A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

Nr 54

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR

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Publications

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A Chronicle of Current Events
Number 54

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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.

Note on Transliteration

It is always problematic what to do in English with the Russian letter 'ё'. Hitherto it has sometimes transliterated as 'yo', sometimes as 'e'. In future 'ё' will mostly be used, so that, for example, 'Kovalyov' will become 'Kovalëv' and 'Pyotr' will become 'Pëtr'. In *Chronicle* 55 the transition should be completed.

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* 54, is, like previous ones, a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text (which reached London on 9 June 1980). 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 August 1980

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 54 **15 November 1979**

Contents

1 November: the arrest of Tatyana Velikanova and Gleb Yakunin. Arrests, searches, interrogations. Trials: G. Mikhailov, Ermolayev and Polyakov, Nikitin, Rossiisky. In the prisons and camps. In exile. In the psychiatric hospitals. After release. Persecution of Crimean Tatars. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of believers. The right to leave. More about the *Metropol* almanac. Miscellaneous reports. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Addenda and corrigenda.

TWELFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

1 November

On this day a veteran participant of the movement to defend the rule of law, Tatyana Mikhailovna Velikanova, and a founder-member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R. Orthodox priest Gleb Pavlovich Yakunin, were arrested in Moscow.

T. Velikanova and G. Yakunin were sent to the K G B Investigations Prison (Lefortovo). The investigation is being conducted by the Moscow K G B Investigations Department: Case No. 515 (Yakunin) by Major Yakovlev and Case No. 516 (Velikanova) by Captain Katalikov. (Major Yakovlev, then a captain, and Captain Katalikov, then a senior lieutenant, were involved in the investigation of the Orlov case — *Chronicles* 44-9).

While these arrests were taking place, during the morning of 1 November, seven searches were conducted in connection with Case 515 and two in connection with Case 516. Many statements of protest were issued in response to the arrests of Velikanova and Yakunin. These are reviewed at the end of this section.

The Arrest of Tatyana Velikanova

Senior Investigator of the Moscow K G B Captain Kapayev conducted the arrest and subsequent search. (As a senior lieutenant he had also participated in the investigation of the Orlov case and in particular had then interrogated T. Velikanova — *Chronicle* 47). Arriving with four others at Velikanova's flat at 8 am, he made everyone get out of bed (Tatyana Mikhailovna's daughter and son-in-law [Y. and V. Keidan] and their small children were also in the flat). Kapayev informed Velikanova that she must come 'for a chat' and told her 'to dress warmly'. She demanded an official explanation and, if this was an arrest or some other legal action, to be shown the appropriate document. Kapayev said: 'You can call this our tyranny.' He added that if she would not come of her own accord she would be removed by force. K G B official L. B. Karatayev left to accompany Velikanova (he had taken part in the search of her home on 11 October — see 'Case No. 46012' in the section 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations'; do not confuse him with B. B. Karatayev — see 'A Conversation with Bakhmin' in the section 'Miscellaneous Reports').

Only after they had left did Kapayev show Vladimir and Yulia Keidan the search warrant 'in connection with Case No. 516' signed by Katalikov, and when Karatayev returned they started the search. Shipilov, a vigilante, also took part in the search (although this was not mentioned on the record), as he had on 11 October. The witness

Krymskaya advised the investigator where else to look and translated foreign texts; she carefully inspected Yu. Grimm's passport — he had arrived at the flat during the search — claiming that she doubted the authenticity of one of the stamps. A second witness, Sokolov, guarded the front door and also the other flat on the landing, and prevented Velikanova's neighbour from using the telephone or leaving her flat.

The articles confiscated during the search were listed on a record (74 points) which was slightly more detailed than the record of the 11 October search, but even here there were points like '19 loose sheets of paper with various handwritten notes'. Among the articles confiscated were:

— Moscow Helsinki Group documents; an *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes; Adventist publications (typewritten and printed); typewritten pamphlets in Lithuanian (including the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* No. 40);

— Documents and other information about trials and the situation of prisoners; statements in their defence (concerning, for example, M. Kukobaka, A. Rossiisky, M. Plakhotnyuk and Yu. Litvin).

— Russian newspapers and periodicals published abroad; Khronika Press publications (including issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events*)[1]; books and other publications in foreign languages, including G. Vladimov's *Faithful Ruslan* (a translation into French) and Amnesty International publications.

— Letters (including some to be mailed to other countries); notes (for example: 'Tat. Mikh., if you get any concrete information about what happened to Gorbal, phone me ... Yura Yarym-Agayev'); notebooks.

— Paper and carbon paper.

— The forensic psychiatric report on N. E. Gorbanevskaya dated 6 April 1970.

— A collection of tales by M. Bulgakov (*Diavoliada and Other Stories*).

Vladimir and Yulia Keidan expressed their indignation at the form taken by the search (the behaviour of the witnesses, the intrusion into their neighbour's flat) and the fact that it took place in the absence of Tatyana Mikhailovna. They refused to sign the record. They questioned Kapayev about what was happening to her, and he gave them Katalikov's telephone number. Phoning him after the search, they succeeded only in having the fact of the arrest confirmed; Katalikov refused to give them any information about the nature of the charge ('It's not convenient for me to talk. I've got visitors', he said. It later turned out that his 'visitor' at that moment, who was being interrogated in connection with Case No. 515, was L. Poluektova; see below). When, over the next few days, relatives asked him about the nature of the charge, even just to tell them what articles of the Criminal Code were involved, he replied: 'Not over the telephone.'

* * *

At the same time that T. Velikanova was being arrested, two further searches, in the homes of V. V. Sokirko and N. P. Lisovskaya, were begun in connection with Case No. 516.

* * *

They arrived to search the home of **Viktor Sokirko** (*Chronicles* 7, 29, 46, 47, 49, 51-53) while his two younger children were being seen off to nursery school. One of the K G B officials took this duty upon himself. The two elder children were not allowed to go to school.

Senior Lieutenant Zotov, conducting the search, replied to Sokirko's questioning that he did not know what Case No. 516 consisted of (he told him to address any queries to Deputy Chief of the Moscow K G B Investigations Department Major Trofimov); however, he asked him to surrender voluntarily articles 'relevant to the case', namely literature containing slanderous fabrications, defaming the system, and also large sums of money (over 1,000 roubles). Sokirko stated that he possessed neither such literature nor such sums of money.

As a result of the search a typewriter (the third this year), five notebooks (addresses and phone numbers), collections of abstracts issued 'for official use' by the Institute for Information on the Social Sciences, several letters and manuscripts, poems by A. Akhmatova and N. Korzhavin, books by V. Bukovsky and A. Avtorkhanov, annotated photographic negatives and typewritten papers (22 points in all) were confiscated. V. Sokirko stated that the confiscated items could have no relevance to any breach of the law and noted his protest on the record. His wife L. Tkachenko also wrote a protest — against herself and her children being detained in the flat.

* * *

Senior Lieutenant Nikitin conducted the search at the home of **N. P. Lisovskaya.** He showed her a search warrant stating that she was 'under suspicion for possession of slanderous literature and other materials connected with the case' (No. 516). Instead of answering Lisovskaya's question about the nature of Case 516, Nikitin asked her whether she would hand over the 'literature and materials' herself. Lisovskaya made no reply to this, but afterwards read in the record: 'She stated that she had nothing'. She did not sign the record.

Books (including Berdyayev's *The Russian Idea* and M. Popovsky's *The Life and Times of Voino-Yasenetsky*); *Chronicle* 52; a large number of handwritten papers; lists of political prisoners and exiles, and

notes about help sent to them were confiscated at the search. A typewriter and a camera were also taken.

Nina Petrovna writes:

> The people carrying out the search worked in a business-like fashion and behaved correctly. At the end I read the record point for point (there were 76 in all) and they placed the appropriate articles in their bag.
>
> If they had been engaged in any other task one could have admired their work, erudition and even their appearance (they knew English, could distinguish the poetry of Akhmatova, Mandelshtam and others at a glance, and were young, tall, good-looking and well-dressed) ... If only they were engaged in something else ...

N. P. Lisovskaya (b. 1917) is a Doctor of Biological Sciences and a Senior Research Officer at the All-Union Vitamin Research Institute. She has for a long time participated in activities to defend the rule of law (*Chronicles* 25, 32, 39) and in helping political prisoners. In 1970 she was dismissed from the U S S R Academy of Sciences Biochemistry Institute.

The Arrest of Gleb Yakunin

As in the case of T. Velikanova, Father Gleb Yakunin was taken from his home early in the morning and not told that this was an arrest; nor was he shown a search warrant. The investigator even reproached him when he began to say goodbye to his wife and children: 'What are you creating a scene for, Gleb Pavlovich? We're calling you as a witness; you'll be home again soon.'

* * *

After Father Gleb had been taken away, the search of his flat took place. The warrant was signed by Yakovlev and the search was conducted by Senior Lieutenant Novikov and officials of the Moscow K G B Andreyev and Ezhopkov. The record contains 35 points. The following items were confiscated:

— Christian Committee Documents (including some in the form of a book published abroad); Committee notepaper; a large amount of material about the situation of believers; letters to the Moscow Patriarch and hierarchs of the Orthodox Church, and also to Pope John Paul II.

— Religious and philosophical books, including *Orthodox Thought, Russian Thinkers in Europe, Literary Theology, Transparence* by Vyacheslav Ivanov, a book by S. M. Solovëv about Vladimir Solovëv; *Open Thou the Doors to Me* by F. Svetov; the pamphlet *Those Whom We Defend* (in connection with the case of V. K. Zaitsev — see 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals').

— Letters, telegrams, addresses and notebooks.

— A tape-recorder and cassettes.

— Two of Yakunin's medical documents (one about an operation he had had).

— A photocopy of the 28 September search record (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

The people carrying out the search behaved rudely. Fr Gleb's wife Iraida Yakunina refused to sign the record, since the search had taken place in his absence. Only in the evening did she find out by telephone from Major Yakovlev that her husband had been arrested. Yakovlev did not say what he had been charged with.

* * *

On 13 November a new search was conducted in Yakunin's flat. On the same day I. Yakunina had discovered among the mail in her post-box a letter without an envelope in a foreign language (she could not tell which language). The search began soon after that. This time it was conducted by Katalikov. His behaviour, and that of the other K G B officials, was remarkably rude and unceremonious. (The search began with the shout: 'Stay where you are!', and they woke up the Yakunins' two-year-old daughter.) I. Yakunina was told to hand over any documents, literature, icons, foreign currency and other items 'relating to the criminal case'. She replied that the icons were hanging where they could be seen, that she had no foreign currency and that she was not acquainted with her husband's documents and books.

The officials took 19 icons (almost all they had in the house) and a wooden crucifix. (They first photographed the icons using flash, which is how they woke the child.) They also took books (including, once again, *About Our Hope* by D. Dudko), letters and reels of amateur photographs (taken by the Yakunins' eldest daughter). To I. Yakunina's remark that all these articles had been in the house during the two previous searches and it would have been better for them to have taken everything at once, otherwise they would be coming all the time, the investigators answered: 'We will come again'. Among the 'new' articles taken were letters which had arrived after Fr Gleb's arrest, including the letter in a foreign language which had only just been taken out of the box.

