained in my attitude towards the passing of our writings to the West, which I considered an unfortunate necessity, although I was in principle in favour of the free exchange of information and ideas. As the indictment states, the economic journals compiled by me were circulated only within Moscow. Finding myself in my present position, I have made a statement forbidding the use of my writings and my name for purposes hostile to our country.

(3) I have given my word to cease henceforth my involvement in samizdat and to avoid the repetition of similar situations.

(4) I have always had a large work capacity; I am industrious, and this is borne out by all references from my work-place including that given to the investigators. I ask you to give me the chance to recompense by normal work the harm I have done.

(5) I have a large and good family. Four children depend on me. Concern for their fate has to a large extent dictated my decisions and behaviour all along.

Even if you do not find all the arguments of my defence convincing, I beg the court not to impose a punishment on me which would

separate me from my normal job and my children, because otherwise my family will be punished more than myself.

As he had agreed, Sokirko waived his right to make a final speech. The Judge was surprised. Then Sokirko repeated his plea for a punishment which would not separate him from his family.

The judgment stated in part:

The judicial board cannot agree with Sokirko's statement that the material contained in the journal *Searches* and the journal *In Defence of Economic Freedoms* which was examined during the trial is not intentionally libellous. The reasons are as follows.

During the trial the accused Sokirko explained that he did not agree with the contents of certain of the articles printed in the journal *Searches*, of which he was an editor, and yet he did not object to their publication. This explanation by Sokirko confirms his intention of preparing and circulating knowingly false fabrications which defame the Soviet social and political system.

This is also confirmed by Sokirko's testimony given in court concerning the article written by him in issue No. 3 of *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*, entitled 'A Final Analysis of the Counter-arguments in the Debate and K. Burzhuademov's Repentance'. This article admits that in his previous articles the author had misrepresented certain aspects of our State because he had not been clear about some of the questions raised in his articles.

At the same time, even after this Sokirko continued to write and publish articles on economics of a libellous nature. Moreover, the accused Sokirko stated that he had refused to speak at a seminar where the new Draft Constitution of the USSR was to be discussed, claiming that his speech would disrupt the work of the seminar. This fact also indicates Sokirko's awareness of the deliberate falseness of his writings and of other material appearing in *Searches* and *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*.

All this is sufficient grounds for believing that Sokirko, as an author and editor of *Searches* and *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*, included in them material which he knew to be false fabrications...

The accused Sokirko confirmed all the factual circumstances of his crime, and submitted to the court a statement in which he said that he acknowledged the antisocial nature of his activities and condemned them. Sokirko has good references concerning his work and place of residence, and has four dependent children.

The court gave Sokirko a sentence of three years' imprisonment, suspended.

* * *

Sokirko completed his studies at the Bauman Higher Technical College in Moscow. In 1961 he was expelled from the Komsomol for 'lack of Marxist-Leninist conviction, slandering Soviet reality and an incorrect interpretation of comradeship'; all this consisted of sending a letter criticizing the Programme of the CPSU and refusing to name those with whom he had discussed the subject.

In 1973 Sokirko was sentenced to six months' corrective tasks by Moscow City Court for refusing to give evidence at the trial of Yakir and Krasin (*Chronicle* 29).

In 1974 he was warned 'in accordance with the Decree'⁸ about his responsibility for circulating samizdat and giving a slide show which was 'tendentious'. Under the pseudonym 'K. Burzhuademov' he published a book, *Essays on a Growing Ideology (Anti-Galbraith)*, subsequently published in the West.⁹ Between the years 1976 and 1979, under the same pseudonym, he compiled three collections debating Solzhenitsyn's appeal 'not to live by lies'. In 1977 he wrote an open letter to Brezhnev and to Sakharov about the Draft Constitution (*Chronicles* 46-7).

In the years 1978-9 Sokirko issued seven collections called *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*, and in 1978 he joined the editorial board of *Searches*. In January 1980 he sent a letter to Brezhnev, 'An Appeal for the withdrawal of the troops from Afghanistan' (*Chronicle* 56).

The Trial of Abramkin

On 24 September the Moscow City Court, presided over by Judge Evstigneyeva, began the hearing of the case of Valery Fëdorovich Abramkin (born 1946).¹⁰ The prosecutor was Procurator Ostretsova; the defence counsel (appointed by the court) was the lawyer Efremov. On the petition of Abramkin, who had not had time to study the case, the trial was postponed until 1 October. (By this time Gaidamachuk had reached an agreement with Efremov concerning her husband's defence). The hearing of Abramkin's case continued from 1 to 4 October. The trial took place on the premises of the Moscow City Court.

Several days before the beginning of the trial, Abramkin's friends sent a statement to the court requesting permission to attend, but they received no reply. They then addressed a complaint to the Procurator of the RSFSR. On 4 October Abramkin's friends who had come to the court building (22 persons) sent a statement to the court demanding to be admitted to the courtroom while the judgment was read out, in accordance with article 18 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Proce-

dure. At the end of the trial, to which none of them had been admitted, fourteen of the authors of the first statement wrote a 'Report' on the fact that, although they had arrived in good time, none of them was admitted to a single court session on Abramkin's case. Thus 'an officially open trial was in fact turned into a closed one'. When the court working hours were over, although the hearing of Abramkin's case was still in progress, policemen pushed his friends on to the street, where they were told to 'disperse'. On 3 October the court Commandant confiscated from Gaidamachuk a portable tape-recorder which she wanted to take into the courtroom.

On 1 October Abramkin made several petitions to the court:

— to summon as witnesses S. Sorokina, R. Lert, M. Geffer, S. Belanovsky, V. Kucherov, V. Zhulikov, T. Zamyatkina (*Chronice* 54) and Abramkin's superior at work, Zakharov (in order to check out a character reference given at his place of work which mentioned that he had absented himself from work, although Abramkin had written a statement saying that he had missed that day on account of the death of a close friend);

— to postpone the trial for another week, as during the additional time from 24 September to 1 October the case file had been brought to him only twice and he had not been able to read the last 1,000 pages;

— to allow him a visit from his wife in order to settle the matter of his defence counsel;

— to remove from the case file the record of his interrogation taken down by Investigator Zhabin, as the record contained a sentence someone had inserted, in which Abramkin pleaded guilty. For the same reason Abramkin petitioned the court to summon the barrister Akselbant and Zhabin.

In order to allow him to finish studying the case file, the court called a three-hour recess. The court refused the other petitions, agreeing only to summon S. Sorokina (at first this petition was also turned down, on the grounds that her husband had been summoned). After the indictment was read out Abramkin stated that he would not answer the court's questions if he were not allowed to finish studying the case file.

On 2 October Abramkin told the court that notes and other papers related to the case had been confiscated from him in prison, and that without them he was unable to take part in the proceedings: 'I've been gagged.' The Judge said that the court had nothing to do with this, but, on the following day, allowed time from 10 to 12.30 am for him to continue studying the case and the notes. Some of the confiscated notes were returned to Abramkin (without the most important page) on 3 October.

The witness Rubasheva stated that she did not know Abramkin. In

February 1979 a search was made at the home of Rubasheva. According to the search record, an archive given to her for safekeeping by Egides was confiscated, as well as *Searches* No. 1-2. Rubasheva recounted that she had been visited at work without a warrant or summons and taken home. There the searchers removed rucksacks containing papers, without drawing up a description or a record, guided apparently by their sense of smell (the searchers had gone out on to the balcony and said: 'It smells of anti-Sovietism here'). Only on the following day was Rubasheva summoned to the police station and given a record to sign. At the trial Rubasheva confirmed that she had signed the record, but did not know whether it corresponded to the items confiscated from her.

The witness N. Kasatkin (he had formerly introduced himself as Rozanov to Egides and Gershuni, whom he had met 'as fellow-book-lovers') testified that he had been to a church caretaker's lodge, where he had seen Abramkin. It was dark and there were some people there. Someone (he did not remember if it was Abramkin himself) gave him an issue of *Searches* to read, asking him to return it to Abramkin after reading it, or to any other caretaker. Kasatkin did not like the journal: it was of a poor literary standard and had an anti-Soviet bias. Kasatkin also testified that he had not been invited to contribute to the journal, but had been asked to help duplicate it. He had refused. Abramkin stated that he had never seen Kasatkin before and that the latter had never visited the caretaker's lodge. He requested that the elder of the Antioch Church and the caretakers be summoned.

The witness V. Sorokin (see 'The Trial of Sokirko') was interrogated for over an hour.

Judge Place of work?

Sorokin According to article 282 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, passport information is sufficient for establishing identity. I can cite another reason: the possibility of illegal persecution after the place of work is revealed to the official organs; I have been convinced of this more than once.

Judge Tell me, witness: was your home searched on 25 January 1979?

Sorokin On the basis of article 283 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, my right and obligation is first to give an account of everything I know bearing on the present case.

Judge That is not necessary. Answer the question put to you.

Sorokin On the basis of article 283 ... (ditto)

Judge We're listening.

Sorokin I am unable to saying anything bearing on the present case, as the court has infringed article 270 of the Code of Criminal Procedure: a witness summoned in advance has the right and the

obligation to attend the opening of the court proceedings.

Judge Then answer specific questions.

Sorokin On the basis of article 283 ... (ditto). This is my civic duty. As long as the court refuses to inform me of the charges against Abramkin, I am forced to base myself on information I have received in conversations with other people.

Judge First you say that you are not aware of the substance of the case, then you say you are.

Sorokin I would like to know the officially formulated indictment.

Sorokin went on to describe Abramkin both as a worker (for several seasons they had worked in forestry together) and as a person who, on principle, was incapable of falsehood, lying or slander.

Sorokin As an editor, Valery adopted a critical approach to any information. So, for instance, when he received information that political trials in the USSR were closed, he went to the court building and personally checked the authenticity of the report.

Further attempts by Sorokin to describe *Searches* were interrupted by the Procurator, who questioned him about the search of his home on 25 January 1979. Sorokin refused to answer these questions and to continue giving evidence, citing the court's infringements of the Constitution and the Code of Criminal Procedure. The Procurator demanded that a criminal case be instituted against Sorokin for refusal to give evidence. Sorokin was then sent out of the courtroom, while the court retired for a consultation.

While the judges were conferring, a certain person walked into the witnesses' room. (Yakovlev recognized him as the man who had interrogated him at a police station when he was detained in November 1979; he had not introduced himself then. On 24 September he was in the court building and asserted that he was Burtsev. However, witnesses who have often met investigator Burtsev categorically affirm that this assertion was false.) He attempted to call Yakovlev to one side; when he did not succeed, he intimidated the witness right in front of everyone. 'Consider, Misha,' he said, 'that a criminal case has already been instituted against Sorokin. So think about that before you give evidence.' He did not have time to say anything else: Tomachinsky darted out into the corridor and shouted (the shout was heard in the courtroom): 'I demand to see the chairman of the court! A crime has just been committed in this room!' While police and plain-clothes men pushed Tomachinsky back into the room, the stranger vanished.

In the room, besides Yakovlev and Tomachinsky, were Gaidamachuk, Malinovskaya and Sorokina. All of them reported what had happened in a statement to the Chairman of the Moscow City Court.

In the statement they demanded that criminal proceedings be instituted 'for inadmissible pressuring of witnesses prior to their giving evidence, by means of intimidation'. Yakovlev, Tomachinsky and Sorokina later began their testimony with similar oral statements to the court.

During the consultation, which lasted about 25 minutes, the court resolved to ask Sorokin to continue giving evidence.

Judge Tell me, witness: was your home searched?

Sorokin It's no secret. Of course it was. There is a document and witnesses ... And not just one, but two searches: on 25 January and 4 December 1979.

Procurator And what was confiscated from you?

Sorokin Everything they could lay their hands on: toilet paper, a photographic exposure metre, an exposed film containing pictures of Abramkin's child. They took away three sacks altogether. They spent eight hours taking things, but gave us only a few minutes to examine them.

There followed questions from the Chairman and the Procurator on the materials taken in the search.

Sorokin I refuse to testify against myself.

To questions concerning his 'evidence' during the investigation, Sorokin replied that he had written a statement in the record of the second interrogation to the effect that he considered both interrogations invalid, in view of the numerous infringements of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and asked that it be read out. At first the court refused, but Abramkin insisted that the statement be read out.

As the investigator categorically refuses to inform me of the facts and circumstances in connection with which I have been summoned for interrogation, I cannot know which questions I am obliged to answer. The investigator has not informed me by whom, when and where a crime was committed. As the record of the first interrogation is the result of severely condensing what was said, I consider my evidence at both interrogations to be invalid.

Sorokin (explains) An interrogation which lasted about four hours was then recorded on four or five pages. As the investigator's questions were not written down, it is impossible to understand what this or that answer pertains to. So, for instance, we were talking about Stalinist repression and the materials of the Twentieth Congress, and about Kharms and materials on Kharms. The investigator did not indicate exactly which materials Valery had brought — materials on the Twentieth Congress or materials on Kharms; he wrote only: 'Valery brought the materials'. In the reply to the question: 'Who are the members of the editorial board?' the

investigator omitted my words 'As reported by the radio-station Deutsche Welle'.

Judge (reading extracts from the first record) 'The journal was set up as discussion platform, with the aim of enabling all who so wish to express their opinion on problems everyone is concerned about ...'

Sorokin This corresponds to actual fact.

Judge 'I read the third issue of the journal at Abramkin's.'

Sorokin This does not correspond to fact. I said that I saw it at Abramkin's.

Judge 'The fifth issue of the journal was typed in my flat.'

Sorokin This is absolutely false, and it's impossible that I could have said it.

Procurator And how did *Charter-77* come to be in your flat?

Sorokin I have no idea. Generally speaking, *Charter-77* is a document to be found in every decent home.

Assessor Where did you read the issue of the journal?

Sorokin What do you mean — where? In a private library.

Assessor Couldn't you tell us the address of this library?

Sorokin No! Only honest people are allowed into it.

After Sorokin had answered defence counsel's questions, the Chairman announced that he was free to go.

Sorokin On the basis of article 283 of the Code of Criminal Procedure I have the obligation and the right to remain in the courtroom until the end of the judicial investigation.

Judge Take him out of the courtroom!

In reply to Judge's question to V. Tomachinsky as to whether his home was searched and which issue of *Searches* was confiscated from him, Tomachinsky took out the following statement and passed copies to the court and defence counsel:

I am a regular subscriber to the journal *Searches*. I have been in regular touch with the editorial board, and in the course of the criticisms regarding the tendency and contents of the journal, which I have brought regularly to the attention of the editors, I have had the opportunity to elucidate indirectly not only the aims proclaimed by the editors in their publication, but also the less clear motives, of which the editors themselves are perhaps not always aware, behind their undertaking.

As a witness I can talk only about the collective results of Abramkin's activities as a member of the editorial board, not about Abramkin the activist or Abramkin the man, for I have never seen Valery Abramkin until today.

The journal *Searches* contains not a few works which are, in my opinion, of a poor literary standard, or intellectually weak, or

uninteresting. It also contains things of unique artistic value and remarkable impact, such as, for instance, 'Balthazar's Feasts'¹¹ and the notes written by Gely Snegirëv before his death.

I would like to dwell particularly on the libel disseminated in our country and abroad by the journal *Searches*. This libel is contained in one of the last issues of the journal — No. 12 or 13, I can't remember which — and is obviously aimed at defaming our social system. The libellous materials published in *Searches* are called an ideological report in connection with Case No. 50611/14-79, and are signed with five names: Timofeyev, Ukraintsev, Modrzhinskaya, Rzheshhevsky and Trukan.

These academicians' reviews of the first seven issues of the journal *Searches* make use of all the classic trappings of professional libellers: from juggling the text by picking out fragments of sentences, to all five varieties of false proofs, even to breaking the rules of syntax — ie to the ridiculous. However, this libel bears no relation to V. Abramkin as its source, only as its target.

(Tomachinsky apparently assumes the journal *Searches* and the journal *Searches and Reflections* to be one and the same.) Tomachinsky attempted to read through his statement, but was not allowed to finish.

Assessor You spoke about libellous materials published in *Searches*?

Tomachinsky Yes. This material was produced by four institutes and contains libel against the journal.

After reading out his statement Tomachinsky stated that he had already given evidence at the trial of Sokirko, but was now refusing to testify 'in view of the aggravated conditions'.

Judge Where can one subscribe to the journal *Searches*? Do you mean there are organizations dealing with subscriptions? Who is involved in them?

Tomachinsky Tomachinsky, and I don't know who else.*

Abramkin's ex-wife Irina Malinovskaya was questioned briefly, mainly on the record of an interrogation during the pre-trial investigation, where she allegedly said that Abramkin had expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet system. Malinovskaya stated that she had not said that. The record contained gaps and was illegibly written. She was asked about Abramkin's relationship with their son and about alimony. Malinovskaya said that he had a good relationship with their son, and that they had an agreement regarding assistance.

Witness Yakovlev was the only one whose statement about the 'crime in the witnesses' room' elicited any response from the court:

Judge But you are not giving the evidence you wished to give?

*Tomachinsky evidently preferred not to give the KGB any leads.

Yakovlev Yes.

Judge Then how are you being pressurized?

Yakovlev If someone beats you up without leaving any bruises, that doesn't mean you haven't been beaten.

It transpired in the end that Yakovlev was unable to name the man who had threatened him; on this pretext the Judge dismissed the subject; 'The fact that the witness was intimidated has not been established by the court.'

Yakovlev was confronted with the evidence he gave at a police station when he was detained (*Chronicle 55*). This evidence contains a statement that Abramkin had given him *Searches* to read (the third issue) and that, on Abramkin's suggestion, he had submitted some of his works to *Searches*. At the trial Yakovlev said that could not have given such evidence, as it contained several crude 'distortions'. For instance, the title of one of his stories was distorted; his literary pseudonym was incorrectly written ('Aliyatov' instead of 'M. Liyatov'). He had not submitted his play ('Some Mendoza' — *Searches* No. 1-2); he did not know how it had come to be printed there; he had found out through 'Voice of America' that it had been published; and he did not know whether it was his signature under the record of the police interrogation.

Judge Did Abramkin give you the journal *Searches*?

Yakovlev No.

Judge What do you mean 'no', when in your evidence ...

Yakovlev I did not give that evidence.

Defence counsel asked whether Yakovlev had read the records of his interrogations. The latter said that it was possible that he had overlooked that passage. The barrister asked him to describe Abramkin's character; Yakovlev described him in positive terms. Despite Yakovlev's protests, he was pushed out of the courtroom after giving evidence.

The witness **Seitkhan Sorokina** (*Chronicle 52*) stated to the court that she had read all eight issues of the journal *Searches*, and had not found libel in a single one. The journal, said Sorokina, constituted a 'search' for various means of exchanging views, publishing one's own works and expressing one's convictions. 'I think,' she said, 'that the court will examine this case objectively and will not give reason to suppose that words and thoughts are persecuted in our country ... Publication of the journal does not contradict the Constitution ... It is carried out in the interests of the State; the editors derive no personal gain from its publication ... I consider Abramkin innocent, and as a token of my sympathy and conviction that he will win, whatever the outcome of the trial, I offer him these flowers.' Sorokina placed a bouquet on the barrier.

Sorokina, as well as her husband, was questioned chiefly about the materials of the search conducted at their home: about typewriters, carbon paper and paper. Sorokina confirmed that she was a collaborator in the journal *Searches*. On these grounds she refused to answer questions concerning the technical side of the case.

Abramkin asked Sorokina questions about the incident in the witnesses' room and about details of the searches carried out at the Sorokins' home. Sorokina gave a detailed account of the numerous violations of legal procedure committed during the first search: the pages of the confiscated texts were not numbered; persons not introduced and not noted in the record took part in the search; after the search many valuable books were found to be missing from their home. During the second search, even cruder violations were committed: the warrant had been issued for the day before; the door was broken down; they were not allowed to write comments on the record; the householders were called 'anti-Sovietists' and 'CIA agents'; the witnesses did not read the record, and not once were their rights and obligations explained to them. The Sorokins did not sign the record of the search.

Abramkin Since the case file contains your (Sorokina's — *Chronicle*) statement renouncing party membership and your speech at a party meeting, I would like to ask you about this ...

Judge This was not included in the indictment.

Abramkin But it is in the case file, therefore it has a bearing on the case. And if it has a bearing on the case, then I have the right to ask questions ...

Judge Well, there are all kinds of things in the case file.

Abramkin If you consider this to have no bearing on the case, then I request that this material be removed from the case file.

After the interrogation was over, Sorokina sat down on a bench in the courtroom, but a man in plain clothes immediately went up to her and took her out of the room, despite her loud protests and appeals to the Judge. He also threw out the bouquet (the guards had forbidden Abramkin to take the flowers).

The Procurator asked **Ekaterina Gaidamachuk** about Abramkin's salary. Gaidamachuk replied that she did not take an interest in it.

Judge Which one of you is in charge of the housekeeping?

Gaidamachuk Both of us.

Judge Does your husband pay you an allowance for your first child?

Gaidamachuk Yes, he helps.

Judge Have you read the journal ...

Gaidamachuk I refuse to answer on ethical grounds, as the accused is my husband.

Judge You said at the pre-trial investigation ...

Gaidamachuk I sent a statement saying that my evidence had been distorted.

On 3 October the court again turned down several petitions by Abramkin, including requests: to allow him a visit from his wife; to allow those who wished into the courtroom (the reason for the refusal: 'That is not necessary, as it is an open trial'); to remove from the case file *Searches* No. 1-2, which had been included as material confiscated during a search of Rubasheva's home, since the copy in question belonged to him and could not have been found at Rubasheva's; to include in the case file a statement by E. Gaidamachuk, which she had written after the interrogation in February (about her evidence in the investigation having been incorrectly recorded: it was not Abramkin who 'gave' her the journal to read, but she herself who had read it. E. Gaidamachuk had received a letter saying that her statement had been filed, but it transpired at the trial that this was not true); to provide the books *The Programme of the CPSU* and *We and the Planet*, containing figures on the economic situation of the USSR (the reason for the refusal: 'Abramkin is literate, with a higher education and experience of editorial work'); and to remove from the case file the materials of the searches of the Sorokins' home, in view of the many infringements of the Code of Criminal Procedure committed while they were carried out.

The evidence given during the pre-trial investigation by Oleg Kurgansky was read out. At the first interrogation he had made a statement saying that he was under the impression that the members of the *Searches* editorial board were motivated by gain. P. M. Abovin-Egides, for example, was trying to emigrate from the USSR and was scraping together political capital for himself (P. M. Egides emigrated in January 1980 — *Chronicle* 56). For these reasons, he, Kurgansky, had declined the offer to be published in *Searches*. At the second interrogation Kurgansky had testified that his 'statement' had been made under pressure from the investigator.

The court turned down Abramkin's petition to summon Kurgansky and the authors of the 'expert reports' (the court's term for the 'reports' drawn up by the academic institutes) and to read out the documents in the case file, notably articles from *Searches* and the above-mentioned 'reports'.

In reply to the Procurator's question whether he had been warned of the possibility of charges being brought against him, Abramkin gave a detailed and vivid account of how he had been detained in the Blue Bay [on the Black Sea] — they were 'looking for a portable radio-transmitter' — held at gunpoint in his trunks, shown a document stamped 'not for publication', and finally threatened with being driven

out into the steppe with his three-year-old child and left to spend the night there (*Chronicles* 42, 43), warned that he would never find work with a salary of more than 70 roubles (*Chronicle* 43), and warned by Burtsev that if a sixth issue came out he would be thrown in jail.

Procurator Ostretsova grew nervous, interrupted him, told him not to get carried away, just to answer the question (to almost all the questions Abramkin replied: 'I'll speak now and answer a question afterwards', said that he had submitted petitions on purpose to prolong the trial (when Abramkin made one of his petitions a people's assessor said in an exhausted tone: 'That's the 36th!').

On 4 October Abramkin made several more petitions: to dismiss the court (he listed all the violations of legality committed at the trial and stated that the Judge had a personal interest in the sentence as her position and career were at stake: there were plenty of others to replace her; the other court officials and the Procurator, also because of their personal interest); to institute criminal proceedings against investigator Burtsev and the 'specialists' for insult and libel; to appoint a commission of philosophical, historical and factological experts, since the comments of the 'specialists' had not even been read out. All the petitions were turned down, except for his request to see his lawyer alone; this was granted during the recess, but for one hour, not two.

After the petitions were refused, the summing up began. The Procurator demanded the maximum sentence under article 190-1: three years in camps. Her speech consisted of paraphrases of the indictment. She suggested that the charge of circulating *Searches* Nos. 6 and 7 be withdrawn (they had come out after Abramkin's arrest); the court did not agree to this.

Defence counsel drew the court's attention to the fact that the indictment was wholly founded on the so-called 'comments of the specialists'. But these comments had not been legally defined: they were termed 'reports', 'enquiries' and 'conclusions' by turns. These 'reports-enquiries-conclusions' had not even been read aloud in court. Therefore the documents were not valid proofs. The subjective aspect of the crime had not been proved either, said the barrister. Abramkin himself had pleaded not guilty, and none of the witnesses had confirmed the 'deliberate nature of the slander'. For these reasons the lawyer considered it necessary to ask the court to acquit Valery Abramkin, as the charges had not been proved.

Then Abramkin made his final speech, lasting over two hours. (His request for a three-day break to prepare it was refused by the court.) He summed up the numerous violations of the law committed during the investigation and appealed to the court to pass a separate resolution to institute criminal proceedings against investigator Burtsev and the 'specialists and scholars' for insult and libel. Abramkin noted the

fact that the Xeroxed copy of the investigators' case file sent to the court contained defective pages (the court agreed that these pages were illegible, but refused to request a legible copy from the Procuracy). But it was possible, said Abramkin, that these pages contained materials essential to the prosecution or the defence. He reminded the court that he had been virtually deprived of the opportunity to study the case file, the barrister Akselbant having been barred from this procedure. Notes had been taken from him; true, they were later returned, but without the most important pages: those containing his notes for refuting the 'conclusions of the specialists'. The authors of the 'conclusions' had not been summoned to court, neither had the 'conclusions' themselves been read out, though these formed the basis of the charges. His petitions had not been granted; the witnesses had been sent out of the courtroom; the proceedings had in effect been conducted in camera. The trial featured evidence given by witnesses in the pre-trial investigation which proved to have been recorded with additions and distortions. His wife's statement about the incorrect interpretation of her evidence had not been included in the case file. His request to summon the witness Kurgansky to the trial had been refused, while there was reason to believe that a page had been removed from his evidence: the beginning of one page did not follow on from the end of another. Abramkin did not know Kasatkin at all.

When Abramkin said that he was about to move on to the most important point, an analysis of the materials he was charged with, they began to hurry him. The Judge stated that the accused was granted a final speech in order to appeal to the court: 'And now you must appeal.' Abramkin replied curtly that he was not about to appeal to anyone for anything, and continued his speech. Abramkin attempted to formulate an answer to the question: 'What is libel?'. According to Abramkin's definition, libel was a lie, the purpose of which was to defame someone or something. He gave a detailed analysis of this definition, demonstrating by example that every component of libel played an essential part and was indispensable. (This took a great deal of time, as Abramkin was continually interrupted.) In particular, a value judgment could not, according to Abramkin, constitute libel, as it was an expression of someone's subjective opinion.

He then went on to analyse specific materials. Tamarin's article 'Twenty-five Years Without Stalin on the Stalinist Path' did not contain assertions, only evaluatory descriptions given from a Marxist viewpoint. The same applied to Egides's afterword to chapters from the book by the General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, Santiago Carrillo. It contained a review, from a Marxist viewpoint, of this book, which unfortunately had not been translated in our country.



1 Left to right: Vyacheslav Bakhrin, campaigner against political psychiatry sentenced to 3 years; his wife Tatyana; Alexander Podrabinek; Sonya Grinn and Yuri Grinn, given 3 years for editing intellectual journal *Searches*.



2 The Amnesty candle burns in front of the Embassy in Moscow that with Bakhrin's protest.



3 Tatyana Velikanova, computer mathematician given 9 years for co-editing the *Chronicle*.



4 Alexander D. Petrovsky, campaigner against political psychiatry given 3 years for co-editing the *Chronicle*.



5 Bakhtin's lawyer for the Viktor, who campaigned for him, and Irina Fialova, interrogated about him (*Chronicle* 57).



6 Ekaterina Gadamachuk, wife of Valery Abramkin, a second *Searches* editor in prison 3 years (see photo 2 in *Chronicle* 54, which shows Abramkin, not Sokolov).



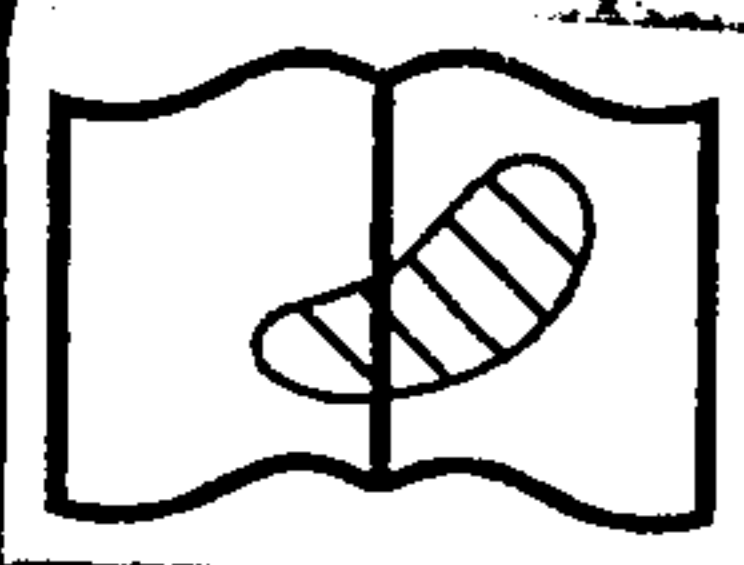
7 Orthodox Christian activists, left to right: Lev Reshetov, physicist and Church historian, who was broken down in prison and got a suspended sentence; Ir. Gleb Yakunin, campaigner against persecution of religion, sentenced to 10 years; and Viktor Kapidanchuk, whose trial resembled Reshetov's.



8 Ir. Gleb Yakunin with daughter Maria (born 1964), son Alexander (born 1974) and wife Irada.



9 Vadim Shebergov, mathematician harassed for belonging to Yakunin's Christian Committee (*Chronicle* 57) with his wife Zarina Dzobuyeva, daughter Svetlana (left) and son Kiril.





10 Viktor Kapitanchuk, chemist and art restorer, with his sons Ilya (born 1968) and Pavel (born 1970) and daughter Juna (born 1978) February 1980 just before his arrest



11 Vasily Bartalyanu, university art historian from Odessa, given 3 years in 1977 for his writings and oral dissent just before expiration sentence charged with slandering the Soviet system in conversations with fellow prisoners, given 3 more years



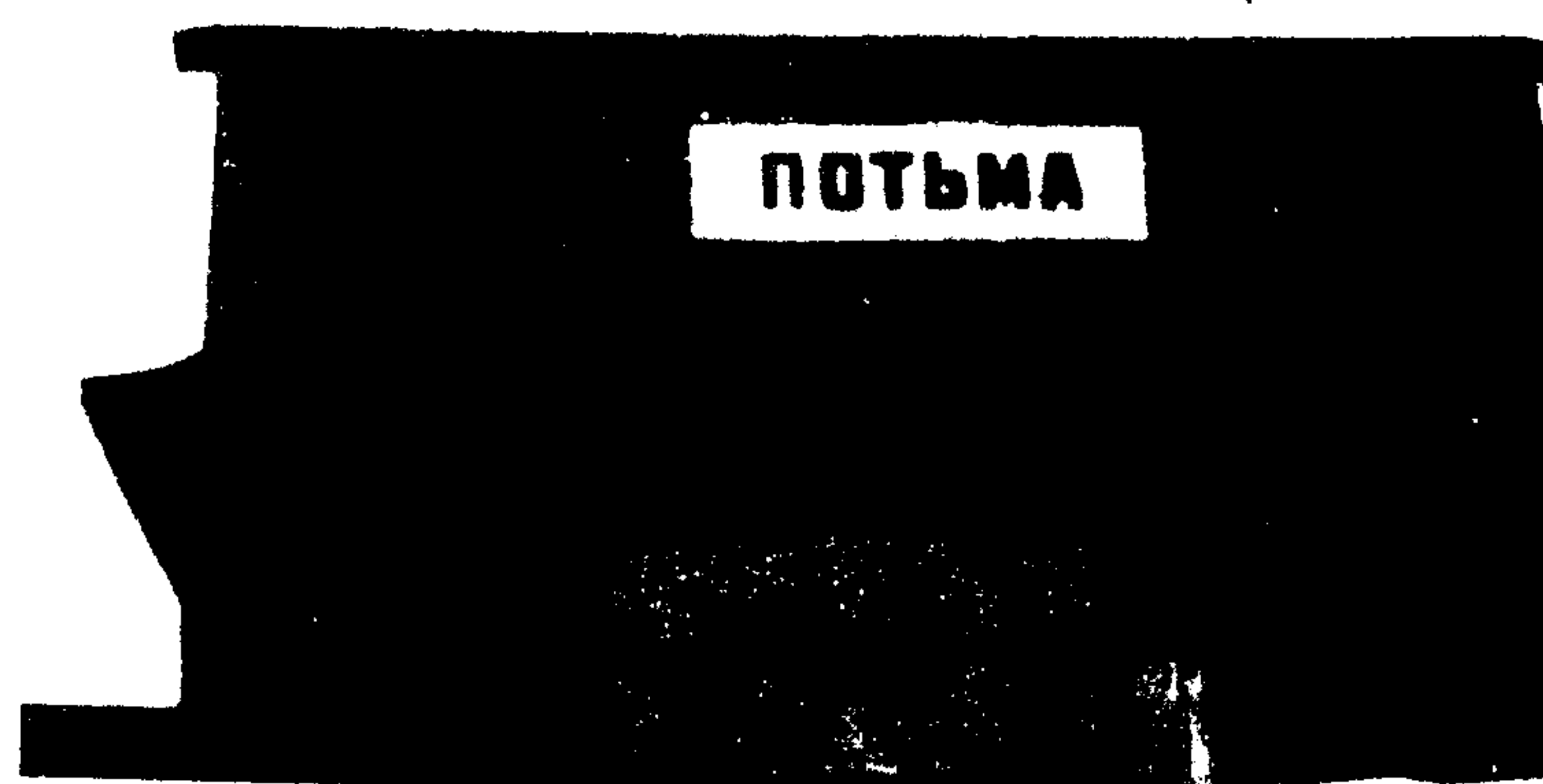
12 Reppelson (see previous paper) led from crowd after his trial in Moscow, 24 September 1980