The two witnesses took an active part in the search. The investigator also summoned the Yakunins' neighbour V. G. Shiryayeva and ordered her to conduct body-searches of Iraida Yakunina and the two girls, 16-year-old Masha Yakunina and her friend, who was visiting from another town. For the body-searches Iraida was ordered to the small room and the girls to the kitchen, so that the investigators were in

fact working on their own (the search mainly took place in the larger room). The neighbour (who had earlier tried hard to make friends with Iraida and Fr Gleb) conducted her searches in a very professional manner, removing and running her fingers along the seams of clothes. She told the investigator that nothing had been found, but drew attention to the fact that I. Yakunina was wearing a gold cross. After this the investigator immediately let her leave. Only after I. Yakunina's insistent protests was Shiryayeva included in the records (as an extra witness) and the fact of the body-search mentioned.

* * *

On 1 November seven more searches were conducted in connection with Case No. 515, at the homes of members of the Christian Committee V. Kapitanchuk and V. Shcheglov, and also of L. Ivanova, L. Poluektova, L. Zdanovskaya and V. Stepanov. The *Chronicle* does not know the surname of the woman at whose house the seventh search took place; she is a typist by profession, now a pensioner.

* * *

Twenty-three folders of Committee materials, Baptist and Adventist documents and publications, a typewriter and carbon paper were confiscated at the search of **Viktor Kapitanchuk's** home. Books were also taken: Akhmatova's *Requiem*, Cranston's *Human Rights* and Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* — the investigator defined these as 'ideologically harmful literature'. Kapitanchuk asked whether the Bible was 'ideologically helpful literature', but the investigator replied: 'We don't take the Bible'.

* * *

The search of **Vadim Shcheglov's** home began when he had already left for work. His wife was told that it was better that he was not at home. A typewriter, a camera, films with photographs of children, tape cassettes (church music and songs of 'the bards'), the *Chronicle* and *Posev* (old, 1960s issues), folders of papers, personal forms and documents (notarized copies) were taken. The search was thorough — they even looked in saucepans and under the bath. Shcheglov's wife refused to sign the record.

* * *

Investigator Bunakov conducted the search at the home of **Lyudmila Ivanova** (the wife of L. Regelson). Ivanova did not answer the door immediately the bell rang, so they broke the door in (they mended it after the search). About 20 documents and books were taken (including the first volume of V. Maksimov's collected works, *The Gulag Archipelago* and *Metropol*), blank paper, carbon paper and two typewriters. At Ivanova's insistence the record was drawn up in minute detail (it took three hours to write).

Over the next few days L. Ivanova repeatedly telephoned Major Yakovlev, insistently demanding the return of the typewriters, as she is a professional typist and her work supports five children. Yakovlev replied that he could decide that question only if they met face to face and eventually told her to come on 12 November. When she arrived, she was interrogated for three hours. Yakovlev asked her what activities G. Yakunin, V. Kapitanchuk and V. Shcheglov were engaged in as members of the Committee (answer: 'I don't know'), whether Ivanova had typed anything for them or for L. Regelson, and whether they had asked her to type anything (answer: 'No').

L. Ivanova's typewriters were returned.

* * *

Investigator Popov conducted the search at the home of **Larissa Poluektova.** Her letters were read with particular thoroughness. Among the articles confiscated (23 points on the record) were letters, photographs, four Christian Committee documents and a letter from Yakunin and Regelson to Portuguese Christians. After the search Poluektova was taken to the Small Lubyanka (where the K G B Investigations Department is situated, and interrogated by Katalikov. His questions concerned Poluektova's relationship with members of the Christian Committee and the contents of the confiscated documents. After the 'formal' interrogation, an 'explanatory chat' took place in which Yakovlev, who arrived later, took part. They said to Poluektova: 'What are your friends striving for? There's your Alik (A. Ginzburg — *Chronicle*) who's got himself a stomach disease: Father Gleb's going to get his seven years, he won't see his children, and his health'll be ruined'. They also tried to convince her that Yakunin's activities were of a political nature and put particular emphasis on the confiscated appeal to Portuguese Christians. (In this, G. Yakunin and L. Regelson had warned that a coming to power of the communists would pose a deadly threat to the Church and believers in Portugal.) Yakovlev and Katalikov, as if just talking to each other, discussed the workings of the Committee. 'The Committee receives letters, and then what? Well, they write something and then hand it to someone to type. Who types it? Well, someone types it, and then? It's sent out. To whom?' Poluektova, after staying that she knew nothing about the work of the Committee, did not take part in their dialogue. She also said that she did not know what was contained in the Committee documents confiscated from her. Katalikov promised to let her see them and wrote in the interrogation record (in her name): 'I will give my evaluation of the Committee documents during future interrogations'.

On 5 November Poluektova received notification of the next interrogation, for 6 November. On that day, however, she left with her 12-year-old son for Hungary, where she had been privately invited. At the border station of Chop Poluektova was told that her passport had an out-of-date serial number and that she could not, therefore, cross the border. Poluektova explained that O V I R in Moscow had just issued her passport, and when that did not help, she asked them to draw up a statement saying that her passport was invalid. Captain Skripka, who conducted the operation, told her that no statement would be forthcoming and she would have to clear up the problem in Moscow, to where she must return immediately. When she arrived home the next day her eldest daughter told her that some very anxious-looking people had come to the house on the 6th, some 'from the police', some 'from O V I R' and asked where she was and when she would return.

* * *

The search at the home of **Lidia Iosifovna Zdanovskaya** (G. Yakunin's aunt) did not last long. It was conducted by Captain Zabolotny. All the articles confiscated (four points on the record) belonged to her husband A. Krasnov-Levitin, who had emigrated in 1974 (*Chronicle* 34). These were: a form from the Post Office about the transfer to him of 240 dollars; a customs declaration about the contents of a parcel which he had been sent from abroad and a few odd papers from his archives (letters, poetry, rough copies of manuscripts and a statement of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights, of which he had been a member, dated 1973).

* * *

Vladimir Stepanov, who lives in the town of Pushkino, near Moscow, is also a relative of Fr Gleb (his wife's brother). The officials conducting the search entered his house at 7 am with the help of a neighbour, who knocked at Stepanov's door and told him that he had visitors. The search was very thorough: they turned the house upside-down, climbed into the loft and broke several things (a box and a picture frame). They took books, letters, samizdat, and also an unregistered hunting rifle and a starting pistol.

First Responses

A statement by the Moscow Helsinki Group:

The Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the U S S R
Document No. 111: 3 *November* 1979.

A Sharp Intensification of the Persecution of the Movement to Defend the Rule of Law in the U S S R

On 30 October, Political Prisoner's Day, **Antanas Terleckas** (aged 50) was arrested in Vilnius.

On 1 November **Tatyana Velikanova** (aged 47) and **Father Gleb Yakunin** (45) were arrested in Moscow.

On the same day as the latter arrests, searches were conducted in Moscow at the homes of Viktor Sokirko, Nina Lisovskaya, Victor Kapitanchuk, Lyudmila Regelson (Ivanova), Vadim Shcheglov, Larissa Poluektova and also Yakunin's relative Lidia Zdanovskaya.

The significance of these searches and arrests goes way beyond the limits of persecuting individual defenders of the rule of law, and the operation clearly has as its purpose the complete suppression of the human rights, national and religious movement in our country.

Back in 1969, Tatyana Velikanova was one of the organizers of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights, and played an important role in the formation of the movement to defend the rule of law in the U S S R.

In 1974, together with Sergei Kovalyov and Tatyana Khodorovich, Velikanova publicly took upon herself the responsibility of trying, by every means possible, to circulate the *Chronicle of Current Events* — a legal uncensored source of truthful information about violations of human rights in the U S S R.

Tatyana Velikanova is known in our country as an honourable, selfless person who responds to every injustice and every evil. Freedom of expression is the only weapon that she has ever had. Her signature stands at the bottom of hundreds of documents protesting against violations of human rights. She has defended persecuted Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, Jewish refuseniks, Baptists, Pentecostalists and members of other religious groups. She has raised her voice in protest against illegal arrests and politically motivated sentences. Thousands of prisoners of conscience and members of their families know her name. People from all ends of the country have come to see her and written to her, and for each one Tatyana Velikanova has found a warm word of concern, consolation and encouragement.

During all the years of her human rights activity Velikanova has been subjected to threats and intimidation from K G B officials. She has been followed, searched, and summoned for interrogations, but nothing has been able to stop this woman, who has dedicated her whole life to the defence of human rights, the defence of the persecuted and humiliated.

And now she has been arrested and thrown in Lefortovo Prison. She has been arrested for collecting and widely disseminating infor-

mation, for her dissent, for freely uttering her convictions and for helping people.

Fr Gleb Yakunin began his activities to defend the rights of believers back in 1965 with an open letter to the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia about the lack of rights of the Church in the U S S R and the violations of believers' rights. For distributing this letter, which he composed with Nikolai Eshliman, they were both dismissed from serving in church.

In December 1976 Fr Gleb became one of the organizers and an active member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R [C C D B R].

His activities on the Committee, and also the large number of articles and appeals which he wrote in his own right to defend not only the Orthodox Christian Church, but also believers of all creeds, made the name of Fr Gleb known throughout the world.

In 1977 Fr Gleb's paper on the situation of believers in the U S S R was read and discussed at the Second Sakharov Hearings in Rome.

Openly espousing the defence of human rights, Fr Gleb was subjected to continual harassment by the authorities, including threats and slander from the press.

Fr Gleb's tireless, open activity on the Committee made it possible for the many instances of violations of believers' rights in our country to be widely publicized. That is the reason for Fr Gleb Yakunin's arrest ...

The activities of all three arrested people, well-known dissenters, was carried out openly and within the framework of the law. Their arrest is a flagrant violation of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Elena Bonner, Sofia Kalistratova, Ivan Kovalyov, Malva Landa, Naum Meiman, Viktor Nekipelov, Tatyana Osipova, Yury Yarym-Agayev

(For the arrest of A. Terleckas, see the section 'Events in Lithuania'.)

* * *

Moscow, 10 November 1979

Appeal to the World Christian Community

The Russian Orthodox Church in the 20th century has gained lustre from the many names of martyrs and confessors who have suffered for Christ's Church and for freedom and purity in religious life.

Among the Orthodox Christians of our time who have called on us to remember the Russian martyrs and confessors, to honour their great deeds and spiritually take part in them, is Father Gleb Yakunin. He it was who, beginning with his open letter to Patriarch Aleksii in 1965, fought zealously for the freedom of the Church and religion in our country; and now, after his arrest, he himself is in bondage for his confessorial service to the Church of Christ.

They are accusing him, as they accused other confessors decades ago, of a state crime. In the face of the atheistic and anti-Church forces which consider themselves all-powerful in our country, he was not afraid to speak the truth, and for this they cannot forgive him.

Father Gleb is a deeply religious man. His whole activity, his whole life is devoted to one goal — the service of God and the Church of Christ. It is this which prompts him to fight for freedom of religion and to help all the faithful who have suffered from violations of their right to free conscience. We are sure that even in captivity Father Gleb will remain an ardently faithful servant of Christ and will render service with honour, wherever he may be.

It is our Christian duty to remember those of our brothers who are suffering for their faith and for their service to God. We appeal to Christians throughout the world to pray for Father Gleb, so that God will strengthen him in his service, protect and save him in the trials which have befallen him. We appeal to Christian pastors, to the heads of Churches and religious organizations: defend the man who has defended Christ's flock!