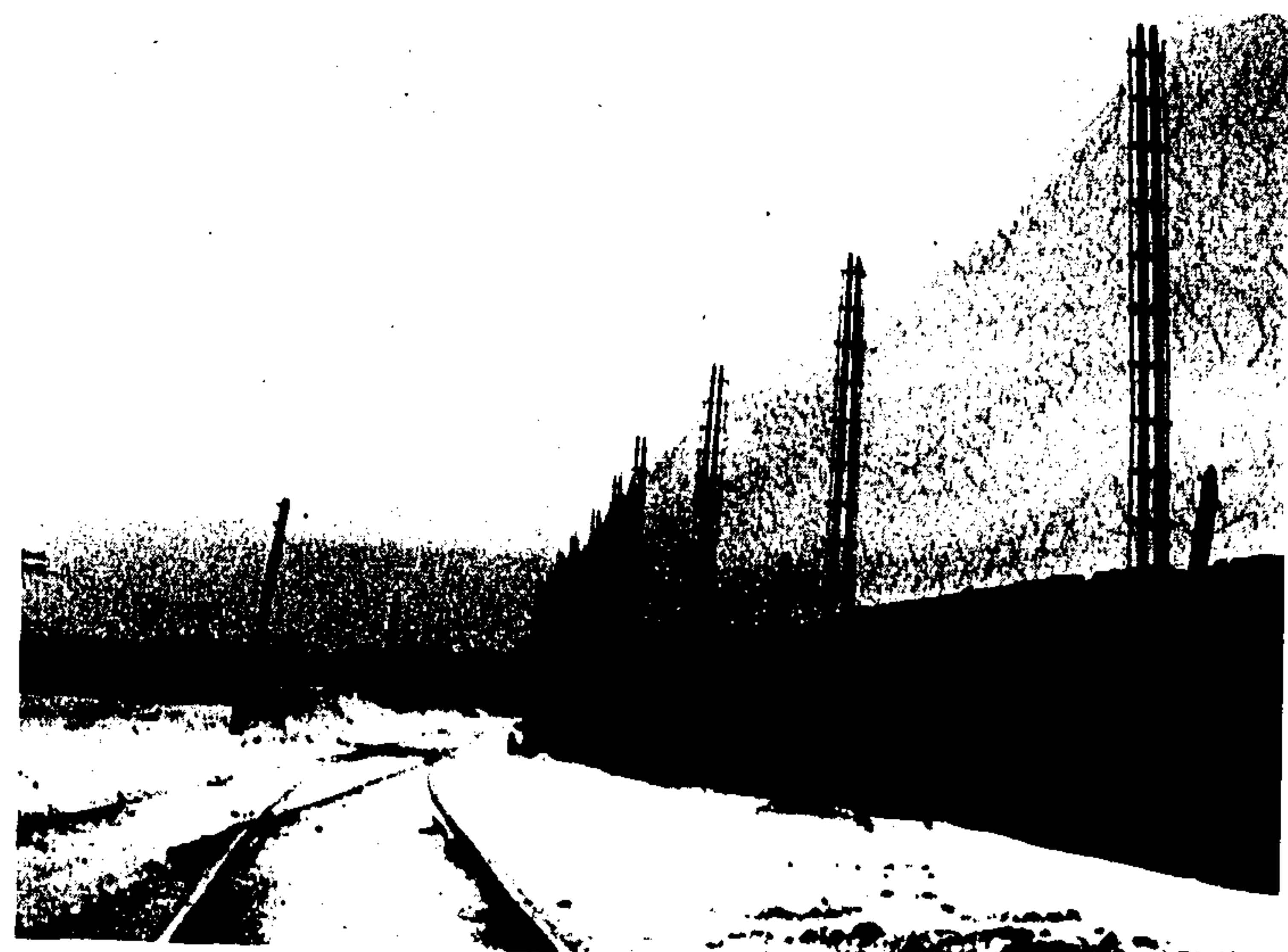
13 Vasily (Vasyli) Stus, Ukrainian Helsinki Group member, poet and orator given 14 years in 1980 for his militant democratic nationalist opinions despite frail health, seen here in Siberia, early in 1978



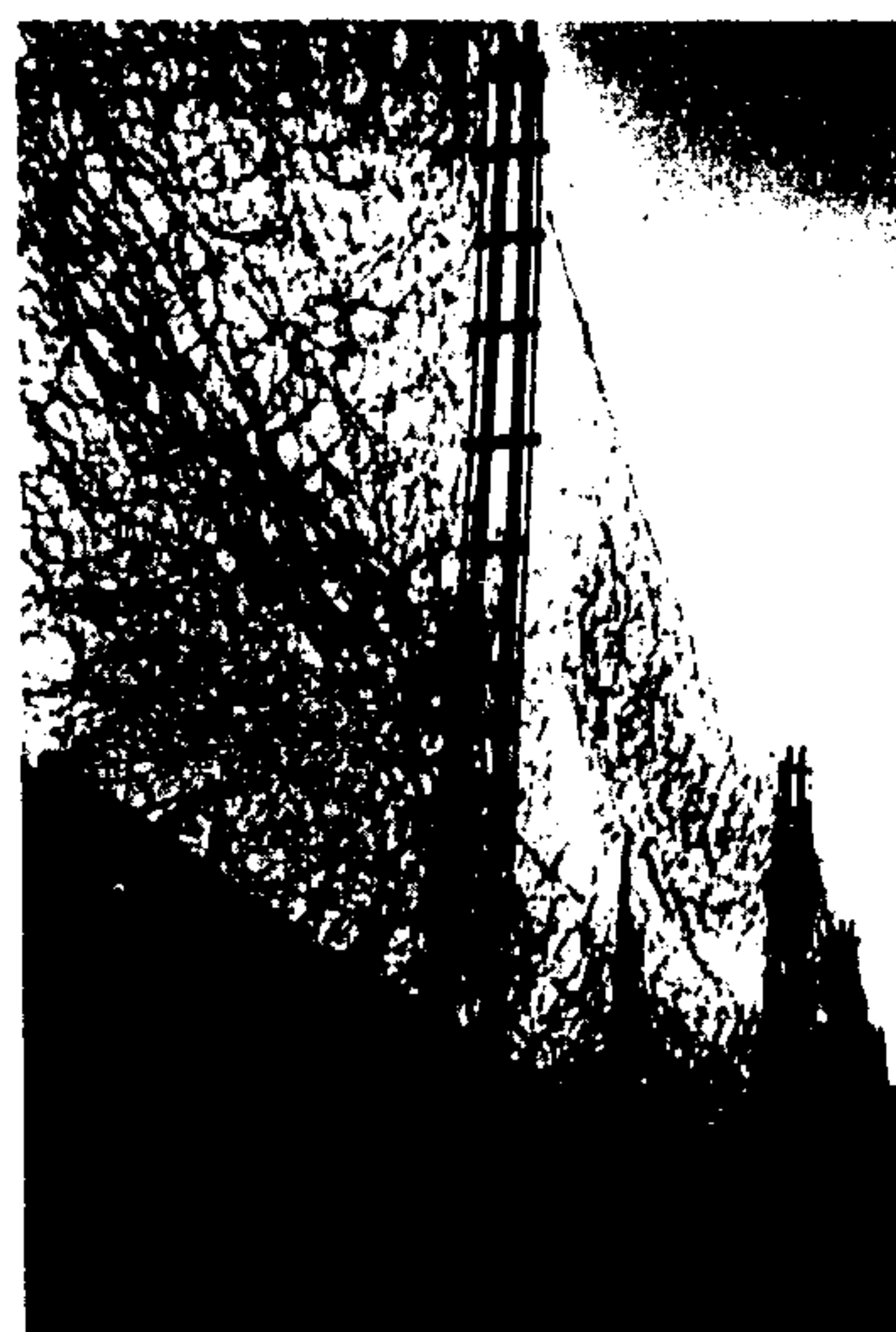
14 A road repair camp at Verkhne-Chir, near Syktyvkar in the North Ural's region, July 1981. Steps lead up to the wall to fence from a distribution of the fuel and water hoses



15 The railway station at Potma in Mordovia, on the main line some 300 miles S.E. of Moscow. Here prisoners are transferred via a transit prison on the spot to a private line of the MVD, which runs north for 30 miles, stopping at the labour camps on either side.



16 Mordovian camp No. 1 (p. ya ZhKh 385-1), 5 miles north of Potma, which until February 1980 contained a special regime zone (transferred to Perm camp 36 - *Chronicle 56*) hence the extraordinarily high barbed wire fence.



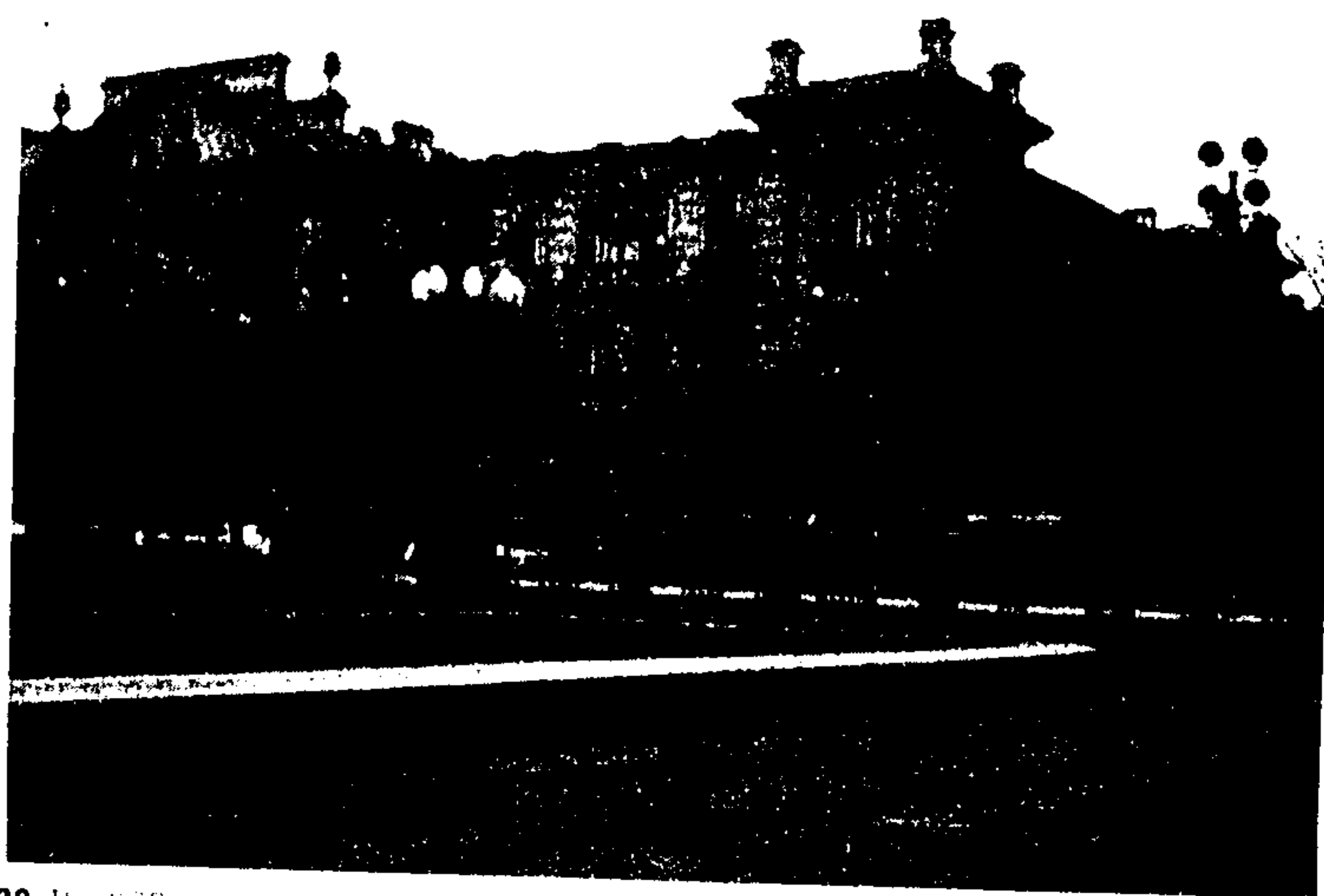
17 The barbed wire close up.



19 Bushoplavskiy (Gorodets) farm (M21) and all-round forest, a leader of the Permista emigration movement since the early 1960s, was given 12 years in 1980. See *Chronicle 56* - *Battlers on the Black Sea*, 130-78.



18 A watch tower at a corner of the camp. A building is visible on the left and the fence posts on the right, with an outer fence in foreground.



20 The KGB's headquarters in Vilnius, Lithuania's capital. Previously, at different periods, it has housed the Polish, Soviet and Nazi secret police. In 1980 it orchestrated the trials of many Lithuanian dissenters, including those reported in this *Searches*.



21 Dr Aušras Statkevičius (born 1923) Lithuanian psychiatrist and Helsinki group member, interned by a court in the Čerňovskhaya special psychiatric hospital (SPH).



22 Viktor Davydov (Pryzhov), law student from Khabyshev on the Volga, interned for his dissent in the Kazan, then the Buzovskaya Special SPH.

P. Pryzhov's article 'The Third Force' was written during the discussion of the draft of the new Constitution. The entire nation was urged to participate in this discussion; this included the author of the article, who was fulfilling his civic duty by stating his ideas on the draft Constitution ...

Here Abramkin's speech was interrupted: the judges, without a word, stood up and withdrew to pass sentence. The court sentenced Abramkin to three years in ordinary-regime camps.

On 5 October Abramkin wrote the following letter in prison:

Friends! Brothers and sisters! My dear ones!

Thank you so much for those wonderful, joyful, festive days you organized so splendidly for the sad court period of my imprisonment.

Ten months behind a solid wall half a metre thick should have cut me off utterly from everything that makes up a person's life: his relatives, loved ones and friends, from his cause, his work, his love and attachments, from living speech and living people. But even here, and even in the month and a half of solitary confinement in a death cell, echoes of what was happening in the outside world reached my ears. Issues 6 to 8 of *Searches*, statements in defence of arrested members of the editorial board, the avalanche of letters, statements and telegrams sent to the investigators and the prison administration, the January evening with our old 'forest' programmes ... And the fact that Katyusha has not been left without help and support at a difficult time — I never doubted that.

Echoes are all very well, but I was intensely bored: ten months without seeing dear, loved faces, without hearing the voice of a friend, without talking or discussing ...

And now the trial, the long, tedious, sickening hours in the courtroom, under the indifferent gaze of the well-trained 'representatives of the public'. (There, in that bog of corruption, was an island of hope and despair: my parents, my sister, and later Katyusha.) The exhausting searches which drained my last ounce of strength, the curses of the escort guards, the stifling crush in the prison van's box, the tragic stories of chance fellow-travellers from the Butyrka, beside which my own plight seems trivial and insignificant, again the box, even more crammed and dark, in the basement of the Moscow City Court ... the guards saying: 'Hands behind your back, stand up facing the wall, faster, don't look round, don't look to the side, take your hands off the partition'. Tiresome wrangling for the right to say the slightest thing about the case. Late at night, the black Maria again, the Butyrka, the guards, like some impossible happiness you're waiting for (dreaming of) your cell, the? [shkonka],

to get there, arrive, collapse, forget oneself in sleep ... But insomnia falls on you like a stone, your head is buzzing: What? What can I do and say tomorrow? And before you can doze off it's five a.m., and the rattle of the food-tray — 'Abramkin, with your belongings'. And this is a holiday? Yes, a holiday! And for those seconds when they brought me out of the escorts' room in the evening and I saw your faces and heard your voices, I would have paid ten times the price.

Va-le-ra [affectionate for Valery]! O Lord, I don't know how you managed it, but I heard that shout on the very first day, the 24th, in the basement cells, and I think I even made out Viktor's voice. By what miracle did Gleb get through to the stairs? I managed to wave to him ... Tanka's face was quite near (who was that holding her — not her husband? Congratulations, Tanechka!). And through the peephole in the black Maria I managed to exchange a glance with Serēzha. And Volodya's shout every evening of 'Valera' deafened even the guards.¹² And then there was the bouquet of cornflowers thrown over the fence to my feet (the soldiers fell out of step and carefully stepped over them).

What a happy day October 2 was for me! The questioning of the witnesses. The courageous, calm behaviour of Viktor Sorokin, whose consistency and logic infuriated the Chairman until she was foaming at the mouth, and the Procurator until she howled. Even the well-trained audience couldn't keep up the act and were laughing out loud at the court. They couldn't do anything with Misha Yakovlev either. What a lot the poor man had to put up with! They took away his archive of the last ten years: stories, plays, tales, novels ... His Odessa and Moscow ordeals — queues, interrogations and being banned from Moscow. That wasn't enough; they had to add threats in the witnesses' room. Mishka, your remarkable calm, your subtle sense of humour (I don't believe I've been so amused in a long time, not since reading your stories) and the way you so adroitly made those servants of lawlessness fall flat on their faces — it was all simply delightful. (Misha and Natasha, you have my belated congratulations, I'm happy for you, and wish you a good life!) And when Tomachinsky spoke, everything seemed to change in the courtroom, and the Judges and the Procurator shrivelled up inside their criminal hides.

I understand how difficult it must have been for Irina Malinovskaya to testify in this trial; her behaviour was all the more convincing, dignified and noble. All the nonsense, absurdity and falseness of the investigation was illustrated by Rubasheva. Sonechka Sorokina's testimony at the trial was an unexpected, undreamed-of gift. I think hers was the most brilliant speech in the whole trial and it made an impression on *everyone* present (in the black Maria

the guards were already asking me questions 'about Sorokina'). A remarkable combination of gentleness and ardour, pathos and persuasiveness. Sonechka, don't be disappointed: I got a few petals of your bouquet and kept them through all the searches; in my cell my only cell-mate, who had also just returned from his trial, and I were both amazed: the petals weren't wilted or dried out, they hadn't lost their living resilience, scent or colour. A real fairy-tale miracle!

The investigators' dupe, Kasatkin, pale and trembling, hiding his eyes ... No, he couldn't spoil my holiday. Ah, but he was pathetic and insignificant; so pathetic and insignificant that I couldn't torture him with deadly questions and I let him go without regret.

I listened to you, my friends, and thought: well, why am I better than everyone else? Everyone ... everyone ... everyone ... maybe on Mars there's somebody better than I am, but on Earth? No, no, on Earth you won't find anyone better ... Don't be offended, my friends, but to be honest, you really did overdo the praise. And what if I should start taking all this seriously, eh? What then: a prisoner with little wings? And what kind of guards would they need then? On the other hand, never mind. I'll confess secretly that I too can fly, and I won't tell any more tales — nobody will believe me anyway!