We appeal to Christian parishes and to all communities of believers, to the International Congress of Christian Trade Unions and other Christian unions, to all associations of the faithful and to each believer individually, to everyone to whom the freedom to believe in God and the freedom and dignity of human personality are dear: speak out in defence of Gleb Yakunin, do all you can to secure his release.

The arrest of Father Gleb and the house searches of other members of the C C D B R in the U S S R show that the authorities intend to use force to put an end to the activities of the Christian Committee and to suppress the circulation of truthful information about the state of religion in the U S S R. Many Christians, both Orthodox and those of other creeds, are expressing their readiness to join in the activities of the Christian Committee, to continue the work of members whose activities have been forcibly terminated. However, the extent to which the Committee can continue its work depends to a great extent on the support of international public opinion.

If one member suffers, the whole body suffers. Religion in the Soviet Union is the common business of all believers. In appealing to all people of good faith, and especially to our fellow-believers, we hope that our call will be heard, that every Christian community

and every parish will treat this appeal as if it were addressed to them personally, and will not remain indifferent.

Members of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR:

Priests: *Nikolai Gainov, Vasily Fonchenkov.* Laymen: *Victor Kapitanchuk, Vadim Shcheglov*

* * *

The priest N. Gainov, who joined the Committee immediately after the arrest of Fr Gleb, sent a letter of appeal to Patriarch Pimen:

... I have known him since 1967 and have found only good in him. Father Gleb is a deeply believing Christian, a sincere, devout priest and an honest man incapable of slander — the crime of which he is accused ...

Your Holiness! I appeal to you as the head of the Russian Orthodox Church. Do everything in your power to secure the release of Father Gleb Yakunin. Defend the man who has defended everyone!

* * *

5 November 1979

Open Letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet

... Tatyana Velikanova is a person whose moral purity is an example to many, a person whose dignity and selflessness we much admire.

At the root of all Velikanova's activities lay her desire to publicize objectively facts about violations of human rights, her tolerance and her desire to help those whose rights were being violated.

Tatyana Velikanova's arrest should not be seen as the persecution of an individual, although she was one of the best representatives of the movement to defend the rule of law. The history of previous trials of well-known defenders of the rule of law shows that the authorities make them responsible, not for concrete actions, but for the existence of the movement as a whole. Moreover, by prosecuting people like Tatyana Velikanova, a concentrated attempt is being made by the authorities to repress those freedoms of thought, speech and conscience which exist in our country, albeit in weak form ...

We openly declare that each one of us, like Tatyana Velikanova, so far as our strengths and capabilities allow, is promoting and will continue to promote human rights in the Soviet Union with the help of the unrestricted circulation of all facts known to us about violations of these rights. As we are sure that it was for just this reason that Tatyana Velikanova was arrested, we fully share the responsibility for all her activities and are ready to assert the correctness of our convictions and methods by any open means, including at an open trial.

K. Babitsky, V. Bakhmin, Yu. Gastev, I. Kovalyov, A. Lavut, N. Meiman, T. Osipova, L. Ternovsky, Yu. Yarym-Agayev

S. Kalistratova wrote a similar statement — 'Statement for the Press' (sent to *Izvestia* and handed to Western correspondents). She writes that she has known T. Velikanova and her activities to defend the rule of the law well and for a long time.

I not only know about her activities, but to the best of my abilities I have been doing the same thing myself. Convinced as I am that all Velikanova's human rights activities, like my own, are legal and open and contain nothing criminal ... I declare that I am ready to stand beside Velikanova and answer with her in any *open and public* court.

* * *

E. Bonner and **A. Sakharov** published an 'Open Appeal' on 5 November. They write about the arrest of T. Velikanova:

... Only two days before, she had chaired the traditional press conference on Political Prisoner's Day and had spoken with her typical accuracy and tightly controlled passion about the lives and struggles of political prisoners and about new repressions and illegal actions in the country. She spent her last days of freedom the same way as she spent the years leading up to them — in selfless work dedicated to human rights and openness ...

Tanya Velikanova is our friend, and our first reaction to her arrest was a feeling of sorrow and emptiness, as if an unexpected natural disaster had occurred. But this is not a natural disaster; it is a calculated blow by the organs of repression, who are not capable of honest and open dialogue, and fear publicity and truth ...

V. Nekipelov, in a statement 'On the Arrest of Tatyana Velikanova' (10 November) says:

They knew where to strike ... Tatyana Velikanova is for all of us an example of courage, unwavering persistence and moral purity. I would say that she represents the quintessence of that morality which constitutes what one can call the Russian *ethical* dissidence of the 1960s and 1970s. She is an active and perfect example of it.

She stood at the source of the movement, an irreproachable incarnation of its spiritual essence. Her main distinction is that she was very far from what is known as politics and never involved herself in it ...

Yes, the authorities knew where to strike. But however hard the blow, the repression to which Tatyana Velikanova is being subjected

is senseless. I am saying this because I know: her jailers will never change or break Tanya, they'll never destroy her inner essence. Wherever she is, in a prison cell or in a Mordovian camp, she will always be the person who is looking at me now from the photograph that hangs in front of me, she will give light to people with her beautiful smile, she will listen to them and help them. And, wherever she is, Russia is there too, and Tatyana Velikanova is as much a part of Russia as she is of her own fate.

This repressive act, however much it was calculated, is a gesture of blind and desperate impotence.

When, in Russia, they throw a woman into prison for speaking out and for compassion — it means that the affairs of Russia's rulers are in a bad way!

L. Ternovsky states:

> They seized her because a person who does not allow herself to be afraid of speaking the truth is intolerable to an authority which maintains itself through comprehensive intimidation and shameless lies.

He concludes his letter, dated 1-3 November, as follows:

> Tatyana Velikanova has been arrested. My friend and soul-mate! Why she and not I?
>
> Because she is better and more honest than I. Because she is more steadfast and fearless in her unequal battle with evil. There are times and circumstances which turn attitudes and values on their heads. There are times when it is shameful to sit on the judge's bench and honourable to be in the dock.
>
> TODAY I AM ASHAMED THAT I AM FREE!

The following extract is taken from a statement by **V. Sokirko, V. Sorokin** and **V. Abramkin** (all three are editors of the journal *Searches*) entitled 'Now It's Our Turn ... '

> We have known Tanya for many years. She has always been a model, no, almost an unattainable ideal of calm and fearlessness, industry and modesty ...
>
> And now she has been arrested — not to stand trial in a normal way (Tatyana cannot be guilty of breaking the law), but as a reprisal. And therefore it is time for us, whom she has defended, to follow the dictates of our souls and to declare:
>
> — We cannot refuse to defend others and ourselves, or to collaborate with the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the successor of the Initiative Group — the Helsinki Group.
>
> — We cannot give up samizdat, the freedom of thought and expression which Tanya and her comrades-in-arms gained through struggle.
>
> — We cannot turn our backs on the defence of human rights, on helping political prisoners, on our responsibility for our country and its future ...

* * *

Two statements demand the release of T. Velikanova for the pre-trial period and a public court examination of the charges brought against her.

L. Bogoraz, in an 'Open Statement' to the USSR Procurator-General dated 4 November, writes that although officially no one knows what charge has been brought against Tatyana Velikanova, she, her close friend and relative, and many other people who know her, understand that the reason for her arrest is her participation in

> non-violent, humanistic activities which have been attacked by the organs of power for a decade and a half already and for which many citizens of our country have served and are serving terms of imprisonment.

She recalls that searches were made at the home of T. Velikanova before her arrest in connection with Case No. 46012 — a case concerning 'unofficial uncensored samizdat periodical publications, ie information'.

L. Bogoraz considers that the practice of arresting people 'charged with non-violent public activities' before their trial is illegal, particularly if they are charged under articles 70 and 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, and she demands the release of T. Velikanova from pre-trial imprisonment.

A statement by **S. Khodorovich, A. Kistyakovsky** and **A. Morozov** says:

> Only a genuinely open and public trial at which *all* witnesses and a lawyer of her own choice are admitted can determine whether Tatyana Velikanova is guilty before our society. We are convinced that at an impartial trial it would be made clear that Soviet people should be grateful to Tatyana Mikhailovna for her selfless and always open service to violated truth and justice.
>
> But now, until the event of such a trial, we demand her release from prison, all the more since she would not be able to, or, more importantly, even want to go into hiding or hinder the state investigation in some other way ...

* * *

In an article 'On the Arrest of Tatyana Velikanova', **L. Kopelev** writes of her as a heroine on a level with other heroines of Russian history,

continuing the tradition so characteristic of Russian women of 'readiness for self-sacrifice'; 'The heroic pose is alien to her' and she is 'unreservedly, unswervingly truthful'.

> What could they have been thinking of, those people who ordered the arrests of Tatyana Velikanova, Father Gleb Yakunin and Antanas Terleckas? ...
>
> What are the real results of all these searches, arrests and trials? They are obvious: the well-deserved glory of our prisoners of conscience is growing. Every day there are more people who sympathize with them, suffer with them and are ready to help and imitate them. And the well-deserved ignominy of the persecutors is also growing ...

L. Kopelev thinks that although 'it is difficult to count on the charity and mercy' of the authorities

> there are — there must be — sober-minded people even there, who are capable of understanding that all these prosecutions do the most harm of all to the state itself. They are remarkably harmful to its international prestige. But they are even more harmful to our people: they destroy our sense of justice, they engender disrespect for all laws, and they feed the soil on which cynical indifference to the public interest and real criminality grow.

He therefore appeals for the release of those arrested.

> The main thing is that we must not give up trying until they are all free.
>
> Mankind lives alone
> By mutual aid among the good

— concludes Kopelev, quoting the lines of an unknown nun discovered by Marina Tsvetayeva.

* * *

A group of Estonian citizens — M. Niklus, E. Udam, E. Tarto, E. Ratas, P. Silla, V. Reinhart, V. Niitsoo and L. Parek — sent an appeal to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet:

> In view of the recent arrests in Moscow and Vilnius, the number of prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union has grown by three persons. We wish to express our profound indignation about the K G B's arrests of the human rights activists Tatyana Velikanova, Fr Gleb Yakunin and Antanas Terleckas. We protest against the unceasing persecution of defenders of the rule of law in the U S S R. We request their immediate release.

(Mart Niklus's address was given on the statement, for a reply.)

The Lithuanian Helsinki Group sent a 'Protest to the Government of the U S S R' (Document No. 19) on 10 November, signed by O. Lukauskaite-Poškiene, B. Laurinavičius, M. Jurevičius and A. Statkevičius. The group states that the arrest of Velikanova, 'who has dedicated many efforts to the defence of basic human rights in the Soviet Union', contradicts the Helsinki Final Act, specifically point 7 of the first section, which states an obligation 'to respect human rights and basic freedoms' and to 'act in correspondence with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights'.

* * *

In a statement made on behalf of the F I A W P Working Commission, **V. Kuvakin, E. Nikolayev** and **V. Novodvorskaya** write:

> Velikanova and Yakunin are real citizens of their Motherland, perceiving it to be their duty, not in words but in actions, every day and every minute, to transform into reality the advice of the first leader of our state, V. I. Lenin, to Professor Adoratsky — 'to teach the people to fight for their rights through all the laws and rules which are applicable in the R S F S R to a legal fight for one's rights'.[2] Where could the authorities have found a crime? In the fact that Velikanova and Yakunin brought the truth about the real situation regarding observance of human rights in the U S S R to hundreds and thousands of people? ...