All through the trial I felt help and support from you, Raisa Borisovna, Mikhail Yakovlevich, Pētr Markovich, Gleb, Volodya, Viktor and Yura¹³ and yours, Serēzha Khodorovich, Arina Zholkovskaya, Vityusha ... and yours, Felix and Vera Serebrov, Igor Myaskovsky, Volodya Kucherov, Serēzha Belanovsky, Valery Zhulikov, Tanechka Zamyatkina ... Forgive me, my friends, I won't name all of you, but I remember and love each one of you individually. Don't think these are just fine words, but it is thanks to you that I'm proud of having been born in this land and belonging to this people. I've never tried to determine or calculate whether there are many honest, decent people in Russia. Hundreds of thousands — what's the difference? I think it was Dostoevsky's Versilov who said that, for the sake of one hundred or a thousand such people, perhaps our entire history was necessary.

I have had to spend tedious hours on end standing at the closed doors of 'open' trials. Now the doors have been closed behind me. The trial lasted four days. So I have my own experience and can compare it with that of others. And I'm not exaggerating when I say that here in the dock it is both easier and simpler. Thank you again, my friends, for everything ...

On the last day, while the court was deliberating on the sentence, a brick came flying through the window with a crash and a tinkle. The frightened guard called for reinforcements and every measure

was taken to ensure that I would not see or hear you. But it was no use to them. And again there were those wonderful moments, when iron gates and walls could not separate us.

Goodbye ... I could have and should have answered you. There was nothing threatening me, and one soldier even whispered on the sly: 'All right, shout, they won't do anything to you'. But I was gagged by a damned lump in my throat and couldn't force out a single word.

Goodbye ... Till we meet again outside. God keep you, my friends.

5 October 1980. Butyrka Prison, Cell No. 19

On 8 October Abramkin wrote another letter from prison:

To the editors, contributors, authors, readers and friends of *Searches*.

And so the second trial of the *Searches* case is over. Unfortunately I have no news of Yury Grimm, and I know little about Sokirko's trial. But is the case against *Searches* over? And will the work begun by *Searches* be continued? At one of our last meetings Burtsev said unequivocally about the authorities' future plans: 'Strictly speaking, even after your three trials Case No. 50611/14-79 will not be closed, so there are vacancies'. As for the second question, it is up to us to answer it.

There is nothing new in the methods used to fight our journal. The only surprising thing is how we continued so long and even managed to bring out eight issues.

From the January pogroms of 1979 to the end of August 1980 the investigation did not show us (or at least me) any charge or concrete item of libel, or a single example: such and such materials contain, in our opinion, libellous fabrications. The indictment, which I have only quite recently studied, does not depart from the traditional plan: such and such works in such and such an issue contain such and such libellous fabrications, the circulation of which damaged the international prestige of the USSR. And that's all. As if a proof required nothing but an assertion, arguments being unnecessary. No analysis, no discussion, not a single quotation from the 'criminal work'.

Just like the theatre of the absurd:

'You killed a boy, therefore you're a criminal.'

'But what boy, when and where?'

'What does that matter, since you killed him.'

'But where did you get the idea that I killed him?'

'You're a criminal, that's why you killed him.'

'But why am I a criminal?'

'Because you killed him.'

'Who?'

'The boy.' (etc, etc, ad infinitum).

But why does it follow that the listed materials from the journals in fact contain such and such assertions? And then, on what grounds can these assertions be judged libellous? And not corresponding to reality? You can go on asking these questions indefinitely. They have not answered them so far, and they won't answer them now.

The court obstructed every word, every attempt to ask questions to the point. Not a single word, not a single quotation from the journal was pronounced (except for the titles of articles). Discussion, analysis, enquiry? No, just a criminal-type investigation, an ordinary criminal investigation: where did you get it, whom did you give it to, where did you put it, who brought the typewriter, who typed it? My attempt to give even a brief account of the contents of the works in No. 1-2 (it was not difficult to establish that the judges had not read our journals) met with a furious, choking howl. And when I continued, the court ran panicking into the conference room, whereupon *everyone* present was sent out of the courtroom (and who were these 'everyone'? 'Representatives of the public' dragged in from God knows where?). They were in such a hurry that they did not even announce that my final speech was being cut off and that the court was withdrawing to deliberate on the sentence ...

And what has this trial given us? Has it shown us once again HOW THEY JUDGE US? But it did not add a single stroke to the picture clearly presented long ago: lie, coercion, lawlessness and tyranny. So to what end was all this necessary, even if only to me — why? Leaving aside all the personal aspects, such as depriving oneself of the possibility, after ten months' imprisonment, of seeing the faces of loved ones and hearing the voices of one's friends. In my last interview I gave the readers of *Searches* a detailed account of all the pros and cons of participating in a pathetic judicial farce, and myself suggested that the ideal and logical answer to their pathetic attempts to claim the appearances of a court examination was 'No'; and as worthy examples I cited Sasha Podrabinek's and Balys Gajauskas's behaviour in court. I was prepared for such an eventuality, such a solution, such a way out of their dirty game, and I would have had the strength, believe me, to overcome the personal unpleasantness of appearing in the dock and remaining silent. Even though someone said this way was more complex: to get your three years without torturing yourself or your loved ones and friends.

I will try to explain my 'betrayal' of the principles I worked out earlier. There was something a bit new about our case. The punitive organs attempted, apparently for the first time, to harness official ideologists to their team. The 'conclusions of the specialists', which

I studied after the investigation was closed, gave grounds for timid hopes of a dialogue; true, with our rights extremely reduced and with dishonest rules imposed by them, but a dialogue all the same. And in these circumstances I could not, had no right, to refuse the opportunity of discussion (it was quite naive of me to believe such a thing was possible, but then *Searches* itself started out of such naivety), the opportunity of a search for mutual understanding between the diametrically opposite, widely divergent forces in our society (and these forces ought not diverge so far in one country and one people). But now the trial is over, all hopes have been put to the test, and again we have been convinced that in our country dialogue with them is *fundamentally impossible*. One can communicate with deaf-mutes only in sign-language. So swallow your tongue and mumble, mumble the way you have been taught from childhood, mumble and put an idiotic smile on your face and pretend you like it, pretend you're happy: everything is normal, wonderful, amazing ('How wonderful this world is — look!'). How easy to be like a wordless cow, no worse and no better than the others, together with everyone, in unison with everyone, to walk in step, revelling in conformity.

It is unlikely that the 'specialists' themselves refused to appear in court without orders from above. Most probably, even such a restricted dialogue was judged inexpedient. But that was not my doing and not my fault! I honestly submitted petition after petition, I was prepared to wait for the philosophers and historians, whether they were called expert witnesses or specialists or whatever, for anyone, to wait a month, even to remain in custody for a year without trial. Failing to get the official ideologists, I requested that their reviews be read out and discussed. And *nothing* was read out from their pathetic works. Those of you who have read these reviews will try and answer the question: 'Why?' Well, how could they possible be dangerous? Were they afraid of these distorted and juggled quotations that the specialists 'raked out' of our journal? Or of the prospect of having to allow me to say one word? The funniest thing is that when I tried to quote the 'specialists' conclusions', the Procurator and the Judges became frantic, even promising me that they would not regard the reviews as evidence (if I am not mistaken, the judgment did not contain a word about the specialists). Well, though this is only a feeble justification of my 'betrayal' of the principles I worked out earlier, I will stop here: it is enough for me that I used *every* opportunity to obtain a dialogue. And it is not my fault that it did not take place. (If I have enough time and luck I shall try all the same to make my own analysis of that remarkable document.)

In addition, I did not resist the temptation to demonstrate that

lawlessness operates by using appropriately unlawful means. The witnesses' evidence and the speeches of defence counsel and the accused (and even more so, the speeches of the Procurator and the Court Chairman) show convincingly that the case does not contain a single piece of proof (even from the purely formal point of view). Falsifications, forgeries, ordinary faked documents, ignorance of the law on the part of the investigation, gross disregard of basic procedural norms, pressurizing of participants in the trial (of witnesses even during the trial itself). Everything was done to prevent the accused from studying the case materials; I was deprived of the right to defence counsel; during the trial they started taking away (in the investigations prison) the notes that I had managed to take down and documents I had prepared in advance (the fact that they had read my papers was later apparent in the Chairman's actions); and my final speech was broken off. And what could they hold up against us? Absolutely nothing! The criminal nature of *Searches* was decided on, as Rubasheva so aptly put it, 'by smell'. As a result, even this court did not take the risk of leaving in the judgment most of the 'evidence' presented in the indictment. It was a total fiasco, an unconditional defeat for our accusers. And I have every right to congratulate you on your victory, my friends!

Only in the courtroom did I read Lert and Gefters statement requesting to be admitted to the trial as witnesses. Unfortunately, both their request and mine were turned down without reason by the court. But you were with me at the trial, Raisa Borisovna [Lert]. And later in the proceedings, in my amputated final speech. I frequently quoted extracts from our articles in *Searches* (I read them over with pleasure when I studied the case file). In the same way, the following articles helped me to substantiate my position: those by Mikhail Yakovlevich [Yakovlev] (especially 'Notes on Pessimism'), Pëtr Markovich [Egides] (with his fundamental study of legal problems and impeccable logical system of argumentation), and Gleb Pavlovsky ... My model and example, both in prison and in court, was the determination and uncompromising attitude of our Volodya Gershuni (Volodya, I take this opportunity to congratulate you, though belatedly, on your fiftieth birthday). I have constantly felt the strength and support of my fellow-prisoners Yury Grimm and Viktor Sokirko. *Searches* contributors Viktor and Sonya Sorokin spoke convincingly at the trial ... For reasons which you can understand I am obliged to cut short this far from complete list. I am happy and proud that I had the honour of working with you, my dear friends and colleagues!

I would like especially to say something about Viktor Sokirko. I know what kind of pressure he was subjected to here, in prison and in the investigation offices; I know what he was threatened

with ... In June Viktor explained his position to me; I supported him and on the whole approved. I do not think that those small concessions he was forced to make under pressure from the investigators and the court should be held against this courageous and honest man. Viktor, I am very happy for you and Lilya. I ask you, I beg you not to torment your conscience out of a misplaced feeling of solidarity. Believe me, it would have been twice as bad if our joint solution to that June situation had not been carried out. And thank you very much ... you'll remember what for. Yes, and forgive me for a certain price which had to be paid for prison foul-ups.

At the trial I repeatedly stated that I was one of the editors of the legal journal *Searches*. I also said that my duties did not include circulation of the journal or sending it abroad. In my final speech (which was broken off) I intended to specify that while I was not involved in its circulation I naturally did not object, nor could I object to the journal being read by our fellow-countrymen and by people living outside the USSR. Moreover, I believe that the circulation of *Searches* abroad furthers the cause of mutual understanding among different nations, promotes a better understanding of our people and country, is a genuine expression of the relevant articles of the Helsinki Agreements and the UN Statutes, and can in no way harm Russia. I was not allowed to say this. Well, never mind; I think I've now dotted all the i's, and no cause for misapprehensions or vagueness remains. I am grateful and obliged to all those who have participated in the fortunes of what we created. Many thanks to all people of good will for your help and support.

My dear friends and colleagues! When I spoke of the trial which has just ended, it was perhaps not altogether appropriate to congratulate you on our victory. The defeat of the investigation and the court (or, to be more precise, their disgrace) was of course unconditional. But seen in a broader perspective, this was no victory for us. And not because of the sentence ... I am not the first, nor the last to be heading for the islands of the Archipelago. It's just that this was not the kind of victory we dreamt of when we started our 'search for mutual understanding'. But it would be worth while to reassess the significance of our journal. In all honesty, we did not manage to surpass in quality the average standard of samizdat periodicals. The merit of *Searches* lies in the fact that it was the first manifestation of *fruitful collaboration* among people of widely divergent views, concepts and apparent methods of solving the problems facing our society. I can't say that we found the work easy and joyful. Almost every issue had us flaring up in heated discussions, which were not always proper; at times it looked as if such a diverse collection of people would not stick to their appointed

task of cooperation and would scatter in their separate directions: the Marxists into the clouds, the Native Soil thinkers backwards, and the bourgeois democrats into the water. But we did not go our separate ways, neither did we abandon the work we had undertaken with such effort. We learned to listen and to talk with one another, and even if our views have not come any closer (it would have been naive to count on that), the important thing is that mutual understanding has been achieved, even if only among ourselves.

Strange as it may seem, *Searches'* brief span of existence has coincided with perhaps the most difficult period in the history of the democratic movement in our country. I am referring not to the repression which has hit the human-rights activists, nor to the terrible pre-Olympic wave of arrests to which the authorities attached such importance in their war on independent thought and the free uncensored word (it is not without reason that the word 'liquidation' appears in the 'conclusions of the specialists' ...). It is not for us, who understand what sort of country we live in and what sort of conditions we have to work in, to wail about the methods used by a totalitarian regime to suppress dissent. That is not the worst of it. In recent years the human-rights movement has tended more and more in the direction of intolerance, unwholesome division and alienation between the various currents which make up its stream. I shall not quote all the facts and examples. An unseemly attitude on the part of certain individuals and groups towards the [Prisoners] Aid Fund, the Helsinki Group and even victims of lawlessness; intrigues and demonstrative activity arising from vanity, excessive pride and pretensions to leadership on the part of certain 'activists', etc, etc. All this is clear to you without specific examples. I would like to be understood correctly. The democratic movement in our country has from its inception comprised various different tendencies and there is no harm in this; on the contrary, any attempt to reduce this multicoloured spectrum of ideas to one monochrome line would be disastrous. But variety by no means presupposes alienation and dogmatic intolerance. We can exist under present social conditions only if we coordinate our activities and assist each other in a brotherly way; we can develop only by fruitful cooperation — as exemplified in *Searches* — among tendencies sometimes diametrically opposed. However different our hopes for Russia's future, we share the same country, the same people, the same plight, the same suffering. Is this the time to determine the exclusivity of this or that central idea in Russia's destiny or history, when Russia's very existence and future are threatened, without which she will have neither destiny nor history? Under these conditions, do we have the right to behave with the

irresponsibility characteristic of the official ideologists, who are prepared to mumble even at the edge of the precipice: 'the most advanced ... the most progressive ... the most scientific ... indisputable success ... genuine rights ... hurrah, hurrah ...'

My present situation does not give me the moral right to make any definite suggestions or to urge you to take any particular action. I would like only to hope that the work begun by *Searches* will find a worthy continuation. That is all for now.

I give you a big hug. Again many thanks for your help and support.

Yours, Valery Abramkin

8 October 1980, Butyrka Prison, Cell No. 19

On 10 October the **Moscow Helsinki Group** adopted Document No. 145: 'The Trial of Valery Abramkin':

Abramkin's trial, which lasted *four days* in the Moscow City Court, is to some extent an event, even against the background of the now commonplace occurrence of trials of human-rights activists in the USSR.

In the first place, Valery Abramkin was sentenced *solely and exclusively* for attempting to avail himself of a right officially provided to citizens by the Soviet Constitution: the right to freedom of the press ... As one of the seven editors of *Searches*, he published legally and openly a typed journal of debate containing various different (and often contradictory) opinions, assessments and evaluations both of theoretical problems and of aspects of life in our country ...

In the second place, a 34-year-old chemical engineer, who has been forced in recent years to work as a caretaker, who has no legal training and was in effect deprived of a normal defence, defeated outright at his trial the investigators, the court and the 'reviews' of 'specialists' who did not appear in court.

And it was for this — for his lively, inquiring mind — that he was sentenced to three years' camp: a young, talented man, full of strength and energy, who brought a great deal of good to his country, and whom his country could be proud of.

On 28 October **R. B. Lert** wrote an article, 'My Unspoken Testimony'. Lert concludes her five-page article as follows:

I protest categorically against the fact that Valery is being charged not only for his own work, but for mine as well. I am still alive and in full possession of my mental faculties. I have behind me forty years' experience of literary work for the Soviet press and over fifty years' experience as a member of the CPSU, which I left precisely because of *Searches*. So do you really think Valery

Abramkin held my pen while I wrote my articles for *Searches*?

Why did you put Abramkin in the dock, without putting me there with him? I shall answer this rhetorical question myself: because my biography does not happen to suit your purposes under article 190-1. Just think — if you're capable of thinking — why people desert you after dedicating their lives to building a just socialist society. And why your persecutions, which rob human-rights activists of their health and sometimes even their lives, cannot rob them of their honour. It is you Judges who lose your honour.

Abramkin graduated from the Mendeleev Chemical and Technological Institute in Moscow. For six years after graduating Abramkin worked in his profession (physical chemistry) in a research institute; he has published extensively in scientific collections and reports.

In his student years and afterwards Abramkin was a member and organizer of the Moscow Unofficial Song Club (USC), where he performed as part of a small group at USC gatherings and 'consciousness-raising outings' ['agitpokhody']. They presented compositions based on documents and works of literature (Pasternak, Kharms, Galich's long poem *Kaddish*).

In 1975 the USC, whose numbers had increased to several thousand, broke up into 'groups'; meetings of these groups were organized, out of which appeared (independently of the USC) the 'Sundays' — meetings of creative young people in the woods (*Chronicles* 41, 42). Here Valery and his group performed sketches (Radishchev, 'City of the Sun' after Campanella) and programmes they had written themselves ('The Man with the Kerosene Lamp', 'The Horse'). Out of the materials of these meetings the almanac *Sunday* was created. Valery was one of its authors ('Notes on the Other Side of the Page', the cycle of stories 'The Little House on its own' and articles on the work of Kharms and Vvedensky). In addition, Abramkin published the samizdat collection *Selected Works of Daniil Kharms*.¹⁴

On 30 April 1976 Abramkin was warned that he would be sacked from his job if the 'Sundays' continued (*Chronicle* 42); in September 1976 he was searched in Blue Bay by the Tuapse department of the KGB (when on holiday), presented with the decree and warned that he might be charged with 'antisocial activities' (*Chronicles* 42-4); and in October 1976 he was sacked, despite the fact that he had not finished an important work (*Chronicle* 43).

Forced thus to abandon science under pressure of the KGB, from 1977 he worked as a worker on a geophysical expedition, in a team of builders, clearing woods, as a stoker and as a caretaker in a church. From 1978 Valery Abramkin was one of the founders and editors of the journal *Searches*.