The statement concludes with an appeal to working people 'to raise your voices' in their defence.

* * *

F. Svetov and **Z. Krakhmalnikova** wrote an appeal entitled 'Tatyana Velikanova and Gleb Yakunin are under Arrest!' (It was also signed by Fr D. Dudko and his family and 15 others.)

> The past two decades of Russian history have given us some striking examples of human dignity, purity, self-sacrifice and unselfishness. The names of Tatyana Velikanova and Father Gleb Yakunin have been written into Russian history for their distinctive lives and distinctive service. Day in, day out, over the past decade they have been discreetly effacing themselves for others' sakes and for the sake of defending human rights in the most sublime, Christian sense ... 'For I was ahungered and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me drink: ... I was sick and ye visited me: I was in prison and ye came unto me' (Matthew 25:35, 36).
>
> We ask you to pray for them, to help them, their children and their grandchildren, in whatever ways you can.
>
> The arrest of Tatyana Mikhailovna Velikanova and Father Gleb

Yakunin is not the private affair and tragedy of their near and dear ones; it is a blow at the very heart of living, suffering Russia.

* * *

Apart from the statements, letters and appeals from the individuals and small groups quoted above, two statements were circulated which were open for signatures over a longer period of time. To date (15 November) each has over 100 signatures. (The final number of signatures will be announced in the next issue.)

On the Arrest of Tatyana Velikanova

We are shaken by the arrest of Tatyana Mikhailovna Velikanova. We could have expected it to happen at any moment during the ten and more years of her battle for human rights. She is not the first, but that does not mean that we should be used to it. We should never get used to the fact that the leaders of our country are deaf to all protests and even to the arguments of common sense — do not undermine your prestige; conduct your ideological battle with words (if you have any to say) not with your fists. And so, here we are again protesting and explaining, appealing to others to join our protest today, without her, for her.

We do not want to use that vague word 'activities' to express what Tatyana Velikanova has been doing for these ten years. It is work, hard labour, a daily, hourly 'must' ordered by her conscience ...

At this moment in the offices of the Lubyanka, detectives and experts are examining the 'folders of various typewritten and handwritten papers', the notebooks taken away — almost without an inventory, in haste — after the two most recent searches. Whose handwriting? Whose typewriter? They will probably find out. But we know that they will not find a word of slander, just as we know that all the same they will write slander into the judgment, as they did to Sergei Kovalyov and Yury Orlov, and they will add: 'with the purpose of undermining or weakening [the Soviet system]. Maybe (and we have seen this too) they will not balk at a really dirty slander: she did it for money, for glory or on orders from some 'centres'.

The statement goes on to talk about the absolute incompatibility of T. Velikanova's character with a striving for glory or selfishness, or with ideas of 'undermining the authorities'.

Lastly, we declare that neither T. Velikanova nor the human rights movement in the USSR as a whole is in contact with any 'foreign centres'. We have friends and fellow-thinkers — P. Grigorenko, L. Alekseyeva, A. Ginzburg, V. Chalidze, K. Lyubarsky, E. Yankelevich among them — who render effective help to those of us who are here, but with the same weapon — publicity, and the same selfless work.

Tatyana Velikanova's goals and motives come from the very depths of her personality. She is one of those who can feel another's pain and humiliation and cannot remain passive in the face of it, one of those for whom cynical lawlessness does not give rise to a paralysis of terror, but to a will to resist. She is convinced that we must fight to win our rights here and now, for real people, not for politics. She started fighting as hard as she could, taking upon herself the most difficult and dangerous tasks. She brought her talent for research into her work (she often joked that she would study mathematics in prison), as well as the wisdom of experience and irreproachable honesty.

It is not worth trying to guess what her jailers are preparing for Tatyana Velikanova — a terrifying sentence as a deterrent to others, or a 'humanitarian' exile abroad, which for her would be a worse punishment. What she deserves is that thousands of people in this country and abroad should demand:

Release Tatyana Velikanova!

A letter from **S. Kalistratova, A. Lavut** and **I. Khokhlushkin** was circulated with this statement, asking people to inform them of any other actions connected with the arrest of T. Velikanova.

On the Arrest of Fr Gleb Yakunin

On 1 November the Orthodox priest Father Gleb Yakunin, one of the founders of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights, was arrested. In a society where atheism is the state ideology, the Committee was the first association of Christians to defend religious freedom ...

How great the demand is for such a Committee is shown by the numerous statements and complaints which it is constantly receiving ...

The defence of believers' rights is essential for the normal life of a state tens of millions of whose citizens are believers.

We regard Fr Gleb's arrest as an obstacle to the normalization of religious life on the part of the authorities. It is yet one more example of the tragic way in which the state has been trying to cripple religion in our country for decades ...

* * *

The *Chronicle* considers that the arrest of Tatyana Velikanova — one of the most serious actions in a campaign to destroy the human rights movement — undoubtedly has also a particular aim: to put an end to the openness and publicity which T. M. Velikanova has done such

a great deal to create. One of the ways in which openness in our country has been promoted is the appearance, for over 11 years, of the *Chronicle of Current Events*. The *Chronicle* believes that it is not easy to root out the principle of openness. The flood of information on the struggle for human rights in the U S S R is not stopping.

The *Chronicle of Current Events* continues to come out.

Arrests, Searches, Interrogations

Case No. 46012 (see *Chronicles* 52, 53)

On 26 August a search was conducted at the home of member of the Moscow Helsinki Group **V. Nekipelov** in the town of Kameshkovo, Vladimir Region. An assistant Procurator of Vladimir, G. P. Yurov, K G B Major N. A. Obrubov and an inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department, V. N. Khokhorin, took part in the search. One hundred and seventeen points are listed on the search record. Among other things, an issue of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, Moscow Helsinki Group documents, documents of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled, and uncensored literature printed in samizdat and abroad were confiscated. Nekipelov's own articles and letters were also taken. (See also 'Miscellaneous Reports'.)

* * *

On 13 September a search was conducted at the home of **Sergei Belanovsky** (*Chronicle* 45) in Moscow.

Several hours before the search, someone claiming to be 'an acquaintance of Sergei' telephoned Belanovsky's acquaintance B. Yurovsky and asked him to 'get a suitcase ready'. At 7 pm this suitcase, sealed with plaster with the inscription 'Belanovsky', was confiscated. It contained samizdat, including back issues of the *Chronicle*.

The search of Belanovsky's home also began at 7 pm. It was conducted by Yu. A. Burtsev (*Chronicles* 52, 53). Three others, apart from the witnesses, took part in it. Two of them, officials of the Crime Department, presented their identity papers but, with Burtsev's support, did not allow their names to be written down. The third person arrived later. Burtsev asked Belanovsky to hand over 'deliberate fabrications' voluntarily. Belanovsky said that he would hand over all his samizdat, but that he did not consider that any of it contained 'deliberate fabrications'. He also said that he would insist that anything confiscated be returned to him.

Despite the fact that Belanovsky kept his promise, a search was undertaken. The final result was that issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* (the latest being No. 45), Komarov's book *The Destruction of Nature* (Posev Publishers), eight typewritten copies of the same book, R. Medvedev's *Let History Judge*, translations of S. Lem's articles published in Poland, and two typewriters were confiscated. Ten folders of writings by M. Liyatov (ie Yakovlev — see *Chronicle* 53) were also taken. These folders were not among the documents 'handed over voluntarily'.

Several days later Belanovsky was notified by telephone of an outdoor meeting at which the confiscated articles would be given back. They gave him back the empty suitcase and asked to have a talk with him. They told him that Burtsev was not counting on receiving authentic evidence from him and that therefore he would not be summoned to an interrogation in the near future. They informed Belanovsky: 'Some people think that because the case has been going on for a long time and no one has yet been charged, that state of affairs will continue. That's not true. A decision one way or the other will be taken very soon.'

They tried to obtain a promise from Belanovsky not to engage in any further activities and, on parting, asked him to meet them again. He told them to send him a summons.

On 12 October Belanovsky was taken from work to the Cherëmushki District Department of the Moscow K G B. In sharp contrast to the previous 'chat', he was informed very rudely that he had not responded to summonses and was therefore being cautioned 'according to the Decree' [*Chronicle* 32, p. 64]. Belanovsky refused to sign the caution. (Two days later he found a summons in his letter-box for a date that had long passed.) At the end of October Yurovsky was also issued a caution, which he signed.

Belanovsky is 26 years old. He is a chemist by profession and works in the sociological research laboratory of the All-Union Research Institute on the Organization of the Coal Industry.

* * *

On 11 October, on a warrant signed by Burtsev, searches took place in Moscow at the homes of **Tatyana Velikanova** and Moscow Helsinki Group member **Tatyana Osipova.**

Ponomaryov (*Chronicle* 44), a senior investigator of the Moscow City Procuracy, conducted the search. According to the record, two U V D police officials, a local policeman and vigilante S. E. Shipilov also took part in the search, as did K G B official L. B. Karatayev, who was not mentioned on the record. The search began in T. M. Velikanova's absence; she arrived about three hours later, when the search was already drawing to an end. The members of her family who were present during the search had the impression that they were hurrying to finish the search before she arrived. On the record, con-

sisting of 99 points, the majority of the confiscated articles were not properly described. For example: '43. A folder containing typewritten papers, from the words "Trial with Dogs" to the words "Ida Nudel 20 June 1978", 136 pages'. Among the articles confiscated were:

—Documents concerning the arrests, trials and present situation of political prisoners, believers and would-be emigrants.

— Documents of various groups to defend the rule of law.

— Issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* (in samizdat and as printed by Khronika Press); an *Information Bulletin* published by C. Lubarsky in Munich.[3]

— Books and journals published abroad.

— Samizdat, including three copies of each of issues 3-7 of the collection *In Defence of Economic Freedoms* (compiled by Burzhuademov).

After the search T. Velikanova was almost constantly followed, right up to her arrest on 1 November (see above).

* * *

Vorobyov, a senior investigator from the Moscow City Procuracy, conducted the search at the home of Osipova. The following articles were confiscated:

— Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group, The Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, and the Initiative Group for the Defence of the Rights of the Disabled in the U S S R.

— Letters and statements addressed to T. Osipova personally and to the Moscow Helsinki Group.

— Letters and statements to official Soviet organizations and replies to some of them.

— Copies of search records, indictments, judgments and appeals.

— Documents about the persecution of defenders of the rule of law, believers and Crimean Tatars, and about prisoners' circumstances.

— A list of political prisoners (about 300 pages).

— A table comparing the Criminal Codes of various Republics (a copy of an official publication).

— Proposals regarding the draft U S S R Constitution.

— Several editions of *A Chronicle of Current Events.*

— Books and journals published abroad, including Solzhenitsyn's *The First Circle,* Avtorkhanov's *The Technology of Power* and Zinoviev's *Bright Future.*

— Two typewriters, two tape-recorders and two cameras.

— Three jackets, a jumper, gloves, a set of underwear, canned goods, chocolate, coffee, cigarettes and chewing-gum.