The Trial of Grimm

On 8 and 9 October the Moscow City Court, presided over by V. V. Bogdanov, heard the case of Yury Leonidovich Grimm (born 1938).¹⁵ The prosecutor was Procurator T. P. Prazdnikova (who also prosecuted Bakhmin and Sokirko). Grimm's relatives had asked the lawyer Shveisky to act in Grimm's defence, but he went on holiday just before the trial. The court appointed the lawyer R. M. Beizerov to defend Grimm. Grimm refused the appointed defence counsel, but the court did not accept his refusal and did not release the lawyer from participating in the case.

The trial took place in, again, the same Lyublino District People's Court in Moscow (see 'The Trial of Tatyana Velikanova'). Of Grimm's friends and relatives, only his wife, son and sister were admitted to the courtroom. Those who were not admitted waited outside. The police and vigilantes behaved correctly (apart from their systematic checking of documents).

In one of his petitions Grimm said the following: he was charged with editing *Searches* Nos. 4-7 (ie the issues in which he was listed as one of the editors). However, on the one hand he had in fact actively participated in the publishing of Nos. 1-2 and 3, before becoming a member of the editorial board; and on the other, he had, with the assent of the editors, had no part whatever in the publication of Nos. 6 and 7. Grimm's explanation for this was that he was continually and closely shadowed and this prevented him from doing anything for *Searches*. For this reason he requested the court to amend the charges.

His petitions not having been fulfilled, Grimm refused to take part in the trial, while reserving the right to make a final speech. The witnesses O. Kurgansky, M. Yakovlev, V. Sorokin and N. Kasatkin were questioned. The court also summoned E. Gaidamachuk and V. Tomachinsky as witnesses, but they did not turn up.

Kasatkin's evidence was the same as at Abramkin's trial (except that this time he asserted categorically that it was Abramkin who had given him the journal). He had met the accused at Egides's ('Egides is the ringleader of the gang'), then they had gone to his (Grimm's) home (both Grimm and his wife assert that this did not happen). Grimm had asked him to help duplicate the journal.

Yakovlev's evidence was the same as at Abramkin's trial. The Procurator reminded him that a criminal case had already been started against Sorokin — the same could happen to him. Yakovlev, however, did not change his evidence. (The case against Sorokin was not started until 4 November; that against Yakovlev, on 4 December.)

Kurgansky, from whom the prosecution tried to obtain confirma-

tion of the evidence he had given in the pre-trial investigation, was adamant: the evidence had been given under duress (see 'The Trial of Abramkin'). In his evidence he reported on the latest trials and arrests.

Sorokin repeated the evidence he had given at previous trials: he recounted the gross violations of the law committed by the Procurator (Procurator: 'You cite the law too often!'), described the journal *Searches*, described Yury Grimm, then, citing violations of the Code of Criminal Procedure (in both this and previous trials) and the Constitution, he refused to answer any further questions on the case.

Procurator Then why did you spend a whole hour driving us round the bend, if you don't want to give evidence?

Sorokin I availed myself of the right to say everything I know concerning the present case.

The Procurator's recommendation: three years' strict-regime camp (strict-regime because Grimm had been previously convicted — see below). The lawyer's recommendation: he should be acquitted, as the charges had not been proved. In his final speech Grimm dwelt in detail on the following aspects of the case:

— The separation of his own case from the *Searches* case as a whole. In Grimm's opinion, this had been done in order to lend weight to the charges against him personally. (Each of the accused was being charged individually with the activities of six or seven people, which were well beyond the strength of one person alone.) To this same purpose the entire second volume of the case was filled with information derived by transcribing broadcasts of foreign radio-stations. The investigation was in such a hurry to increase the volume of the case that the indictment contained passages such as the following: 'In December 1979 Grimm circulated the seventh issue of the journal. The fact that it was circulated is proved by reference to a Radio Liberty broadcast of 28 September 1979'.

— Grimm stressed once again that he had not had any part in Nos. 6 and 7 of the journal, even though his name was on the title page, and that he had, on the other hand, collaborated in issues 1-2 and 3, even though not officially one of the editors. 'As a member of the editorial board of the journal, and in particular as one of the listed editors of Nos. 6 and 7, I am by no means evading my responsibility for the material in these issues,' he said. 'However, I state once again that I did not collaborate in the 6th and 7th issues.'

— Grimm dwelt particularly on the fate of his article 'Will This Happen Again?' He stated that he had written this article not for publication in *Searches*, but simply for samizdat. He had been amazed to learn during the investigation that his article had been published in the seventh issue of *Searches*. He did not see anything slanderous

in the article: it was an account of his personal impressions of a 15-day administrative arrest. Grimm further reminded the court of his work record and drew its attention to the substance of his first 'case' in 1964 (see below).

Grimm concluded that he had foreseen the outcome of the case and knew the sentence in advance, and it was for this very reason that he had chosen his stance of non-participation in the trial. It had been a pleasant surprise for him that the appointed defence counsel, Beizerov, had been able to fulfil his task with the necessary attention and had, despite the lack of assistance from his client, carried out the defence intelligently and lucidly. The court imposed the following sentence: three years of strict-regime camps.

* * *

On 13 November the **Moscow Helsinki Group** adopted Document No. 147, 'The Trial of Yury Grimm':

... One's attention is arrested by the fact that Grimm was charged with the compilation, production, duplication and circulation of the journal *Searches* ... ie the same acts for which other members of the *Searches* editorial board, Abramkin and Sokirko, were convicted. The investigation of all three was carried out *under one case*. Just before the end of the pre-trial investigation, the cases of Abramkin, Grimm and Sokirko, in violation of article 26 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, were *separated* into three individual cases. Thus Grimm and Abramkin were deprived of the opportunity of a joint defence against a *common* indictment of both of them.

* * *

Grimm is a photographer by profession. In January 1964 he was arrested and sentenced under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to six years' camp for circulating some caricatures of Khrushchev (*Chronicle* 11). After the fall of Khrushchev the case was re-examined and in April 1965 his sentence was commuted to three years. After his release he worked as a building worker. In 1975 Yury Grimm and his family applied to emigrate to Israel, but they were refused permission. In 1978 Grimm joined the editorial board of the journal *Searches*.

The Trial of Statkevicius

On 8 and 11 August, in Vilnius, the trial took place of Lithuanian Helsinki Group member Algirdas Statkevicius (born 1923). Statkevicius himself was not present at the trial: a psychiatric commission had ruled him not responsible (diagnosis: schizophrenia and megalomania).

The court sent Statkevicius to a Special Psychiatric Hospital [SPH] for compulsory treatment. Many people gathered at the court building, but no one was admitted to the courtroom. Statkevicius was arrested on the night of 14 to 15 February (*Chronicle* 56). He is now being held in Chernyakhovsk SPH.

The Trial of Terleckas and Sasnauskas

From 15 to 19 September the Lithuanian Supreme Court, presided over by Vice-Chairman Ignatas, heard the case of Antanas Terleckas (born 1928, arrested on 30 October 1979 — *Chronicle* 54) and Julius Sasnauskas (born 1960, arrested on 11 December 1979 — *Chronicle* 55), both charged under article 68 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the Russian Code). The prosecutor was Deputy Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR Bakučionis; the defence counsels — Kudaba and Aperaitis.

The indictment states that in 1975 Terleckas incited Sasnauskas to commit criminal acts. The accused, with the aim of undermining the Soviet system, systematically duplicated, circulated, collected and kept — with the intention of circulating — illegal publications (Terleckas — the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and *Herald of Freedom* [*Laisves Sauklis*]; Sasnauskas — *Herald of Freedom*, *Hearth* [*Pastoge*], *Path of Truth* [*Tiesos Kelias*] and the *Chronicle of Current Events*) and carried out anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. In June 1979 the accused began to issue the illegal publication *Knight Errant* [*Vytis*] (*Chronicle* 53): Sasnauskas typed no fewer than three copies of No. 1 (confiscated in Moscow, in Jurbarkas and at the home of O. Lukauskaite-Poškiene in Šiauliai) and No. 2 (which he distributed among his acquaintances); in addition, he published No. 3, typed three copies, circulated one among his acquaintances and kept two at home.

In 1979 the accused sent the Lithuanian Minister of Health, Kleize, a letter concerning the forcible hospitalization of A. Paškauskienė (*Chronicle* 52) (Sasnauskas typed no fewer than five copies of this letter and showed it to at least eight people). The accused produced, duplicated and circulated a collective letter to mark the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (*Chronicle* 54) and collected signatures under it (this letter was confiscated in Alytus from Šerkšnys, in Jelgava from Žukovskis, in Moscow from Tatyana Velikanova, and, in Estonia, from A. Lavut). The accused collected materials on the trial of the speculator Ragaišis (*Chronicle* 54) and wrote an open letter about the trial. Terleckas and Cidzikas (*Chronicle* 46) wrote a

letter about abuses of psychiatry; Terleckas passed it on to Sasnauskas, who duplicated and circulated it. At a meeting at Ragaišienė's (*Chronicle 57*) Terleckas provided foreign correspondents with slanderous information about the alleged invasion of Lithuania, and Sasnauskas duplicated an account of the meeting. Sasnauskas, with the help of Terleckas, wrote a letter about the condition of a monument to Vytautas in Jurbarkas.

In addition, Terleckas was charged with a letter to Andropov about persecutions and psychiatric hospitalization for one's convictions (*Chronicle 40*). The indictment noted that Terleckas supported Document No. 69 of the Moscow Helsinki Group (on the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights — *Chronicle 52*).

Sasnauskas was also charged with writing a letter to the [CPSU] Central Committee about V. Petkus (he typed now fewer than three copies of this letter, showed it to at least 20 people and published it in *Vytis* No. 2) and a letter to the editor of the newspaper *Tiesa* on B. Gajauskas (he edited it, typed copies and showed it to no fewer than eight people, who signed it). Sasnauskas wrote an open letter to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Community Party about 'praying for the dead' (he typed at least five copies) and an open letter on the arrest of Terleckas (he typed no fewer than two copies and showed them to no fewer than 30 people). Sasnauskas was charged with a statement about serving in the Soviet Army (the letter was also signed by V. Bogušis, A. Tučkus and A. Masiulionis — *Chronicle 47*). Sasnauskas, Šakalys (*Chronicle 57*) and Cidzikas wrote an open letter to the Central Committee on falsifications committed in the census (Sasnauskas typed five copies and gave one to Ragaišis). With the aim of creating the appearance of a so-called Helsinki Group functioning in Lithuania, Sasnauskas wrote Documents 13-17 of the Group (he typed copies of these Documents and showed them to O. Lukauskaite-Poškiene and Father Laurinavičius).

Terleckas gave no evidence during the pre-trial investigation. Sasnauskas gave evidence only on facts concerning him personally. They pleaded not guilty. At the trial Terleckas stated that the letter to the Minister of Health concerning Paškauskienė (*Chronicles 52, 54*) had been written by Paškauskienė herself and brought from Jurbarkas by Bastys (*Chronicle 57*). During the trial of Ragaišis he had taken notes, but had not given them to Sasnauskas. He had received the letter to the newspaper *Tiesa* about Gajauskas from the priest Garuckas (died 1979 — *Chronicle 53*). He had taken part in the press conference in Ragaišienė's flat on the invitation of Cherepanov (*Chronicle 57*), who is known to certain people as an agent provocateur; there they had had tea and chatted; the article 'A Press Conference in Vilnius' did not reflect his views. He had not helped

Sasnauskas to write the letter about the monument to Vytautas; he had only collected information from an encyclopedia. He had not signed the letter about Petkus (*Chronicle 50*) or Document No. 14 of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group (about Ragaišis). He knew nothing about the letter commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact or about Document No. 15 of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group (on Klimašauskas' imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital — *Chronicles 44, 51*). He had never seen *Vytis*, much less had any part in its publication. The materials allegedly confiscated from him in the search of 23 August 1977 (*Chronicle 47*) were found not in his flat, but in a barn and in a hole in the ground; he had been shown a copy of *Herald of Freedom* by K. Jokubynas (emigrated 1977 — *Chronicle 45*), who used to clean his barn. He had signed Document No. 69 of the Moscow Helsinki Group.

Sasnauskas stated that the allegation that Terleckas had incited him to commit anti-Soviet acts in 1975 was groundless. He had been illegally charged with the statement about his Soviet Army service (a request to stay and serve in Lithuania — *Chronicle 47*): it had been written after he was threatened that his military service would be turned into a sentence. (Sasnauskas petitioned the court to summon Bogušis, Tučkus and Masiulionis as witnesses.) The letter about Petkus was not libellous. The letter to the Central Committee about 'prayers for the dead' (stating that only those who had fought weapons in hand against the Soviet regime were worthy of remembrance) he had written in a categorical tone because he was under the influence of brutal actions by the police; he did not consider it criminal. Neither did he regard as criminal the letter about the census, written jointly with Šakalys and Cidzikas (according to the official results of the census, the majority of Lithuanians speak Russian well, while linguists assert that the contrary is true). The letter to *Tiesa* on Gajauskas (*Chronicle 49*) was given to him by Father Garuckas, who told him where to send it; he had copied the letter without editing it and sent it (he had only entitled it 'Open Letter'); he did not agree with all the ideas contained in the letter, but had not wanted to amend it. He had not written the letter about Paškauskienė to the Minister of Health, although he had testified to the contrary in the pre-trial investigation; he agreed with Terleckas's evidence on the subject; the letter had been typed in his flat, on the typewriter there, by Šakalys (in summer 1980 Šakalys escaped from the USSR — *Chronicle 57*); he did not see anything anti-Soviet about the letter. In the summer of 1979 he had seen in several places the letter marking the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; he had signed it and then duplicated the Lithuanian translation, but had not circulated it; in his opinion the document was not anti-Soviet. He had written and circulated the protest against the arrest of Ragaišis; he had taken Terleckas's notes

on the trial of Ragaišis, but had not used them; perhaps, owing to lack of time, some unsubstantiated assertions were to be found in his protest.

(Aperaitis: 'I'm coming to the conclusion that you're an uncritical reader. You have apparently read fiction without understanding all of it, and you haven't read any political literature.') Terleckas had not helped him to write the letter about the monument to Vytautas: he had only given him the historical facts; he himself had been to Jurbarkas and seen the monument.

Aperaitis The monument in Jurbarkas is a trifle. Vytautas was greatly honoured in bourgeois times. Do you know what Lithuania looked like in those days?

Sasnauskas No.

Aperaitis And from today's perspective?

Sasnauskas It looks good.

Aperaitis What more does a man need? You've got enough to eat, you can enjoy yourself, so why make an apostle of yourself without being asked?

He had written the protest against Terleckas's arrest; he agreed that certain ideas in it were anti-Soviet; he had mentioned the letter marking the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in his protest because he had connected Terleckas's activities with the letter; he did not know whether Terleckas had produced it. He himself had produced Documents 13 and 15-17 of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group (No. 13 about Gajauskas; No. 16 on persecution of Lithuanians in the Soviet Army); he knew nothing about No. 14. The press conference at Ragaišiene's flat had been organized by Cherepanov. The only item in the indictment which he did not deny was *Vytis*: he had read the underground press and wished to try his hand at journalistic pursuits.

Speaking as a witness, *Sasnauskas's* mother described him as a good, decent lad. In secondary school he had suffered for his convictions (*Chronicle* 43). The letter about Petkus had been given to her to read by her son, the one about Ragaišis by Šakalys. Her son had told her that the press conference had also been attended by Soviet officials. Terleckas's wife said that she knew nothing about the materials confiscated in the search of July 1977, and that it was Jokubynas who had cleaned up the barn.

In the pre-trial investigation the retired teacher Šerkšnys from Alytus testified that he had given Terleckas the text of a speech he had made at the grave of Father Gustaitis; while he was in Vilnius visiting Petruškevičiene he had met Terleckas at her home and the latter had shown him *Vytis*, which contained his speech under the title 'Discrimination Against the Memory of Father Gustaitis in

Lazdijai'; at the same place, he had received the letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. This evidence was read out at the trial. Šerkšnys testified at the trial that he did not remember who had given him *Vytis*, and had found the letter about the pact in his jacket pocket.

Terleckas's neighbour, *S. Petruškevičiene*, testified that while in Poland she had read an article about the situation of Lithuanian Catholics in Seinai. She had given this article to Terleckas and apparently the same article had appeared in *Vytis* No. 1. Terleckas then said that he had not received anything from Petruškevičiene.

Mažukna, a worker from Kaunas, testified that he had seen the letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact for the first time at an interrogation, and that he had not given his consent to anyone to sign it with his name.

V. Bastys of Vilnius stated that the accused had not asked him to sign anything. He had not seen Document No. 14 of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group; he had agreed on principle to sign a protest against the sentence of Ragaišis. He had not seen the letter to the Minister of Health and did not know who wrote it. He had not seen the letter about the monument to Vytautas and did not know who wrote it, but agreed with the ideas in it; he could not remember giving his assent to anyone to sign his name to it, but it was possible that he had. He had spoken with someone about the letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Pact; his interlocutor had probably understood him to mean that he agreed to sign the letter. (Bastys's evidence of the pre-trial investigation was read out: 'He found out about the existence of the document in conversations with Terleckas and Sasnauskas. He did not agree to sign it and it was wrongly signed with his name.') He had taken part in the press conference, where he was present by chance; no anti-Soviet views had been expressed there. (Again the record of his interrogation in the pre-trial investigation was read out: 'At the beginning of the press conference Terleckas greeted the correspondents on behalf of the dissidents of Lithuania and talked about the occupation of Lithuania and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Sasnauskas talked about problems on the theological seminary and the situation of believers.'))

A former co-worker of Terleckas, *Pečiulis*, employed by the State Academic Opera and Ballet Theatre of the Lithuanian SSR (Terleckas had worked there as a fireman), testified that Terleckas had suggested that he listen to radio broadcasts from the Vatican. Terleckas was disposed against the Soviet regime. Another employee of the same theatre, *Žedunas*, said that Terleckas had suggested he write a description of his life (Žedunas had been imprisoned and later exculpated).