— 1,074 roubles.

T. Osipova and her husband I. Kovalyov refused to sign the search record, but did add their corrections to it. Kovalyov commented in particular that

> The record has been drawn up in such a way that it is impossible to identify the confiscated materials. For example, it is not clear what is meant by 'various documents' ...
>
> I strongly protest against the illegal confiscation and the incorrect completion of the record.

On 20 October T. Osipova sent a statement to the R S F S R Procuracy demanding that a criminal charge be brought against Vorobyov under articles 171 ('exceeding one's authority or official powers') and 172 ('negligence') of the R S F S R Criminal Code:

> ... Vorobyov took a large number of articles which could not have been *deliberately* slanderous, namely:
>
> a. Money — 1,074 roubles
>
> b. Clothes — jackets, gloves, a set of underwear, etc.
>
> c. Foodstuffs — canned goods, chocolate, coffee, etc.
>
> In so doing he exceeded his official powers and caused my family real hardship, ie he committed actions coming under article 171 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.
>
> Moreover, Investigator Vorobyov, in violation of article 171 of the R S F S R Code of Criminal Procedure, not only did not offer to let me see the confiscated articles and documents, but refused to do so after I had expressly demanded it. I was therefore deprived of the opportunity to ensure that all the articles confiscated were correctly entered on the record. I was also deprived of the opportunity of finding out whether the record was read out correctly, as they refused to give me a copy of the record to check what was being read against what was written.
>
> A number of other illegal actions were committed which, like the ones mentioned above, were noted by myself and my husband in our corrections to the record. Since the search and the confiscation of materials are connected with a criminal case, the investigator, in an act of negligence, has caused actual harm to my interests (which are protected by law) and possibly to the interests of other citizens, ie he has acted in a way that comes under article 172 of the R S F S R Code of Criminal Procedure ...

The Case of the Journal *Searches* (*Chronicles* 52, 53)

On the morning of 15 August, several policemen broke into the flat of T. N. Babukhina (V. Sorokin's mother) in the town of Pushkino (Moscow Region). After breaking the door down, they took the 70-year-old Babukhina by force to the police station, allegedy for an

interrogation to be conducted by Investigator N. M. Tsyganok. He, together with other police officials, insulted Babukhina and threatened her with 15 days' arrest. Only towards evening did they inform her that the interrogation would take place the next day.

When Babukhina arrived the next day by the appointed time (10 am), the investigator was not there. She waited all day, and in the evening was told that the investigator did not need her.

Viktor Sorokin and his wife Seitkhan sent a statement to several Soviet newspapers and journals describing the incident, protesting against the tyranny of the police officials and demanding an end to their persecutions and the punishment of the guilty parties. Copies of this statement were sent to the police and the Procuracy.

* * *

On the same day, 15 August, a search was conducted in Moscow at the flat of **V. Gershuni,** a member of the editorial board of the journal *Searches.* Senior Investigator of the Moscow City Procuracy Sazonov and Captain V. S. Vasilev from the Crime Department were in charge of the search, which lasted over eight hours.

Personal notes, 31 photographs (including ones of Mayakovsky and Pasternak), *Searches* No. 5, and unused paper were confiscated.

* * *

On 18 September **M. Yakovlev** (*Chronicle* 53) was detained in the town of Zhukovsky (Moscow Region). He was taken to the police station, where officials conducted a body-search. They did not show him their credentials or a warrant for the search. A notebook and two exercise books containing his own writings were confiscated. They did not give Yakovlev a copy of the list of confiscated items. He was cautioned in writing for violating the residence regulations.

* * *

The same day, on the platform of the Kazan Station in Moscow, **V. Abramkin,** a member of the editorial board of the journal *Searches,* was detained and searched. A man whose papers identified him as A. A. Ryzhov, a Moscow Crime Department official, conducted the search. As a reason for the detention and search, which took place without the sanction of a procurator, Ryzhov said that they were looking for explosives — 'It's all to do with that same case about the explosions in the Metro of two years ago'. Nothing was confiscated from Abramkin.

* * *

On 3 October, A. P. Chus, Party Secretary of the Information Computer Centre of the Moscow Fruit and Vegetable Industry Directorate, told **Leonid Blekher** that 'someone from the organs was coming for a chat' with him and with **Tatyana Zamyatkina.**

Zamyatkina and Blekher were called into the secretary's office in turn, where they found a man who introduced himself as 'a city U V D official'. He told them that a case concerning the publication of the journal *Searches* by Valery Abramkin was being conducted at that time, that they were assisting Abramkin, and that if they continued to do so there would be sad consequences. On this note the chats ended.

* * *

On 29 October and 1 November Burtsev summoned **V. Abramkin** to the Procuracy and again (*Chronicle* 53) threatened him with arrest in the event of a sixth number of *Searches* appearing.

The Case of the Journal *Community*. The Arrest of Poresh.

On 1 August the philologist Vladimir Poresh was arrested in Leningrad. Poresh (b. 1949) is one of the editors of the journal *Community* (*Chronicles* 49, 51, 52), published by the Christian Seminar on Problems of the Religious Revival (*Chronicles* 41, 43, 46). This is led by A. Ogorodnikov (*Chronicles* 51, 52). Searches of the flats of Poresh and his wife were conducted on the same day. Philosophical and religious books were confiscated.

At the same time searches were conducted at the homes of **O. Okhapkin, N. Epishev** and **V. Lazutkin,** also in Leningrad. Typewritten copies of *Community* and other samizdat were confiscated from Lazutkin. A short while before the search, materials and books which he said he had never seen before had been planted in his flat. The planted material made up about 50% of the 92 items in the record. The record had been drawn up in advance and some of the books on it simply could not be found. V. Lazutkin is a Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences and works at Leningrad State University. He is not a member of the Christian Seminar, but is a close acquaintance of Poresh.

On the same day, August 1, searches took place in Moscow. Philosophical and religious literature, several speeches by Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov's book *My Country and the World,* N. Mandelshtam's memoirs and letters and statements of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R were confiscated from **T. Lebedeva,** in whose flat the Christian Committee had recently been meeting.

In **V. Burtsev's** flat, where no one lives, they found nothing apart from a post-card in the letter-box and an old notebook. The search warrant was signed by R. G. Topolyan, a senior investigator of the Leningrad Procuracy.

Lazutkin was interrogated in Leningrad on 6 August. He was then

summoned again. He refused to be a witness in the case. On 10 August a search was conducted in Leningrad at the home of **P. Kulagin,** who had atttended meetings of the Seminar. On 13 August he was summoned for interrogation.

* * *

Members of the Christian Seminar on Problems of the Religious Revival V. Burtsev, V. Popov, T. Shchipkova, L. Regelson and V. Sokolov have appealed to the Italian organization of young Catholics 'Community and Liberation' to defend the founders of the Seminar, Alexander Ogorodnikov and Vladimir Poresh. Eleven participants in a Leningrad religious and philosophical seminar have also issued a statement in defence of Poresh. T. Shchipkova (see 'Persecution of Believers'), who has known V. Poresh since he was her student (although both he and she were then far from religion), has written an essay about how he came to Faith, to the Church and to Russian religious philosophy.

* * *

The case of the journal *Community* was conducted at first by the Leningrad Procuracy under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, but was soon transferred to the K G B. It is being conducted by Investigators V. Cherkesov, V. Egerev, Tsygankov, Karmatsky (*Chronicle* 53) and Lepetunov.

In October **A. Ogorodnikov** was brought from camp to Leningrad (see 'In the Prisons and Camps').

* * *

On 28 September a search was conducted at the home of **Fr Gleb Yakunin,** a member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Right in the U S S R. The search warrant was signed by a senior investigator of the Leningrad K G B, Major Lepetunov, and the search conducted by Major Yakovlev of the Moscow K G B (who is now conducting the 'Yakunin case' — see above). The search lasted almost 12 hours. The following articles were confiscated:

— Committee documents and notepaper; articles by Fr Gleb; written statements and Baptist and Adventist publications.

— Notebooks; telephone numbers of foreign correspondents in Moscow; postal receipts.

—the journals *Posev, Free Word, Kontinent, Time and We;* Zinoviev's book *Notes of a Nightwatchman,* and several religious books, including D. Dudko's *About Our Hope.*

— A book by T. Goldberg, F. Mishunov and others entitled *Russian Goldwork and Silverwork of the 15th to 20th Centuries* (Moscow, 'Nauka', 1967).

— Around 40 teaspoons and tablespoons and a white metal cigarette-case, all of which had been lying in a brief-case.

The Guberman Case

On 13 August Igor Guberman was summoned as a witness, in a case concerning the theft of icons, to the town of Dmitrov (Moscow Region). In Dmitrov he was arrested and taken back to Moscow for a search at which three icons were confiscated. Guberman was charged under article 208, part 3 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('the acquisition or sale of property obtained by deliberately criminal means'). Investigator G. F. Nikitina is conducting the case.

On 14 and 16 August two further searches were conducted at Guberman's home at which notebooks, papers and his whole collection of icons and church objects were confiscated.

Guberman had been summoned to a 'chat' in April, during which he had been asked to write 'character sketches' of people working on the [samizdat] journal *Jews in the U S S R.* He had refused. He had then been threatened with reprisals in the form of criminal prosecution and told that it would not be difficult to find grounds, since he collected icons. The request had been repeated some time later, Guberman again refused to cooperate with the K G B.

A week before Guberman's arrest he was informed by telephone that permission had been granted for him to emigrate from the U S S R. He was asked if he could be ready in three weeks. He said that he could. 'Then I needn't worry about you', said the person he was talking to.

Igor Mironovich Guberman is a writer, the author of the books *The Third Triumvirate, The Miracles and Tragedies of the Black Box* and *Bekhterev.*

Searches have taken place in connection with the Guberman case. Precious objects, the journal *Tarbut* and other articles of Jewish culture were confiscated from the home of **Ts. Raitburd** during two searches in September. On 25 September documents and materials unrelated to the case of buying stolen icons were taken from **V. Brailovsky** (*Chronicle* 52), an editor of the journal *Jews in the U S S R.*

On 11 October a search took place at the home of **T. Bayeva.** Sixteen 'icons and antiques' were taken. On 16 October Nikitina interrogated Bayeva. Bayeva was threatened with prosecution as an 'accomplice'. The next day a confrontation was arranged for her with the arrested thief Gridin. Five icons which had been confiscated from Bayeva were produced. Gridin stated that they were ones which he had stolen a year ago from empty houses in the suburbs of Dmitrov and then sold to Guberman. The indignant Bayeva refused to participate in the investigation.

In statements to the Procurator of Dmitrov, V. I. Deryabin, and the Procurator of the R S F S R, Bayeva wrote that she had proof (photographs and witnesses' testimony) that everything taken from her had been in her house for many years. She listed the violations of procedure perpetrated by the investigators during the search, interrogation and confrontation and demanded protection from the trumped-up charges and the return of the confiscated articles. Bayeva expressed her opinion that the case against Guberman had been 'fabricated with the help of false testimony from the criminal N. V. Gridin'.

An answer arrived on 5 November which said that 'during the investigation of Case No. 16038 concerning the charge against Guberman and others, there have been no violations of the laws on criminal procedure'.

The Zubakhin Case

On 5 October Boris Zubakhin (b. 1951) was arrested in Kuibyshev.

In 1972 Zubakhin became a student of the Extramural Department of the Psychology Faculty at Leningrad University. On August 1977, during the press discussion of the draft U S S R Constitution, he sent a letter to a Moscow newspaper containing comments, suggestions and questions on the draft. For example, he pointed out the contradiction between article 2, which maintained that 'All power in the U S S R belongs to the people', and article 6, which states that the C P S U is 'the leading and directing force in Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system'. He pointed out the limitations of political freedoms, stipulating the relevant articles, and assessed article 52 as an infringement of believers' rights. He put forward a number of suggestions aimed at democratizing the Soviet system.

In 1978 the theme of Zubakhin's graduation essay was not approved and permission was refused for him to conduct sociological field research on the topic. He was expelled from the university after the fifth year. From October 1978 to January 1979 Zubakhin lived and was registered in Leningrad, and worked for a local housing department. He then resigned and lost the right to live in Leningrad. On 15 June he moved to Kuibyshev and lived in his wife's and grandmother's flats; in August he started living in a tent on an island in the river.

At the end of August a policeman came to the island and took Zubakhin to the Krasnoglinsky District U V D to 'establish his identity'. On 4 September he was again taken to the U V D and warned that he faced a criminal charge under article 209 of the R S F S R Criminal Code; he was told that he had a month to find work. He could not, however, do this, because he was not registered. In the middle of September he was fined for living for a long period without being registered.

On 5 October his grandmother's flat was searched. His papers, books published in the U S S R and abroad, and samizdat were confiscated. Several hours later he was arrested. He was charged under article 209 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('a parasitic way of life').

In connection with the papers confiscated from Zubakhin, on 12-14 October K G B officials interrogated **O. M. Mukhina,** a teacher of Russian Language and Literature at School No. 39, her father (an engineer), university student **S. Eryshev. G. Konstantinov** (a witness in the Bebko case — *Chronicle* 53), university graduate **A. Kolotilin** and his wife **T. Kolotilina.**

On 10 October B. Zubakhin's wife Olga Zubakhina submitted a statement to the Kuibyshev Regional Procuracy asking them to find an alternative punishment for her husband. On receiving a categorical refusal, she submitted another statement on 30 October, drawing the Procurator's attention to the fact that Zubakhin was being kept in custody without consideration of the seriousness of the charge or the family situation of the accused (Zubakhin has a three-year-old son).

The Interrogation of Tarto

On 12 September Enn Tarto (*Chronicles* 2, 47, 48, 50) was summoned to the Procuracy in Tartu and interrogated about a collective letter on the subject of the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Pact (see 'Letters and Statements'). Tarto refused to give any evidence.

Persecution of Members of the F I A W P Council of Representatives

During the night of 3-4 August two policemen and seven men in civilian clothes broke down the door and entered the flat of **V. Kuvakin** (*Chronicles* 48, 51) and detained **Nikolai Nikitin, Vladimir Borisov** and **Albina Yakoreva,** members of the Council of Representatives of F I A W P [Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People] who were there at the time. They were taken to Police Station No. 101 (for further information on Nikitin, see 'The Trial of Nikitin').

On the morning of 4 August Borisov's wife **Irina Kaplun** was summoned to the same police station. When Borisov and Kaplun attempted to approach one another the policeman on duty pushed Kaplun away hard (she was in her eighth month of pregnancy). Borisov declared a hunger-strike from the moment of his arrest and demanded to see the Procurator. His demand was rejected.

On 6 August a judge sentenced Borisov and Yakoreva to 15 days' arrest for 'resisting police officials' (their refusal to open the door). Kaplun was again pushed violently by a policeman during the trial (she went into labour prematurely and had to be hospitalized). On 7 August Yakoreva became ill and had to be taken to hospital by ambulance.

* * *

On 30 September V. Borisov, A. Yakoreva and **E. Nikolayev** were detained on a street near Nikolayev's home in Moscow. They were going there for a meeting of the F I A W P Council of Representatives (Chronicle 51). Three men in civilian clothes and one policeman, without previously showing them any documents, took them to Police Station No. 137. On the way there Nikolayev shouted out to passers-by that the police and the K G B were detaining completely innocent citizens and asked someone to tell his wife. Someone carried out his request and soon Nikolayev's wife T. Zaochnaya and her son, then V. Kuvakin, V. Novodvorskaya and L. Agapova, appeared at the station.

Borisov and Yakoreva were detained for three hours and released after they had signed a statement that they would return to their city of registration [Leningrad]. Half-an-hour later the local duty psychiatrist arrived in response to a police summons. He examined Nikolayev, but could find no reason to hospitalize him.

Voloshanovich and Kovner are Searched

On 4 October, near the station in Gorky, former professor at Gorky University M. Kovner (who was obliged to resign when he handed in his documents for emigration to Israel) and A. Voloshanovich (*Chronicles* 50, 51), consultant to the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, were searched on suspicion of 'speculating in foreign currency'.

Four books (three in English and the collection *Self-identity*[4]) and notes of his examinations of people who had previously been compulsorily hospitalized were confiscated from Voloshanovich. He was not given a copy of the record. On 8 October Voloshanovich wrote a statement to the Review Committee on Psychiatric Abuse of the World Psychiatric Association:

> ... However, what worries me most of all is the confiscation of my preliminary notes on my psychiatric examinations. The confiscation of these purely medical materials makes me fear that they might be illegally used against the people examined by me. Apart from that, the authorities might try to discredit me in the eyes of the people who came to me for help, using the fact that I have not been able to preserve medical secrets.

Kovner and Voloshanovich wrote protests to the Gorky City Procuracy. On 31 October Voloshanovich received an answer saying that the confiscated books and documents 'the handling of which is forbidden', had been sent 'to the K G B Directorate for Moscow City and Region, ie to the place of your permanent residence, for a final decision'. There he was told that the policeman who had refused to give him a copy of the record had 'had the incorrectness of his actions explained to him'.

Events in the Ukraine

The Goncharov Case

On 23 July Viktor Mikhailovich Goncharov (*Chronicle* 52) was arrested in the town of Novoukrainka, Kirovograd Region. He was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code).

* * *

On 25 September four searches were conducted in Odessa in connection with the Goncharov case. At the home of **Valentina Barladyanu** (*Chronicles* 45, 47) poetry by her husband Vasily (trial — *Chronicle* 46), his letters from camp, the copy of *A Chronicle of Current Events* in which there is an account of his case, extracts from materials of party congresses and conferences, a tape-recorder, texts of prayers, and receipts for registered letters to Goncharov were confiscated (144 items in all).

A list of the registration numbers of vehicles used by the K G B for their observations, and handwritten texts of the Covenants on human rights were confiscated from **Leonid Tymchuk** (*Chronicles* 39, 39, 42, 45).

Notebooks and personal correspondence were confiscated from **Anna Mikhailenko** (*Chronicles* 42, 44, 45, 49, 51).

Photocopies and xeroxed copies of *The Master and Margarita*, the journal *Herald of Truth* Nos. 1-3, Vasily Barladyanu's letters, articles by G. Pomerants, writings by M. Liyatov and joint letters of protest (39 items in all) were confiscated from **Anna Golumbievskaya** (*Chronicles* 34, 42, 44).

On the same day an investigator visited **V. Igrunov** (*Chronicle* 53) to talk to him 'about his views'.

* * *

In September S. Ostroushchenko, a local newspaper correspondent, talked to Golumbievskaya, Tymchuk and Valentina Barladyanu. It turned out that an article was being written about the moral make-up of Odessa dissidents.

* * *

At a teachers' conference in the Ilichëv District of Odessa, which took place on 23 August, third secretary of the District Party Committee Tryanova made a speech in which she said that there was no place for **Golumbievskaya** in a Soviet school because she did not vote and did not accept the Soviet Constitution. Tryanova asked for such an atmos-

phere to be created around Golumbievskaya at school that 'the earth will burn under her feet' and she would finally leave the school.

It turned out that in the spring and summer of 1979 relatives, colleagues and even former pupils of Golumbievskaya were summoned to the K G B and asked to give evidence against her. The head of the Odessa K G B Investigations Department stated that Golumbievskaya would definitely be imprisoned.

The Monakov Case

On 21 August **V. Isakova** (*Chronicle* 53) was interrogated in Leningrad in connection with the Monakov case (*Chronicle* 53), and the next day Lt-Col Kondratev interrogated **Evdokimov.** The investigators also asked about the Sery couple. In connection with the same case **G. Altunyan** (Kharkov) and **Valery Gnatenko** (Lvov) were interrogated at the end of August and **O. Meshko** (Kiev) on 3 September.

* * *

In Odessa on 3 September Major Khokhlov and Captain Grazhdan (*Chronicle* 48) summoned **L. Sery** to a confrontation with Monakov. Monakov said that he had given Sery the manuscripts of his anti-Soviet writings. Sery refuted Monakov's testimony. Monakov then said that he, with Sery's assistance, had been preparing to organize a workers' party, but Sery had not accepted his proposals.

On 6 September V. Seraya, under threat of being brought by force, arrived for a confrontation with Monakov. Investigator Lemeshko conducted the confrontation. Monakov repeated his testimony, adding that V. Seraya had not been present during his conversation with L. Sery and that he did not know whether she had read his papers. Monakov also explained that he had come to the idea of founding a workers' party as a result of the influence of Western radio-stations. Seraya said that Monakov had promised to petition for free food for one of her daughters, who was in his class, and that that was the sum total of his contact with the family.

On 20 September L. Sery was again summoned to the K G B and asked to write something down so that they could verify his handwriting. He refused. In conversations with L. Sery and V. Seraya, K G B officials are demanding that they renounce their intention to leave the Soviet Union and threatening to put them in prison or a psychiatric hospital, and their children in a home. It transpires that on the medical files of their two elder children, Edik and Vika, it says that they are handicapped. In fact the children attend an ordinary school and their work is perfectly normal.

On 31 August District Soviet E C official Negrov and his wife beat up Vika (who is 15) for entering the staircase to their flat. V. Seraya took Vika to the doctor, who diagnosed concussion. On a return visit to the clinic on 10 September it transpired that Vika's medical history had been mislaid. (V. Seraya considers that the history 'disappeared' because at one of her K G B interrogations she told the investigator about the incident and demanded that the guilty parties be punished.)

* * *

On 18 September in Kiev a local policeman visited **L. Murzhenko** (*Chronicle* 53) and demanded that she go at once to an interrogation. He said that he had a warrant to take her, but did not show it to her.

Murzhenko refused to go, since she had her four-month-old daughter with her. After waiting for her to finish breast-feeding the child, the policeman called two people who were waiting by the door. The three of them dragged Murzhenko to their car, not even allowing her to get dressed first. The policeman wrapped the child up carelessly, thrust it into Murzhenko's arms and took her off to be interrogated. Kiev K G B investigator Bereza questioned Murzhenko in connection with the case of Monakov, who is unknown to her.

The Arrest of Litvin

On 6 August Yury Litvin (*Chronicle* 53) was arrested in Vasilkov, Kiev Region. He had been summoned to a police station and did not return home. His mother, who had started searching for him, was handed notification from the Vasilkov Procuracy, dated 9 August, that Litvin had been arrested for committing an offence defined under article 188-1, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('resisting a police official or people's vigilante'). It was several days before Litvin's mother found out that he was being held at Lukyanov Prison in Kiev. Investigator Stepanenko informed her that Litvin had refused to talk to him.