V. Abraitis, a doctor from Jurbarkas, testified that he had seen Terleckas when the latter had come and asked him to leave

Paškauskiene alone and to stop summoning her for psychiatric examination.

Father Laurinavičius, a member of the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights, said that he knew both the accused (Sasnauskas to a lesser extent) and knew that they were guilty of nothing. Sasnauskas had brought him Documents 15 and 16 of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, which he had not signed.

Angele Ragaišiene handed flowers to Terleckas as she entered the courtroom. To a question about the press conference in her flat she replied that guests had dropped in for ten minutes.

I. Žukovskis (*Chronicle 50*) testified in Latvian, with the help of two interpreters. He said that he had met Terleckas in Riga in 1976 and there had been no talk of the Pact then. The letter about the fortieth anniversary had been brought and left with him by some woman, and he had signed it.

Tučkus (*Chronicle 47*), a first-year student at Vilnius University, went up to the accused and shook hands with each of them before taking his place. He refused to sign the warning about prosecution for refusing to give evidence and for false evidence. Tučkus said he knew nothing about any anti-Soviet activities by the accused. In reply to Sasnauskas's question he confirmed that they had written the letter of 1977 about military service under the influence of KGB threats.

The evidence was read out of Lithuanian Helsinki Group member O. Lukaškaite-Poškienė (Sasnauskas had brought her Group documents, but she had not signed them) and of Father N. Norkunas (an unknown man had brought him the letter about the Pact, which Norkunas had not signed; Norkunas had recognized Terleckas from a photograph shown to him).

The Judge remarked that Terleckas had not kept the promise not to act against the Soviet system which he had given in 1977 (*Chronicle 47*). The Procurator told Terleckas that the fact that he had promised to cease his activities meant that such activities had taken place. Terleckas replied that the explanation he had written at the time had been rejected and, as he was very tired, he had signed a text which was given to him.

Terleckas pleaded guilty in part: he had taken the statement to Jurbarkas, he had gone to the press conference knowing that there would be an agent provocateur, and had taken notes on the trial of Ragaišis. Sasnauskas said that he evaluated his open letters critically: perhaps some of them were too sharp and subjective. He fully admitted to being guilty of publishing *Vytis*. At one time his ideal had been to be a fighter like Petkus and Terleckas, then he had developed his own convictions. Terleckas had not had an important influence on him.

In his speech the Procurator suggested that the charges against Terleckas of publishing *Vytis* Nos. 2 and 3, and of producing the letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Pact be withdrawn for lack of proof. He also suggested that in the formula describing the aim of the accused's activities — 'undermining the Soviet system' — the word 'undermining' be replaced with 'weakening', as the Soviet system was not so weak that Terleckas and Sasnauskas could undermine it. The Procurator asked that Terleckas be sentenced to six years' labour camp and five years' exile, and Sasnauskas to four years' labour camp and three years' exile.

The lawyer Kudaba thanked the court for its attentive examination of the case. Terleckas had pleaded guilty in part. He was evidently the sort of person who, having lived half his life, would turn round and see that he had rushed about searching without finding anything. Kudaba hoped that his client would fully realize his guilt, and asked the court to take into consideration Terleckas's large family and mitigate punishment.

The lawyer Aperaitis also thanked the court. He talked about people who sold themselves to foreign capital, about wild-eyed youths running around the streets telling adults how to live, and about reactionary clergy. Sasnauskas was still young: there was still time for him to reform. And if he did not reform, he would appear in the dock again. Aperaitis asked the court to take into account Sasnauskas's poor health and mitigate punishment.

In his final speech Terleckas said that he admitted his guilt in failing to keep his word, and asked the court to consider his large family and impose a shorter sentence. He promised not to engage in any such activities in future. Sasnauskas said in his final speech: 'All my life I have searched for the truth; perhaps I have not always been right. I have always tried to help people.' He said that he did not renounce his intention of studying, that he wished to dedicate his abilities to his Motherland and to people, and asked the court to allow him the opportunity of doing so. He asked the court again not to blame anyone else for what he had done: he himself was responsible for everything.

The judgment referred to the evidence of witnesses Abraitis, Bastys, Šerkšnys, Norkunas, Petruškevičienė and Cherepanov. The court, taking into account the fact that the accused had pleaded guilt in part and promised not to engage in anti-Soviet activities in future, and considering Sasnauskas's youth and state of health (he has an inter-spinal osteochondrosis of the chest region and a deformed spondylosis of the lumbar region of his spine) sentenced Terleckas to three years' strict-regime camp and five years' exile, and Sasnauskas to one and a half years' strict-regime camp and five years' exile. The court passed a separate resolution to inform the rectorate of Vilnius University of

the unseemly conduct of the student Tučkus.

* * *

Only close relatives of the accused were allowed into the courtroom, after showing their passports. The courtroom entrance was guarded by KGB agents under the command of Major Kalakauskas and a police detachment. The entire operation was led by the Deputy Chief of the Operations Department of the Lithuanian KGB, Lieutenant-Colonel Česnavičius. For the first two days the courtroom was full of KGB agents from all over Lithuania; for the remaining days it was half empty. In reply to a polite request for permission to enter the half-empty courtroom, a KGB agent told **R. Ragaišis** (trial — *Chronicle 54*); he was released at the end of his term in July: 'We won't let you in if we don't feel like it, and anyway I don't like your face.' On the first day of the trial the indictment was relayed to the foyer, where thirty friends and acquaintances of the accused were listening. The Judge confiscated notes on the final speeches from Terleckas's wife and Sasnauskas's sister.

The Trial of Barladyanu

From 11 to 13 August the trial of Vasily Vladimirovich Barladyanu (born 1942) took place in Rovno. Barladyanu's defence counsel was the barrister A. S. Krinitsyn from Odessa. About thirty witnesses — Barladyanu's fellow-camp inmates — were questioned at the trial. Barladyanu was sentenced under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code) to three years' strict-regime camp (strict, because he had previously served a sentence of imprisonment — *Chronicle 46*). His previous sentence had ended on 1 March (*Chronicle 56*).

The Trial of Olga Matusevich

On 26 August Olga Dmitrievna Matusevich (born 1953) was sentenced under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code) to three years' ordinary-regime camp. Even her parents did not find out about the trial until after it was over. O. Matusevich arrived in camp at the following address: 270059, Odessa-59, uchr. YuG-311/74. O. Matusevich was arrested on 12 March (*Chronicle 56*). She is the wife of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Nikolai Matusevich (trial — *Chronicle 49*).

The Trial of Stus

In the summer searches in connection with the case of Stus (*Chronicle 57*) were carried out at the homes of exiles **Evgeny Sverstyuk** (*Chronicles 52, 55, 56*) and **Alexander Sergienko** (*Chronicles 52, 54, 55*). Letters were confiscated. On 26 June Stus's investigator, KGB Major A. V. Selyuk, interrogated the wife of Yury Badzė (trial — *Chronicle 55*), **Svetlana Kirichenko** (*Chronicles 54, 55*); the official reason for the interrogation was that in a search of Stus's home copies of his letters from camp and exile in Kirichenko's handwriting had been confiscated.

On 4 August a search was conducted at **R. Rudenko's** home in connection with Stus's case. N. Rudenko's camp poetry, which had evaded the censorship, a typewriter and a notebook were confiscated. On 7 August KGB Investigator N. P. Tsimokh (*Chronicles 45, 53*) interrogated R. Rudenko in connection with Stus's case. She testified that she had seen Stus once, at a New Year's celebration she had liked him very much; he was a brilliant poet; he had not conducted any 'anti-Soviet' or 'slandorous' conversations while she was there.

On 17 August Investigator Katalikov of the Moscow KGB (*Chronicle 54*) interrogated Moscow resident **N. P. Lisovskaya** (*Chronicle 54*) in connection with Stus's case. One of his questions was: 'Did you ask Stus to send to your address his statement of 19 November 1979 to the USSR Procuracy concerning N. A. Gorbali?' (trial — *Chronicle 56*); the reply was negative.

* * *

From 29 September to 2 October the Kiev City Court, presided over by P. I. Feshchenko, heard the case of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Vasily Semënovich Stus (born 1938), charged under article 62, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). The prosecutor was Procurator Arzhanov. Despite Stus's protests and refusals, the appointed defence counsel, lawyer V. V. Medvedchuk (*Chronicle 55*) appeared at the trial.

Stus was arrested on 17 May (*Chronicle 57*). During the pre-trial investigation Stus did not give any evidence. Stus was charged with his letters to Sakharov, Lukyanenko, Grigorenko and Kiev friends, with a statement to the Procuracy concerning Gorbali, with poetry and 'oral agitation'.

On 25 September (Thursday) Stus's wife Valentina Popelyukh telephoned Selyuk, but he did not tell her anything about her husband's trial. Late in the evening of 30 September Mikhailina Kotsyubinskaya (*Chronicles 45, 46, 48, 49*), Svetlana Kirichenko and Evgeny Sverstyuk's wife V. Andrievskaya were issued with summonses to appear as witnesses at the trial on 1 October. It was only from them

that Popelyukh discovered that her husband's trial was already in progress, but even on 1 October she was not allowed into the courtroom.

Speaking at the trial, **Kotsyubinskaya** called Stus a man with a conscience laid bare, incapable of ignoring the slightest injustice. 'One rarely meets such people, and I am glad that fate brought Stus and me together. I have much to thank him for in my life.' To the Judge's question: What could she say about Stus's statement to the Procuracy concerning Gorbali (in this Stus demanded that a case be instituted against the organizers of a cynical provocation), Kotsyubinskaya replied that this statement strikingly confirmed her description of Stus's character: she too had been convinced of Gorbali's innocence, but she had only grieved over the injustice committed, while Stus's reaction was immediate and sharp.

Kotsyubinskaya refused to comply with the Judge's request for her evaluation of a letter Stus had written in 1977 to Kiev from his place of exile (in this Stus wrote about his wish to join the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, urged people not to fear a tank even though it might mercilessly crush every living thing in its path, and described the line of conduct he would adopt at his forthcoming trial: he would demand the presence of representatives of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, failing which he would not take part in the trial, but would simply dot the i's in a final speech, when he would speak as a son of his people, which lived in the terrible conditions of a spiritual ghetto), as she was looking not at the original letter, but a copy (the 'case file' contains only a copy of the letter, rewritten in Kirichenko's hand-writing).

In reply to defence counsel's request for a description of Stus's political views Kotsyubinskaya noted the profound humanitarianism and democratism of his views; superficial nationalism was totally alien to him; however, if one understood nationalism in the sense that 'one cannot love mankind without first loving one's own mother', then that was true of Stus; Stus was painfully aware of all the evils of the nation's life and spoke out against them plainly and sharply.

Stus Does the witness know that the Declaration of Human Rights includes the right to hold one's own views?

Kotsyubinskaya Yes.

Stus Does the witness know about the inviolability of private correspondence?

Kotsyubinskaya Yes.

Stus Does the witness know that Christina Bremer (Stus was charged with a letter addressed to her; the indictment stated that he 'corresponded with a nationalist from West Germany') is a member of Amnesty International? Could she be a nationalist?

Kotsyubinskaya As for nationalism — that's absurd. I understand

now why the investigator at the pre-trial investigation did not want to write down the fact that Christina Bremer is a member of the German Socialist Party.

Stus Does the witness know that during the pre-trial investigation, on 8 August, I was subjected to physical torture? He did it (Stus pointed at the Deputy Head of the KGB Investigations Prison standing by the door).

Kotsyubinskaya I did not know that. But if Stus says so, then it's true.

Kotsyubinskaya then described the difficult conditions in which Stus had lived in exile: he was made to live in a hostel, surrounded by drunkards.

The Judge interrupted her and said that these people were present in the courtroom (several people from Matrosovo settlement, Magadan Region, where Stus had served his exile, had been summoned to the trial to testify to his 'oral agitation'); let her not slander the working class. Afterwards one of the Magadan witnesses was asked whether it was true that Stus's neighbour, while drunk, had urinated in his teapot. The witness replied that he had not been present when it happened, but that there was in fact urine in the teapot. After the questioning was over, Kotsyubinskaya was forced to leave the courtroom.

At the beginning of her interrogation **Kirichenko** asked the Judge: 'I request the court to ask Stus whether he considers this trial legal.'

Stus I do not.

Kirichenko In that case I refuse to take part in the trial.

In reply to the Procurator's demand that charges be brought against her for refusing to give evidence, and to similar threats from the Judge, Kirichenko said: 'I will testify at a trial where Vasily Stus will be prosecutor, not sitting in the dock', and left the courtroom.

Andrievskaya was asked about Stus's letter from exile (see above). She replied that she had read only the part of the letter addressed directly to her.

The following residents of Matrosovo settlement were questioned as witnesses of Stus's 'oral agitation': the director of the mine where Stus worked, the head of the personnel office of the mine, Sharikov, several workers who lived in the same hostel, a nurse from the hospital where Stus was a patient, and some salesgirls.

The Procurator's speech lasted over two hours. At first he listed the achievements of Soviet Ukraine, which Stus had blackened, then he spoke of the crimes of the Banderaites and the Organization Ukrainian Nationalists,¹⁰ and finally listed Stus's 'crimes': the letter from exile, the statement on Gorbali's case, the letters to Christina Bremer, A. Horbatsch and H. Horbatsch (in West Germany),¹⁷ to A. D. Sakharov, L. Lukyanenko and P. G. Grigorenko (the case file

contained Xerox copies of the letters) and the main crime — his oral agitation in exile.

The lawyer said in his speech that all Stus's crimes warranted punishment, but asked the court to take into consideration the fact that, while working in enterprises in Kiev in 1979-80, Stus had fulfilled his norm; in addition, he had undergone a serious stomach operation. After the lawyer's speech the court session was cut short.

On 2 October the session began with the reading of the judgment (Stus was thus deprived of the final speech to which he was entitled by law). At this session, in addition to the 'special public', V. Popelyukh, her sister and Rita Dovgan were admitted. On the morning of 2 October Kirichenko was summoned to a police station in connection with 'parasitism' (she had not been working for three and a half months; according to the law prosecution begins at four months) and detained until the end of the court session. The court gave Stus the maximum sentence: ten years' strict-regime camp and five years' exile; in addition, the court imposed court costs of 2,300 roubles on Stus (mostly for the transportation of the Magadan witnesses).

The Judge read out the judgment, mumbling so quickly that neither dates nor names of witnesses could be heard distinctly. After he had finished reading it, he said without a pause: 'The trial is over' and the 'special public' headed for the doors: 'Executioners! You haven't even let me make a final speech!' exclaimed Stus, and he quoted Lermontov: 'And all your black blood will never wash away the poet's righteous blood!' Stus looked very ill; his face was deathly pale. At a visit after the trial he told his wife that he would not last through such a sentence.

On 19 October A. Sakharov wrote an appeal:

In Defence of the Poet Vasily Stus

1980 was marked in our country by many unjust sentences and by persecution of human-rights activists. But even against this tragic background, the sentence of the Ukrainian poet Vasily Stus stands out by its inhumanity.

The judicial apparatus has functioned according to its inhuman laws and condemned a man to fifteen more years of suffering. And so a man's life has been irretrievably broken as a reprisal for elementary decency and nonconformism, for loyalty to his convictions, to his 'I'. Stus's sentence is a disgrace to the Soviet system of coercion.

I appeal to Vasily Stus's colleagues, to the poets and writers of the whole world, his academic colleagues, Amnesty International, everyone who values human dignity and justice, to speak out in Stus's defence. I appeal especially to the participants of the Madrid Conference ... Stus's sentence must be repealed, as must the

sentences of all those involved in the non-violent rights movement to defend the rule of law.

The Trial of Goncharov

A second examination held at the Serbsky Institute and headed by the Institute's Director G. V. Morozov ruled Viktor Goncharov responsible (*Chronicle* 56). On 3 and 4 October a Kirovograd Court heard the case of Viktor Mikhailovich Goncharov (born 1955), charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

Goncharov was charged with having conducted anti-Soviet conversations. Witnesses Larisa Kalyuzhnaya and Valery Sidnin, acquaintances of Goncharov's, confirmed that Goncharov had raised a toast 'To the national tragedy of the Russian people!' and condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. One of the witnesses was Glukhov, an assistant chief of the fire station where Goncharov worked.

Goncharov had wanted to be defended at his trial by the Voroshilovgrad lawyer N. Ya Nemirinskaya (*Chronicles* 53, 57), but Goncharov's mother in Voroshilovgrad was not able to engage Nemirinskaya, although she had agreed to defend him. In his speech a Kirovograd lawyer spoke of the merits of Goncharov's parents and their advanced age, of Goncharov's illness (tuberculosis) and of the positive character references about him from all his places of work. Goncharov was sentenced to three years' strict-regime camp. His sentence is reckoned from 23 July 1979 (*Chronicle* 54).

The Trial of Treskunov

On 2 June the Leningrad City Court, presided over by A. V. Karlov, heard the case of Abram Mendeleovich Treskunov, charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Treskunov was arrested on 13 March while attempting to enter a building where employees of foreign consulates in Leningrad live. A statement which he intended to send to the West was found on him.

He was also charged with writing 'slandorous documents' and anonymous letters (an article by V. Viktorov, 'The Lampoonist', published in *Leningradskaya Pravda* of 29 June, states that there are 100 of these letters), and sending them to government offices and editorial offices of newspapers and journals, and with writing eight 'anti-Soviet documents' containing, according to the judgment, 'demands to

remove the CPSU from the government of the country and to abolish general military conscription and the state monopoly of foreign trade'.

At his trial Treskunov expressed repentance. The court sentenced him to five years' imprisonment, suspended. Treskunov is 58. He is a veteran of the Great Patriotic War and has been awarded orders and medals. In 1947 he was admitted to the Party (he was expelled prior to his trial). Treskunov is a technical engineer and now works as a grinding machine operator.