From the moment of his arrest Litvin maintained a hunger-strike in protest. On the fourth day they started to force-feed him, which made his ulcer very painful. He was taken to the Pavlov Hospital for a psychiatric examination. Here he stopped his hunger-strike. (They accepted the first parcel for him on 22 August.) A month later he was diagnosed 'mentally normal' and taken back to prison. The investigation ended in September. On 3 October the Vasilkov District People's Court sent his case-file back for further investigation.

On 13 November Stepanenko informed defence counsel V. V. Medvedchuk that the case would be concluded by 20 November.

* * *

The following incident had preceded the arrest: on 19 July Litvin had bought a bottle of champagne and gone to say 'Happy Birthday' to his son. He was then detained by police on the beach in Vasilkov and taken to a sobering-up station. There he was forcibly undressed, strapped to a cot and beaten up. His release was achieved the same day,

with the help of the personnel manager of the factory where he worked, who valued him as a worker and knew that he never drank. This man and an ex-inspector of the District Education Department who knew the Litvin family well, went to the sobering-up station and got an M V D official of their acquaintance on to the case. Not only was Litvin released, he also immediately found that the administrative surveillance of himself had been lifted. However, the next day a policeman arrived at Litvin's home and made him out a receipt for the services of the sobering-up station.

* * *

Yury Litvin (b. 1934) was sentenced to 10 years in 1951 on a charge of stealing a collective-farm cow. Two years later the case was reviewed and quashed, and Litvin was released. In 1955 he was again arrested and sentenced to 10 years on a charge of organizing an anti-Soviet group during the time that he was in camp. He served his entire term in the Mordovian camps. He was sentenced for a third time in 1974 (*Chronicles* 37, 39) under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). He served a term of three years in the Komi A S S R and was released on 14 November 1977 (*Chronicle* 47). Litvin has acute thrombophlebitis and stomach and duodenal ulcers. He has had two operations, one in camp.

The Sichko Case

On 7 August, in the town of Dolina, Ivano-Frankovsk Region, a search was conducted in the flat of Pëtr and Vasily Sichko, who had been arrested on 5 July (*Chronicle* 53).**M. Lutsik** (*Chronicle* 51) and **O. Meshko** were present during the search. Immediately afterwards Lutsik was taken away somewhere and Meshko was asked to go for an interrogation. She refused categorically. Meshko left the same night for Lvov. An official came to the flat where she was staying and ordered her to return immediately to Kiev, threatening that if she did not comply the occupant of the flat would be punished for violating residence regulations. Meshko was obliged to submit.

On 23 August an article by A. Pavlyuk was printed in the local newspaper *Red Dolina*. Entitled 'The Dirty Deeds of Provocateurs', it was about the Sichko family.

On 5 September Stefania Petrash (Pëtr Sichko's wife and Vasily's mother) sent a protest to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet in which she listed and refuted the libellous fabrications contained in the article.

On 26 September the pre-trial investigation of both Sichkos was concluded. Vasily, who had spent 40 days under psychiatric observation, was ruled responsible. A parcel which Stefania Petrash prepared

for her son was accepted, one for her husband was not; they told her he had refused it.

A Search at the Home of Surovtseva

On 30 August in the town of Uman, Cherkassy Region, a search was conducted at the home of 83-year-old writer and historian N. V. Surovtseva (the name on her passport is Olitskaya; she is the wife of E. L. Olitskaya's brother — see *Chronicle* 34, also *Chronicle* 47). The search was conducted with the purpose of discovering stolen goods, allegedly taken by her lodger, the poet **D. Kalyuzhny.**

There were several people in the house when the search, led by Senior Lieutenant D. Mishchenko, took place. These were, apart from Surovtseva herself, Kalyuzhny, **S. Gulyk** (*Chronicle* 48) from Lvov, **E. Gabovich** (*Chronicle* 53) from Moscow, and two people from Kiev. Notebooks were confiscated from all the visitors, they were advised to go home immediately, and the officials insisted that Gabovich, who had been about to go to Lvov with Gulyk, should not do so.

Surovtseva's memoirs about the Ukrainian writer Yu. Smolich, and Kalyuzhny's poetry and private notes were confiscated. Trousers, boots and a plastic butt from a penumatic rifle belonging to Kalyuzhny were also taken away.

* * *

Gabovich did, however, go to Lvov. On 1 September, when walking through the town with friends, an unknown man came up to them, asking for a light, then hit Gabovich's friend **Valery Gnatenko.** A voice was heard from behind, shouting 'Not that one!' Several more men ran up and pushed Gabovich into a car. He was taken to a police station, locked in a cell and told that he was being charged with petty hooliganism. They ignored all Gabovich's demands for a piece of paper on which to write a statement. Gabovich started a hunger-strike. Some time later Gabovich was told that a criminal charge of hooliganism had been brought against him for attacking the 'stranger' who had hit V. Gnatenko. Twenty-four hours later Gabovich was released, after he had signed an undertaking that he would stay in Moscow. He then returned to Moscow and on that note the 'criminal case of hooliganism' ended.

The Arrest of Rozumny

On 8 October Pëtr Pavlovich Rozumny (b. 1926) was arrested.

Rozumny was arrested as he was returning from a visit to Evgeny Sverstyuk, who is serving a term of exile in Bagdarin (see 'In Exile'). Rozumny is now in the Dnepropetrovsk Region U V D Investigations Prison. Police Investigator Captain Tkachenko informed Rozumny's

brother: 'We'll have him sent down at any cost. He doesn't work and he flits all over the country.'

On 20 October Sverstyuk was interrogated. He was asked whether he had seen a hunting-knife in Rozumny's possession. In a statement to the USSR Procurator-General, dated 20 October, Sverstyuk wrote:

> ... Yes, I have seen it. And I'm not the only one. All the competent, informed and instructed organs of your regime have seen it too, at each place where he has changed planes.
>
> But if the authorities return such a 'weapon' to a person in order to use it as grounds for bringing criminal charges against him if the chance arises, then the authorities concerned are provocateurs and, in essence, hostile to the citizen ...
>
> I address this statement to you, because it is in your power to put a stop to this shameful outrage to the law and human dignity, this purposely frightening demonstration of tyranny, which puts one in mind of the famous proverb about Soviet legal officials: 'Find us a man and we'll find you a case against him'. How dangerous it is now to declare oneself a decent person and a friend of a dissenter.

* * *

Rozumny is an English teacher. In 1967 he was barred from teaching work and in 1978 he was made redundant by a building organization.

The Arrest of Gorbal

On 23 October, soon after his return from a trip to Moscow and Perm, Nikolai Gorbal [in Ukrainian: Mykola Horbal] (*Chronicle* 47) was arrested in Kiev. At 10 pm five people, including a woman, attacked him in the street and took him to the October District Police Station. Three days later he found out that he was charged under article 117 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('rape') and the victim and witnesses were the people who had attacked him. The investigator maintains that there is a female witness (whose name he has not disclosed) who had either acquainted Gorbal with the victim or seen them together on the day.

* * *

Gorbal was born in 1941 on Polish territory. During or shortly after the war his family was forcibly resettled in the Khabarovsk Region, from which they then moved to the Ternopol Region. He graduated from the music college and worked as a teacher in a middle school. At the same time he studied at a teachers' training college.

In October 1970 Gorbal was sentenced to five years of camps and two years of exile for writing the poem *Thought*. Since 1977, on completion of his sentence, he has lived in Kiev, working as a lift operator.

* * *

In connection with his arrest, a group of Ukrainian defenders of the rule of law sent appeals to human rights organizations in the USSR, the USA, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and to Amnesty International and President Carter (14 signatures):

> The filthy charge against Gorbal and his crude arrest are new evidence of the fact that the time of political trials in the Ukraine is passing and a new age is dawning in which political prisoners are being sent to criminal camps after being framed on criminal charges. This is being done, of course, to stop the wave of protests against political trials in the USSR, to lower the number of political prisoners in special-regime camps and at the same time weaken their unity, also to put defenders of the rule of law in an extremely difficult situation, and to heap slander on the human rights movement. We remember that human rights workers such as Smogitel, Monblanov and Melnichuk were charged with hooliganism and former political prisoners Yury Litvin (a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group) and Vasily Ovsienko with resisting the police. A charge of rape is especially convenient because, according to article 70 of the Ukrainian Code of Criminal Procedure, a rape case can be heard in camera, and therefore the relatives and friends of the accused have no right to attend the trial. Moreover it is a trump-card for the propagandists — to discredit Ukrainian defenders of the rule of law in this way.

V. Stus, S. Kirichenko and **P. Stokotelny** sent a telegram to Brezhnev, demanding that he prevent the reprisals being prepared against N. Gorbal.

Political exile **Valery Marchenko** (*Chronicle* 53) wrote a letter to Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev — ' ... I know Nikolai well. He is a very religious man, *a priori* incapable of such an act ... '

* * *

In spring 1979 Gorbal received an invitation from his sister in the USA and tried to obtain permission to emigrate. His wife Anna Marchenko (Valery Marchenko's aunt) then waited about six months for the letter from her place of work without which OVIR refuses to accept applications. She was given the letter on 24 October, the day after her husband's arrest.

On the same day **P. Stokotelny,** who had applied for permission to visit the USA by invitation, was summoned to OVIR. He was told that he would not be allowed to go just for a visit, but that he could

rewrite his application and leave permanently. Stokotelny consented to this.

Persecution of Kirichenko

The investigator in charge of the case against Yury Badzyo (*Chronicles* 52, 53) has told Badzyo's wife Svetlana Kirichenko (*Chronicle* 53) that as the manuscript *The Right to Live* which incriminates Badzyo is written out in her handwriting, she must be an accomplice or possibly the initiator of the crime.

Kirichenko has been dismissed from her place of work. In November her telephone was disconnected. Correspondence, including money orders, has not been reaching her.

* * *

The telephones of **P. Stokotelny** and **L. Litovchenko** were disconnected at the same time. The telephone of **L. Svetlichnaya,** Ivan Svetlichny's wife, had been disconnected in June.

Mafia-like Actions

On 2 August **Vladimir Malinkovich** (*Chronicles* 49, 52, 53) was beaten up and then arrested for 15 days. As he was walking towards his house at around midnight he was attacked by a stranger. When Malinkovich called for help two more men jumped out from behind some bushes, threw him to the ground and tied him up. Then a policeman appeared. Malinkovich was taken to the Shevchenko District Police Station, where a statement was drawn up in which Malinkovich figured as the assailant of the first stranger, and the two others figured as witnesses. The Shevchenko District Court sentenced him to 15 days' arrest. His relatives were not informed of the arrest.

Soon after his release, a meeting took place in the institute where he worked and his dismissal was demanded. The director of the institute asked him to write a statement of repentance. He refused. He was later made redundant and is now unemployed. On 23 August Malinkovich's wife Galina was cautioned by the K G B that she could be brought to trial for slander.

On 4 November Malinkovich was again assaulted, this time in the afternoon. Galina Malinkovich and Olga Matusevich, in whose presence the attack took place, shouted and called for help. All approaches to the place where the incident was occurring had been blocked off by K G B officials.