The Trial of Goretoi

From 5 to 8 August the Krasnodar Territorial Court, presided over by Anokhina, heard the case of the presbyter of the Starotitarovskaya Pentecostal community, Bishop Nikolai Petrovich Goretoi (born 1921, arrested on 13 December 1979 — *Chronicle 55*), charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and article 227, part 1 ('Infringement of the person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites'; the first part is more serious than the second). The prosecutor was Deputy Procurator Sorokin of Krasnodar Territory; defence counsel was lawyer Merkureva.

His wife did not find out about the trial until the first witnesses were summoned on 6 August. She was not admitted to the courtroom: 'It is a closed trial and you have nothing to do there'. In fact it was officially an open trial. After giving evidence the witnesses were allowed to remain in the courtroom only until the next recess. All who wished were admitted for the reading of the judgment.

Goretoi was charged with helping to organize a Pentecostal emigration movement, producing 'statements on emigration', sending them abroad, with libellous statements' contained in them, and also with being the leader of an unregistered religious community. Goretoi pleaded not guilty.

In addition to believers from Starotitarovskaya, Batumi, Rostov, Cherkassy, Zhdanov, Bataisk and Rovno, the following were summoned as witnesses: the Chairman of the village soviet, Kirichenko, the headmaster of School No. 18, Kotov, and local policeman Moskalenko.

Goretoi was given the maximum sentence: seven years' strict-regime camp, three years' exile and confiscation of his property. At the end of September he was sent to a camp. He is serving his sentence in Perm Camp 37. Goretoi has 11 children and 29 grandchildren. One of his lungs is not functioning; his vision is +20.

The Trial of Markosyan

On 13 August the Tselinograd Regional Court, presided over by E. Kh. Dautova, heard the case of Razmik Markosyan (born 1949, arrested on 27 April — *Chronicle 57*), charged under article 170-1 of the Kazakh Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code) and article 198 ('escape from a place of exile ...'). The prosecutor was Procurator V. V. Vasilenko; defence counsel was the lawyer U. S. Khayauri.

Markosyan had previously been arrested in June 1974. He was then sentenced under article 65 of the Armenian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) and article 67 (= article 72) to four years' camp and two years' exile (*Chronicle 34*). Markosyan served his exile in Kenbidaik village, Kurgaldzhinsky District, Tselinograd Region (*Chronicle 51*). His term of exile expired on 2 June. On 27 April he was arrested in Tselinograd.

Under article 170-1 Markosyan was charged with three statements (two to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and one to the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet), which he had sent from camp back in 1977, with a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet sent in December 1978 from exile, and a letter to the USSR Procurator-General which was not sent, but found in a search on 28 April.

The judgment says that the statements to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet

contain deliberately false, slanderous fabrications defaming our Soviet political and social system, alleging in particular that in the USSR nations do not have the right of self-determination, that citizens are persecuted in their convictions, that the Constitution is violated ...

The letter to the Procurator-General

contains deliberately false assertions ... namely, that the foremost literary and artistic figures in the Ukrainian SSR have been arrested and are being held in places of detention for their convictions, that genocide of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is being committed in the USSR, and that human rights guaranteed by the Constitution are not being observed.

The judgment on this charge states that

R. G. Markosyan pleaded guilty (he denies this — *Chronicle*) and testified that the statements addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the USSR Procurator-General do in fact contain deliberately false ... However, these statements,

except for the one to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 10 December 1978, were written in place of detention where he was surrounded by people convicted for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and he did this under the influence of a camp milieu. The letter to the USSR Procurator-General was also written in places of detention and was kept as a rough draft with his personal belongings, which had been sent after him from his place of detention. R. G. Markosyan further stated that, after writing the letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet dated 10 December 1978, he had diverged from his former convictions and now does not consider himself a member of the so-called NUP (National United Party of Armenia — *Chronicle*).

Under article 170-1 Markosyan was also charged as follows:

While in Kenbidaik village, R. G. Markosyan orally circulated deliberately false ... asserting that the USSR is an aggressor, that it occupied Afghanistan, is carrying out aggressive policies with regard to Iran and intends to seize Middle Eastern oil, that there is no freedom of speech in the USSR, human rights are being violated and people are being persecuted for their convictions.

In the relevant section the judgment cites the evidence of witnesses V. N. Zlyuchy and D. M. Rizvanov. According to the judgment, Markosyan asserts that:

After 10 December 1978 he never called the USSR an aggressor, never circulated any information defaming ... never told Zlyuchy or Rizvanov this information.

A trip made by Markosyan to Tselinograd without a travel permit was what the court regarded as an escape from his place of exile (one month and six days before his term of exile ended!). According to the judgment, Markosyan stated at his trial that he

did not know that he needed a travel permit; on 27 April he left for Tselinograd with the oral permission of Bukshiev, the Deputy Head of the District OVD, who had on previous occasions given him oral permission to travel to Tselinograd.

The witness S. M. Taroyan confirmed that Markosyan had been given oral permission to travel to Tselinograd; witnesses S. B. Bukshiev and Sadvokasov denied it. According to the judgment:

the court gives preference to the evidence of witness of S. B. Bukshiev and Sadvokasov, and rejects the evidence of S. M. Taroyan, since S. M. Taroyan is an exile and his evidence ... is in the nature of a defence of R. G. Markosyan and defamation of police officers.

The judgment ends with the words:

The material evidence — A. D. Sakharov's book *My Country and the World* — is to be destroyed ...

The court sentenced Markosyan to three years' strict-regime camp (into which the remaining one month and six days of his exile are to be absorbed).

* * *

On 25 September the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 142 'On the Second Trial of Razmik Markosyan'.

The charge against Markosyan of intending to escape from his place of exile is simply absurd. A little over a month remained until he was legally entitled to return home. A mere infringement of the regulations governing exiles prescribed by the Corrective Labour Code has been construed as an escape. Without written permission from the police, Markosyan went by bus to Tselinograd for a few hours, without any intention of escaping.

... Thus the very text of the court's judgment establishes the fact that Markosyan was convicted for openly expressing complaints to Soviet institutions and his beliefs in conversations with private individuals. There are no other charges against him.

The Trial of Kuzkin

In April a commission consisting of three doctors from the Kashchenko [Mental] Hospital ruled Alexander Kuzkin (*Chronicle* 56) not responsible after half an hour [in Moscow's Butyrka Prison]. The diagnosis (schizophrenia) 'was established on the basis of a previous diagnosis in the Abramtsevo Psychiatric Hospital' (*Chronicles* 51, 53). Before the examination Kuzkin's mother was told at Petrovka 38 [Police HQ]: 'We'll give him a little treatment.'

In June Kuzkin's wife **Darya Krutilina** (she used to work as a Russian language teacher but left her school because of her religious convictions) went to the head of Butyrka Prison to petition for their marriage to be registered (they had been married in church and the registration of their civil marriage was to take place on 14 June). At first she was told that she must hand in a corresponding statement, then: 'You shouldn't marry him, he is seriously ill with schizophrenia.' The trial began on 11 August, but was postponed on the petition of his relatives, as the lawyer they had appointed was on vacation.

On 8 September the Moscow City Court, presided over by a Vice-Chairman of the Court, V. G. Romanov, heard the case 'for the use of compulsory medical treatment' on Kuzkin (born 1949), 'who has

committed socially dangerous acts specified in article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code'. The prosecutor was Procurator Zaitseva; defence counsel was the lawyer D. A. Kolchin.

The material evidence featured the following items found in Kuzkin's bag: six cans of paint, four stencils (one of them with the inscription 'Freedom for Sakharov!'), photocopies of an 'interpretation' of the number 666, poems by A. Senin and Father Dudko, and leaflets with the prayer 'People, pray for the whole world' (*Chronicle 57*).

The lawyer intended to call for a second psychiatric examination, this time in a hospital, but his parents did not give their assent, fearing new charges under article 70 of the Criminal Code. The court resolved to send Kuzkin to a Special Psychiatric Hospital for compulsory treatment. He was arrested on 26 March (*Chronicle 56*). On 22 October the USSR Supreme Court, having examined his appeal, left the resolution of the Moscow City Court in force. During the pre-trial investigation, a man calling himself a lawyer came several times to Krutilina; he gave her a note from her husband and repeatedly insisted that she send a reply back through him.

The Trial of Dyadkin and Gorbachëv

From 16 to 18 September the Kalinin Regional Court, presided over by A. N. Kiseleva, heard the case of Iosif Getselevich Dyadkin (born 1928, arrested on 25 April — *Chronicle 56*) and Sergei Maksimovich Gorbachëv (born 1952, arrested on 5 June — *Chronicle 57*), both charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator V. K. Sukhorukov; the defence counsels were lawyers V. S. Knyazeva and L. P. Gushchina.

According to the indictment, Dyadkin during the years 1976 to 1980 repeatedly circulated in oral and written form deliberately false fabrications defaming the Soviet state system. Thus, during the period 1976-80, Dyadkin repeatedly made public statements of a slanderous nature, defaming the Soviet political and social system, to employees of the Kalinin Branch of the All-Union Geophysical Research Institute: at political education seminars and in conversations with employees of the institute. Dyadkin's assertions can be summed up as follows:

The October Revolution and the Civil War resulted in unnecessary casualties and economic collapse. During collectivization the best part of the peasants were annihilated and agriculture virtually destroyed, and this is the cause of the difficulties in agriculture today. Socialism is a regime of coercion and mass destruction of peoples. The USSR's foreign policy before the Great Patriotic War led to

the outbreak of the war. Assistance to the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan and Angola is described by Dyadkin as aggression and occupation by the USSR, and is the cause of the 'cold war'. Dyadkin repeatedly stated that the rights and freedoms of the individual are restricted in the USSR. The official press lies and restricts and distorts information. In the summer of 1977, during discussions of the draft Constitution in political education seminars, in the laboratory and at a general assembly of the employees of the Institute in June 1977, Dyadkin stated that the draft Constitution restricted the rights and freedoms of the individual in the USSR, and that the draft contradicts the International Covenants on human rights; he then handed a libellous statement on this subject to those presiding at the assembly.

In 1976 Dyadkin wrote, copied on a typewriter and circulated in typed manuscript the pamphlet *The Silent Players*, containing libellous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system, and passed on the aforementioned pamphlet to citizen A. P. Lavut, residing in Moscow, and citizen Lozovsky, residing in Kalinin. In 1976-80 Dyadkin repeatedly brought up slanderous information from the pamphlet at political education seminars, in an Institute laboratory and in conversations with his fellow-employees. In addition, Dyadkin sent the above-mentioned pamphlet to be published abroad, where information from it is being used in bourgeois propaganda against the USSR.

In 1980 Dyadkin wrote, duplicated and circulated in typed form an article entitled 'On the Number of Don Inhabitants who Perished in 1917-20', which is of libellous content, and gave this pamphlet to citizens S. M. Gorbachëv and L. A. Lozovsky to read.

At the same time Dyadkin produced a photocopy of Bernshtam's libellous article in the *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* entitled 'The Different Sides in the Civil War of 1917-22'. In addition, during the period from 1976 to 1980 Dyadkin typed, with the intention of circulating, several articles of a libellous nature defaming the Soviet social and political system. Namely: the articles 'The Trial of Lubman', 'Contact with the KGB as a Psychosociological Phenomenon', 'Three Figures', 'Appeal of 8 December 1978', 'Story of a Cell-mate', and 'The Rearguard Battles of Marxism'. Dyadkin gave the article 'The Rearguard Battles of Marxism' to citizen S. M. Gorbachëv to read.

In January-February 1979 Dyadkin wrote and sent two libellous letters to the editors of the newspaper *Izvestia*: an 'Open Letter on the Article "Shame to the Defenders of Murders"' and 'An Open-as-Possible Letter' in which he defamed the work of state organs in connection with the explosions in the Moscow Metro.

In March 1979 Dyadkin refused to vote in the elections to the

USSR Supreme Soviet and, in reply to the request of the members of the election commission who visited him at home to explain his reasons for refusing, Dyadkin slandered the Soviet electoral system, defamed Party and government leaders, then wrote an explanation in which he again slandered the Soviet electoral system and defamed Party and government leaders.

Gorbachëv

received from an unidentified person the pamphlet *Non-political Letters*, containing deliberately false fabrications and defaming the Soviet political and social system, typed four copies and in autumn 1979 gave them to citizen Golitsyn to read, knowing their libellous content.

(The *Non-political Letters*, an article by P. Rastin from *Searches*, are reflections on the bringing up of children.)

Dyadkin and Gorbachëv, charged under article 190-1 and questioned as accused, pleaded not guilty. Dyadkin stated that he did not consider it a crime to circulate and receive this type of information. Dyadkin admitted the facts about his action in producing the pamphlets, but refused to answer questions concerning their circulation. The accused Gorbachëv admitted the fact that he had duplicated and given to citizen Golitsyn the pamphlet *Non-political Letters*, however, he denied that it contained libellous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system.

The fact that the pamphlet *Non-political Letters* was produced and circulated by S. M. Gorbachëv is confirmed by Gorbachëv's evidence, his own statement and the results of a technical examination, which show that the pamphlets were typed on Gorbachëv's typewriter. The witness Golitsyn, who received the above-mentioned pamphlet from Gorbachëv, refused to give evidence.

According to the results of a scholarly examination, the contents of the pamphlets and articles do not correspond to historical fact and contain slander of the state and social system of the USSR.

The experts were: the head of the Faculty of CPSU History at Kalinin University, Yu. N. Klimov, and lecturers of the same faculty A. I. Lukyanov, G. G. Pavlov and I. V. Spiridonov. Dyadkin's demographic works (*The Silent Players—Chronicle 45*, and 'On the Number of Don Inhabitants ...') were commented on by a Kalinin University professor, Doctor of Economics V. V. Petrov. He stated that although Dyadkin's original data did not raise any doubts, his method was scientifically unsound. The fact that for three periods Dyadkin had obtained figures approximating those published in the Soviet press (no information had been published on the other periods)

was dismissed by Petrov as pure coincidence. The expert concluded from this that Dyadkin's calculations represented a 'pseudo-scientific attempt to justify his libellous fabrications'. The other experts stated that the works by Dyadkin shown to them, and the other samizdat materials, contained deliberately false libellous fabrications, defaming the Soviet political and social system.

The Procurator spoke chiefly on the class war, on foreign radio-stations 'trumpeting Dyadkin's name', and the fact that 'one has the impression that someone is directing' the writing of works like Dyadkin's. Dyadkin's defence counsel, Knyazeva, said that according to all comments and references her client was a man of exceptional honesty and high principle, who enjoyed the respect of his colleagues. He was a serious scientist and the author of fifty published scientific works. She stated that, while she did not share Dyadkin's views, nevertheless she did not find any *corpus delicti* in the acts with which he was charged, as there had been no deliberate falsehood in this case: the accused had been sincerely convinced of the truth of his assertions. In this connection she cited the official 1971 commentary to article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, which states that a person can be charged under this article only if the accused circulated libellous fabrications knowing they were false. She asked that Dyadkin be acquitted.

In his final speech Dyadkin said that his conscience was clear, that the law was on his side, and that he demanded to be acquitted. Concerning a question from one of the assessors which hinted that his real motive might be emigration, he stated that he had no intention of leaving his country. In reply to the Prosecutor's words that 'people of his sort' do not feel 'quite themselves' in our country, he said that he felt 'quite himself everywhere in his homeland, including in prison'.

Gorbachëv's defence counsel, Gushchina, said that there was no *corpus delicti* in Gorbachëv's actions, in view of the absence of deliberate falsehood. To cite, as the Procurator had, the conclusions of experts was inadmissible, since the question of the presence of deliberate falsehood was a legal one, and the resolution of legal questions was not within the competence of the experts, and it was not permitted to ask them questions of this kind, which only the court was entitled to solve. She asked that Gorbachëv be acquitted.

Gorbachëv said that he had not noticed the libellous nature of the article by Rastin with which he was charged, and that he had realized that the article was libellous only after reading the conclusions of the expert, who had perceived in it 'a hidden call to undermine the Soviet system'.

As confirmation of 'Dyadkin's guilt the judgment cites the evidence of the witnesses Bazin, V. I. Sidelnikov, Yumatov, Gel, D. V. Belokon, V. I. Aksënov and A. P. Bukhanov (the first five are his colleagues at

work; the others are members of the election commission).
From the judgment:

The deliberate libel in Dyadkin's statements and articles is confirmed by his comments in confiscated exercise books and a notebook containing notes.

Gorbachëv's deliberate libel of the political and social system of the USSR regarding *Non-political Letters* may be seen from his 'rough plan' with notes beginning with the words: 'to demonstrate the bureaucratic police system in the USSR' (vol. 2 p. 349).

In view of these facts, the arguments of the accused denying that there is deliberate libel in the information they produced and circulated, which defames the Soviet political and social system, state organs and the electoral system, cannot be regarded as convincing. Dyadkin and Gorbachëv's assertions to this effect are inconsistent with their level of development and education, and Dyadkin's long experience of life.

The deliberate libel in the articles and pamphlets *The Silent Players*, 'On the Number of Don Inhabitants ...', *Non-political Letters* and the works of other authors, and their tendency, are sufficiently obvious.

The court sentenced Dyadkin to three years' and Gorbachëv to two years' ordinary-regime camp (the sentence demanded by the Procurator). The judgment also contains separate resolutions to institute criminal proceedings against the witnesses Golitsyn (*Chronicle* 57) and Lozovsky (*Chronicles* 56, 57) for refusing to give evidence, and to discuss at her place of work the behaviour of Zoya Gorbachëva, who refused to answer certain questions about her husband at the trial.

* * *

Friends who had gathered at the court were not admitted to the courtroom. The court, having fulfilled Dyadkin's request that his son and daughter be admitted to the courtroom, immediately afterwards fulfilled the Procurator's petition to summon his son as a witness (he was questioned last of all, having been nearly forgotten). The audience in the courtroom insulted the relatives of the accused; and insults were frequently shouted at the witnesses.

* * *

On 26 November the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 143, 'The Trial of Iosif Dyadkin and Sergei Gorbachëv'.

* * *

On 13 November the RSFSR Supreme Court examined the appeal of

Dyadkin and Gorbachëv. Their relatives were not admitted to the building — 'because of repairs'.

From Dyadkin's appeal:

I find the verdict of guilty in my case unjust on the following grounds:

(1) The court did not take into account circumstances of the case which justify me: I did not have the intention of defaming the political and social system ...

(2) I did not and do not have personal reasons to defame the political and social system ...

(3) It can be seen from my behaviour that not only did I have no intention of defaming the system, but I did not even attempt to impose or spread my humanitarian convictions, which I did not consider fully developed ...

(4) In the last decade since the 20th and 22nd CPSU Congresses, thanks to them and to subsequent events, I began to conceive a belief in the supreme value of moral categories such as kindness, humaneness, justice and sincerity, the inadmissibility of justifying inhumane phenomena by referring to the achievement of noble aims, the individual responsibility of each person vis-à-vis social norms (and for believers, before God), and the unacceptability of shifting the blame from particular leaders to the political and social system which they represent. I admitted at the trial that, having no experience of clearly expressing my thoughts on humanitarian matters (in addition to which I was busy before my arrest with intensive scientific and technical work), I made erroneous, inappropriately ironic, unreasoned statements, which were offensive to the social conventions of our society. I should not have done this, and I shall certainly not do so in future. However, these statements do not constitute a *corpus delicti* under article 190-1 of the Criminal Code, as they represent my personal convictions, which I did not attempt to impose on other people.

(5) An analysis of my unfinished notes *The Silent Players* and 'On the Number of Don Inhabitants ...' clearly shows that they consist chiefly in an application of the methods of mathematical statistics to demographic aspects of the mortality and birth rate of the population of the USSR ... As for the few humanitarian sentences between my calculations. I have already said that I am not satisfied with them and that I intend to alter them, to correct them and to cut some out altogether. Article 190-1 of the Criminal Code specifies deliberately false statements. But I was convinced at the time that the statements in my articles corresponded to reality.

(6) The judgment alleges that I said ... (see the first quotation

from the indictment above — *Chronicle*). In fact I said something different.

I condemned the sacrifice of human lives in general, as did Korolenko and Gorky during the Revolution and the Civil War, without in the least attempting to judge whether they were unnecessary; I condemned the Stalinist method of collectivization, which led to an increase in the mortality rate of the peasants — the providers of the nation's food — and a decrease in the level of agricultural production *per capita* of population, and not by any means the principle of collectivization; I condemned the methods of Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung and Pol Pot, which led to massive casualties among the population, and not socialism, which I do not consider in any way to blame; I spoke about my failure to understand why troops were sent to Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, and about the erroneous foreign policy of both the USSR and Britain and France, but did not say that their mistakes led to the war, which, as we all know, was started by Hitler; I spoke about the doubts which arose in me because the draft Constitution did not formulate any right even slightly similar in its terms and ideas to article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ...

The court left the sentence unchanged.

The Trial of Davydov

On 18 and 19 September the Kuibyshev Regional Court, presided over by V. M. Mitin, heard the case 'for the use of compulsory medical treatment' on Viktor Viktorovich Davydov (born 1956, arrested on 28 November 1979 — *Chronicle* 55), 'charged with socially dangerous acts specified in article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code'. Davydov, having been ruled mentally ill by a commission, was not present in the courtroom. Procurator V. A. Korostelev and the lawyer V. N. Tershukov took part in the trial. All those who wished were admitted to the courtroom. From the resolution of the court (orthography and syntax of the original):

V. V. Davydov, also known as V. V. Ryzhov, being negatively disposed towards Soviet reality, produced, using tape-recordings of extracts of Solzhenitsyn's book *The Gulag Archipelago* broadcast by Western radio-stations, typed texts and circulated them among persons of his acquaintance. In the same way he produced and circulated a broadcast interview of V. Maksimov and four articles from the collection *From Under the Rubble*.¹⁸

In connection with the above-mentioned actions Davydov was summoned to the offices of the Committee of State Security [KGB]

in Kuibyshev Region so that prophylactic measures could be taken with regard to him. However, Davydov did not draw the right conclusions, did not hand over his negative literature to the KGB organs, nor did he cease his acts of circulation.

Davydov formed a group of negatively disposed young people around himself. At the end of 1975 he established a close relationship with Bebko, Bogomolov, Gabdrakipov and Loshkarev, and, having made the acquaintance of Kalyagina, Samuseva and Gelmanova, fostered in them a negative attitude towards the Soviet political and social system.

For this reason, on 12 May 1976 Davydov was issued an official warning, based on the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 25 December 1972,¹⁹ that if he continued to engage in acts forbidden by law and contrary to the interests of state security of the USSR, then his actions would lead to crimes liable to prosecution.

On 28 November 1979 at a search of V. V. Davydov's flat the following books were found and confiscated: *New Journal* [*Novyi zhurnal*] No. 93, Yu. Annenkov's *Diary of My Meetings*, published in New York, and the book *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* No. 114, published in Paris, as well as nine copies of an unfinished typed text, *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism*, 140 pages long, and five copies of a typed text entitled *There Will Be No Second Coming*, containing libel against the Soviet political and social system. At the same time an 'Erika' typewriter was confiscated.

On 12 March 1980, at a search of the flat of witness N. V. Romanova, Davydov's so-called 'archive', which he had given to her for safekeeping shortly before his arrest, was found and confiscated. Among the documents in Davydov's 'archive' were found dissident and negative literature, including the *Chronicle of Current Events*, *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism*, a significant number of Davydov's manuscripts containing libel against the Soviet political and social system, including Davydov's manuscript of *There Will Be No Second Coming* and an elaboration of various themes related to the typed works called *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism* (vol. 2 pp. 128-154).

Davydov's authorship, production and circulation of the typed works entitled *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism* and *There Will Be No Second Coming* is corroborated by the results of a graphological examination showing that the author of the rough drafts of the above-mentioned works is V. V. Davydov, and the results of a technical examination showing that the above-mentioned works were typed on an 'Erika' and an 'Optima-Elektrik 202' at his former place of work in a dispensary for skin and venereal diseases.

According to the results of a socio-political expert examination both typed works entitled *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism* and *There Will Be No Second Coming* constitute a gross falsification of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state and its class character and structures. They expound the theories of several bourgeois authors, including the rabid anti-Communist and anti-Sovietist Z. Brzezinski, in defence of the bourgeois state and the capitalist system. The works, according to the conclusions of expert Kudinov, contain lies and libel against the socialist planned economy, the collective farm system, socialist culture, and the growth of the prosperity and culture of Soviet people, as well as cynicism and mockery of patriotic Soviet people and their ideological convictions, gross falsification of Marxist-Leninist teaching on Communism, the peace-loving Soviet foreign policy and the spread and growth of socialist democracy in conditions of developed socialism, and exaggeration of the role and significance of bourgeois democracy (vol. 2 p. 302).

The fact that V. V. Davydov committed socially dangerous acts is corroborated by the evidence of witnesses Bekker and Konstantinov, who testified that they had read Davydov's work *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism* on Zelenky Island and that they had received and read the two typed works 'Open Letter to Stalin', signed by F. Raskolnikov, and 'Letter to the Soviet Government', signed M. Bulgakov, given to B. V. Zubakhin by Davydov and subsequently found at Konstantinov's home. These two documents were confiscated from him during a search.

The witness M. V. Mukhin confirmed that during repairs in his flat he had found manuscripts of works of anti-Soviet content in his daughter Olga's room. His daughter had explained to him that these works were by V. V. Davydov, who had asked her to correct grammatical and stylistic errors in the manuscript.

The witness Konstantinov confirmed that he shared many of Davydov's views on contemporary life in Soviet society, and stressed negative aspects of of life. The same was confirmed at the trial by the witness Romanov, who explained that Davydov's 'archive' had in fact been kept for some time in their flat, as he had found out later from his wife.

The witness M. V. Mukhin confirmed the harmful influence of Davydov's 'ideas' on his daughter Olga, who, having graduated from the State University, was now demoralized and unable to cope with life. Davydov had previously, in 1977, committed socially dangerous acts covered by articles 206, part 2 and 191-1, part 2 of the Criminal Code, but, in view of the fact that he was ruled not responsible by a forensic psychiatric commission, the case had been closed (vol. 1 pp. 283-8, 289). A commission of psychiatric experts recommended that Ryzhov-Davydov undergo treatment in a psy-

chiatric hospital in his home town, as an ordinary patient.

In view of Davydov's continuation of his socially dangerous acts, an in-patient forensic psychiatric examination was carried out in connection with the case at the Serbsky Central Institute of Forensic Psychiatry (pp. 21-25, vol. 2). V. V. Davydov, who suffers from emotional and volitional disorders, a tendency to philosophize and a decline of his critical faculties with regard to the acts with which he is charged, was again ruled not responsible. Because he is especially socially dangerous, he must be sent for compulsory treatment to a psychiatric hospital of special type.

The Procurator said that Davydov's acts represented a grave danger to society; he could not be put in an ordinary psychiatric hospital, as he would have the opportunity there to continue spreading his views. The Procurator submitted a petition to institute criminal proceedings against Olga Mukhina, who had renounced her evidence against Davydov and failed to appear at the trial.

Defence counsel said that those patients were put in an SPH whose actions were judged especially dangerous to society. It would be politically incorrect to put Davydov in an SPH, as his works and views did not represent an especial danger to society and the State, and consisted merely in clumsy paraphrases of bourgeois ideologists. 'The State needn't fear the ravings of a lunatic, to put it in plain Russian,' said the lawyer. The court sent Davydov to an SPH for compulsory treatment.

* * *

After the trial was over G. Konstantinov (*Chronicle 55*) beat up his wife O. Mukhina and Davydov's wife, L. Davydova, breaking the latter's arm. At a police station he explained the incident by saying that he did not share their views. The explanation was considered perfectly adequate and Konstantinov was released.

* * *

Davydov is being held in Kazan SPH.²⁰

[Corrigenda to the English Edition

Chronicles 55-6: illustration 10: 'Left to right' should read 'Right to left'. Also, P. Egides does not appear in this group; the man standing first right is not known.

Chronicle 57: page 62, 126: Ješmantas should read Iešmantas.]

Endnotes

1. More probably correct is Nemakhmetova.
2. Rudenko (see *Chronicles* 24, 27), who was much respected by dissenters, died of cancer in about 1977.
3. For an analysis of this key document see S. Bloch and P. Reddaway, *Russia's Political Hospitals*, chapter 6.
4. On these early years see M. Bourdeaux, *Patriarch and Prophets*.
5. Address: 3101 Washington St, San Francisco, California 94115, USA.
6. Andrei Vyshinsky (1883-1955) was a jurist who gave a legal façade to parts of Stalin's tyranny. Trofim Lysenko (b. 1898) was an agricultural biologist, dictator of Soviet biology, and a charlatan.
7. In December 1980 Sorokin was given one year, but was freed in March 1981 after an appeal court changed the sentence to one year of correctional tasks and loss of 20% of his salary.
8. On this Decree see *Chronicle* 32, pp. 64-67.
9. *Ocherki rastushchei ideologii (Antigelbreit)*, Echo Press, A. Neimanis Buchvertrieb, Bauerstr. 28, 8 Munich 40, 1974, 271 pp.
10. On 19 May 1947, according to C. Lubarsky's list of Soviet prisoners.
11. A chapter from a short novel by Soviet writer Fazil Iskander, *Sandro iz Chegema*, Ardis, Michigan, 1979.
12. Volodya is an affectionate form of Vladimir, Serëzha of Sergei, and Tanka and Tanechka of Tatyana.
13. Respectively Lert, Yakovlev, Egides, Pavlovsky, Gershuni, Sorokin and Grimm.
14. Kharmis was a poet of the early Soviet period who had difficulty with the censorship.
15. According to another source, on 16 April 1935.
16. Stepan Bandera was a leader of the OUN, which fought an armed struggle against the Soviet regime in the years 1944-53.
17. Evidently the prosecutor was referring in fact to only one person, Anna-Halya Horbatsch.
18. Edited by A. Solzhenitsyn.
19. See note 8 above.
20. Transferred in November 1980 to Blagoveshchensk SPH near the Pacific.

Bibliographical Note

The original Russian texts of *Chronicle* 58, of which this book is a translation, appeared as a booklet without annotations, *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Khronika Press, New York, 1980.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* are available in English from two main sources. Numbers 16-56 have been published by Amnesty International Publications with annotations and indexes of names, all issues except number 16 being still in print (see inside back cover). Numbers 1-11 appeared in full, with annotations and 76 photographs, in Peter Reddaway's *Uncensored Russia: the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union*. London and New York, 1972.

Future issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* will be published in English by Amnesty International Publications as they become available.

The most comprehensive source of current, up-to-date information on the sort of events reported with some delay by the *Chronicle* is the fortnightly *USSR News Brief: Human Rights* edited by Dr Cronid Lubarsky and available from *Cahiers du Samizdat*, 48 rue du Lac, 1050 Brussels, Belgium. This address provides the English and Russian editions. In addition, a Japanese edition is available from the Soviet Coordination Group of Amnesty International, 2-3-22 Nishi-Waseda, Shinjuku-ju, Tokyo 160, Japan; a Dutch edition from Stichting Comité V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands; and a German edition from GFM, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/Main 1, Germany. A French edition is planned. (Dr Lubarsky has featured in many issues of the *Chronicle* since 1972, where his name is spelled Kronid Lyubarsky. He emigrated in 1977.)

A similar publication, but specializing on the Ukraine, is *Herald of Repression in Ukraine*, edited by former prisoner of conscience Nadia Svitlychna and available monthly from: P.O. Box 770, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003, USA.

Many texts referred to briefly in the *Chronicle* have appeared in full in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018, quarterly (separate Russian and English editions), and (documents of Helsinki groups) in the volumes listed in endnote 2 of *Chronicles* 43-5. *The Samizdat Bulletin*, P.O. Box 6128, San Mateo, California 94403, USA, monthly, is also a useful source, as are, for Ukrainian Helsinki Group documents, several booklets published in English by Smoloskyp Publishers, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Maryland 21043, USA. In French the best source of samizdat texts is *Cahiers du Samizdat*, 48 rue du Lac, 1050 Brussels, Belgium, monthly; in German: *Samizdat: Stimmen aus dem 'anderen Russland'*, Kuratorium Geistige Freiheit, Postfach 277, 3601 Thun, Switzerland (12 occasional vols to date), and *Menschenrechte-Schicksale-Dokumente*, Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/M, Germany, bimonthly; in Italian: *Russia Cristiana*, via Matinengo 16, 20139 Milan, Italy, bimonthly; and in Dutch: *Rusland Bulletin*, Fijnje van Salverdastraat 4, Amsterdam-W, Netherlands, bimonthly, and the

series *Rusland Cahiers*, Stichting Comité V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands.

For information on persecution of religious believers see the fortnightly *Keston News Service*, and for religious texts see *Religion in Community Lands*, BR2 6BA, UK. For Jewish information and texts see *Jews in the USSR*, 31 Percy Street, London W1P 9FG, England, weekly. London W1P 9FG, England, weekly.

For Lithuanian texts see translated issues of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* (published as booklets), 351 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn, New York 11207, USA; also translations of this and other Lithuanian samizdat in *ELTA*, 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW, suite 2, Washington D.C. 20009, USA.

Other books and periodicals in which readers can find more details about many of the people mentioned in the *Chronicle* are listed in the annotated bibliographies in the Amnesty International editions of numbers 22-23 and 27, and also appear in the endnotes in each volume.

A Note on Photographs

Over 800 photos have been published in the English editions of the *Chronicle*. They comprise photos of individuals, labour camps, prisons, psychiatric institutions, other buildings, facsimiles of documentary material and groups of people. An alphabetical index to the first 700 photos appeared as a special supplement at the end of the English edition of *Chronicle* 54.

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A Chronicle of Current Events is the journal of the movement for the defence of human rights in the USSR. In spite of KGB attempts to suppress it, the journal is still regularly produced in typescript samizdat inside the Soviet Union and circulated on the chain letter principle.

Chronicle 58 is devoted exclusively to some of the major trials which took place between 2 June and 9 October 1980. Among those tried were:

- leading human rights activists Tatyana Velikanova and Vyacheslav Bakhmin; Tatyana Velikanova was in particular charged with being an editor of *Chronicle of Current Events*;
 - prominent religious figures: the Pentecostalist Nikolai Gorelov and among the Russian Orthodox Lev Regelson, Gleb Yakunin, Viktor Kapitanchuk and Alexander Ogorodnikov;
 - the editorial board of the unofficial journal *Poisk* ('Searches');
 - human and national rights activists from the non-Russian republics: the Lithuanians Antanas Terleckas and Julius Sasnauskas and the Ukrainians Vasily Stus and Olga Marusevich.
- Other trials reported took place in Leningrad and the provincial cities of Kalinin, Kuibyshev and Kirovograd.

With its scope, detail and accuracy, *A Chronicle of Current Events* remains the most important source of information on the violation of human rights in the Soviet Union today.

Great services have been rendered by the editors of the *Chronicle of Current Events*. The history of the *Chronicle* is the history of a total moral defeat for the authorities.

BY ANDRZEJ NIKITAJCZAK

The *Chronicle* has maintained an astonishing level of accuracy. Notwithstanding ten years of constant KGB harassment and the arrest or exiling abroad of more than a hundred of its editors, correspondents, distributors and couriers, it has held with quiet courage and tenacious integrity to the highest journalistic standards of objectivity.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

All these years the *Chronicle* has heroically resisted the tyranny and provocation of the authorities, incurring very heavy losses in the process. It is impossible to overestimate the educative importance of the *Chronicle*, which by its integrity has influenced everyone in the human rights movement and also numerous other readers in the USSR and abroad.

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