Malinkovich has twice been cautioned 'according to the Decree'. K G B officials have summoned him several times for interrogations and 'chats'. His friends and relatives have suffered threats and blackmail. His home has been searched on more than one occasion and he is constantly and blatantly shadowed.

* * *

On 25 November **Mark Belorusets** was again assaulted at the entrance to his home (*Chronicle* 53).

From time to time he receives telephone calls from a man who says that it was he who attacked him and warns him to 'behave quietly'. It is possible that the purpose of the attack and the attempts to frighten Belorusets is to compel him to emigrate. The K G B official 'monitoring' him has hinted to Belorusets that it would be desirable for him to emigrate.

* * *

In Lvov in September **Lyudmila Dashkevich,** wife of the historian Yaroslav Dashkevich (whom the authorities consider untrustworthy because of his acquaintances), asked a 'private-enterprise' cab-driver for a lift. He drove her into the woods and tried to rape her. She managed with difficulty to get away from him and ran away, wearing only her underwear. Before this, he had asked her: 'What begins with "I" and hangs from a tree? Don't you know? It's IVASYUK!'* (*Chronicle* 53). The things which she had left in the car turned up in the morning outside her front door.

The Arrest of Streltsov

On 25 October Vasily Streltsov (*Chronicle* 53) was arrested in Dolina, Ivano-Frankovsk Region, for 'a violation of the passport regulations'. Two years previously he had renounced his Soviet citizenship and handed in his passport. He refused to take it back, despite attempts by K G B officials to persuade him.

* * *

On 30 October a document entitled 'Lamentation' was issued. The document contains a large number of facts concerning 'the escalation of state terror and slander' against members of the movement to defend the rule of law in the Ukraine, and concludes as follows:

> The Ukrainian Helsinki Group finds itself threatened with liquidation, with having all its members put behind bars in the near future.
>
> We, who are women and members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, appeal in desperation to all progressive world society and in particular to international women's organizations, maybe for the last time.
>
> *Oksana Meshko, Nina Strokatova, Irina Senik*

*A popular young singer found hanging in mysterious circumstances.

Trials

The Trial of G. Mikhailov

The trial of Georgy Nikolayevich Mikhailov (b. 1944) took place from 27 August to 18 September in the Krasnogvardeisky District People's Court in Leningrad. Mikhailov was charged under article 153 part 2 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('private enterprise activity and activity as a commercial middleman') and article 162, part 2 ('conduct of a forbidden trade'). The Judge was V. I. Kovalenko, the prosecutor — L. I. Rodionova and the defence counsel — V. I. Vishnevsky.

* * *

From 1968 Mikhailov was a teacher of Physics at Leningrad University's Special Boarding School No. 45. In 1974 he completed courses in English and French and started working as a free-lancer at the House of Friendship.

In July 1974 he was summoned to the K G B for a talk, during which he was first subjected to intimidation and then asked to collaborate. He refused and stopped visiting the House of Friendship.

In 1974 Mikhailov started to collect pictures. He arranged an exhibition for the artist Yu. Galetsky in his flat, and his home subsequently became a permanent exhibition room. He has calculated that over five years more than 1,500 paintings by 100 artists have been seen there by about 9,000 people.

On 27 July 1977 a search was conducted at Mikhailov's flat. In his opinion this was a result of a letter he had written to Shchelokov complaining at the actions of O V I R, the police and the K G B, who had refused him permission for a trip to visit friends in East Germany. (Before 1974 he had not been refused permission for such trips.) He also said in his letter that the organs of internal affairs had been spreading slanderous information about him and demanding that the school administration dismiss him. At the search, apart from correspondence and foreign books, a camera, artists' catalogues and a collection of slides and photographs were confiscated.

On 3 August 1977 Investigator Grigorovich interrogated Mikhailov and on 14 August 1977 an article appeared in *The Week* [*Nedelya*] entitled 'Who are you? Doctor Mamontov?' saying that Mikhailov was a parasite who earned little bits of money by giving foreigners 'not-so-innocent information' about 'permafrost and boats with submarine fins'.

Mikhailov wrote a letter to the Procurator of Novgorod (with whose sanction the search had been conducted), to the U S S R Procurator-General and to the editor of *The Week*, protesting against the illegal

actions and slanderous accusations. On 30 August 1977 he was arrested, interrogated and then released immediately.

On 2 September 1977 he was dismissed from his job and brought an action against the school administration. On 9 September 1977 he was asked to collect the things that had been confiscated during the search. He refused to go for them and the next day all the things, including the slides, camera and photographs, were brought to his house.

On 26 September 1977 Mikhailov received an answer from the Procurator of Novgorod which said that no one in the Novgorod Procuracy had sanctioned the search. It transpired that the head of the Krasnogvardeisky District Department of the Leningrad K G B had signed his name on Novgorod Procuracy stationery. In spite of insistent requests not to take the matter any further and to consider the incident forgotten, Mikhailov continued to correspond with the Procuracies of Leningrad, the R S F S R and the U S S R almost up to the time of his arrest in February 1979. As a result he was returned some items which had been 'overlooked' earlier and paid 75 roubles compensation for the unlawful search. Mikhailov was told several times that several specially created commissions were looking into his case, that the Procurator of Novgorod's answer was issued in error, that the people who had broken the law had been punished, and that as for Mikhailov himself — there had been nothing criminal in his activities and he was free to pursue his involvement in pictures and photographs.

On 4 November 1977 a court reinstated Mikhailov at work and he was paid compensation for his period of involuntary unemployment. He tried to sue the author of the article in *The Week* for libel, but the court did not accept his petition on the grounds that there was no basis for assuming that the article was about him personally, since the article did not mention 'the patronymic of Georgy Mikhailov'. During that time he was informed, in a roundabout manner, that if he wanted to emigrate no obstacles would be put in his way.

On 21 February 1979 Mikhailov was arrested. It was 13 days before he was formally charged (witnesses were being interrogated during this period).

* * *

On 27 August, the first day of the trial, the indictment was read out. Mikhailov was charged with receiving around 12,000 roubles in commissions on the buying and selling of pictures by Leningrad artists which had been exhibited in his flat, and with the receipt of 4,000 roubles from conduct of a forbidden trade — the preparation of photographic reproductions in quantity (slides and photographs).

Mikhailov pleaded not guilty and explained that in 1977 he had received official confirmation that what he was doing was legal. The Judge interrupted Mikhailov constantly and told him to 'confine his observations to the present case'. Mikhailov stated:

> ... the investigation had no grounds for charging me with activity as a commercial middleman; this part of the indictment is a fabrication and demonstrates the investigation's dishonesty. I declare categorically: I never, in any form, received payment. Everything I did for artists and for my friends I did completely unselfishly and because of my interest in art in general and particularly in the art of contemporary young artists whose pictures I collected, exhibited and talked about to my friends and acquaintances.

According to witnesses' testimony, visitors to the exhibition organized by Mikhailov in his flat were able to buy works that they liked, and in this event, as a rule, they paid the artist himself. Only in rare cases did the artist ask for Mikhailov to collect the money for him. There was no charge for participation in or visits to the exhibition, and Mikhailov received no commission on pictures that were sold.

At the pre-trial investigation several artists said that they had given some of their work to Mikhailov as payment for his 'services'. However, this evidence was not confirmed at the trial. All the witnesses explained such evidence as the result of pressure by the investigators and asserted that they had given their pictures to Mikhailov out of friendship and because they wanted them to be in the collection of a well-known collector.

Mikhailov refuted the charge of conduct of a forbidden trade:

> ... I did not engage in a forbidden trade in prints and photographic reproductions, and I could not have done so as I did not possess the necessary reproducing equipment, as is confirmed by the results of both searches. It is also confirmed by the explanations which I received from the relevant legal organs to whom I had applied after the first search.
>
> The charge of preparing photocopies and of profiting from the preparation of slides and photographs is false, because I took no money from artists for preparing slides and photographs ... For my work in preparing the slides and photographs from their pictures, the artists themselves offered me the choice of a number of their pictures or the right to choose pictures of theirs in the future ...
>
> Therefore, both of the charges brought against me, engaging in commercial dealings and in a forbidden trade, are groundless; they are the fabrication, insulting to all concerned, of the investigative organs and the Procuracy with the purpose of discrediting me as a person, as a citizen and as a teacher; they represent a continuation of the persecution I have suffered from organs of the Procuracy since the time of the unlawful search, and are a settling of accounts for the consequences to a number of people of my appeal to the law in my own defence.

Witnesses confirmed that Mikhailov had taken money only for photographic materials: one slide cost them 50 kopecks as against the state price of 1 rouble 50 kopecks; or there had been a collectors' exchange, with slides being exchanged for pictures.

An expert was questioned at the trial who did not accept that photographs and slides were photographic output, let alone 'reproductions in quantity'. However a second expert, brought in at the request of the Procurator, said that any photographic image constituted photographic output. According to the second expert, 'one of the inefficient ways of reproducing slides in quantity is by using a camera and repeatedly photographing one and the same subject ... the preparation of negatives permits photographs and slides of varying formats to be printed and duplicated at any time in the future'. The defence lawyer's petition for appointment of a third expert was rejected.

The Procurator demanded a sentence of two and a half years' deprivation of freedom under article 153, part 2 and three years under article 162, part 2; as a combined sentence he called for three years in an ordinary-regime corrective labour camp and confiscation of property. The lawyer asked for acquittal — under article 153 because there was no evidence a crime had been committed, and under article 162 because of inconclusive evidence.

The court sentenced Mikhailov to four years in an ordinary-regime camp and confiscation of property. Unofficial Leningrad artists and writers issued a statement of protest against the sentence (46 signatures).

The Trial of Ermolayev and Polyakov

On 24 September the Moskvoretsky District People's Court in Moscow, presided over by N. N. Orlova, examined the case against Sergei Ermolayev and Igor Polyakov, charged under article 206, part 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism'). The prosecutor was Procurator Tsitsenko. Lawyer E. S. Shalman (*Chronicle* 50) defended Ermolayev and A. A. Rogatkin defended Polyakov.

Polyakov and Ermolayev were arrested during the night of 13-14 January (*Chronicle* 52). Both the accused underwent psychiatric examinations and were ruled responsible (*Chronicle* 53).

The courtroom was filled with a specially invited public long before the beginning of the hearing. Policemen crowded the staircase to the fourth floor of the court building, where the case was being heard. Only Polyakov's mother and his wife Elizaveta Tsitovskaya were

admitted to the courtroom; Igor's father A. M. Polyakov and Sergei's mother M. P. Ermolayeva remained in the courtroom after they had been examined as witnesses (both were summoned by the defence).

Ermolayev submitted three petitions at the beginning of the trial: to allow his friends and relatives into the courtroom; to have the things confiscated from him during the search (*Chronicles* 52, 53) returned to him, as they had no relevance to the case; and to postpone the trial, since the papers which he was using to prepare for it had been confiscated from him that morning by the Butyrka Prison administration. Defence counsel Shalman supported these petitions.

To the first petition, the Judge replied that there was no room in the courtroom, to the second — that the problem would be sorted out later, to the third — that the trial would not be postponed, but that if it were essential for Ermolayev to prepare his defence he would be given time for this.

Ermolayev then stated that he could not take part in the trial and asked to be removed from the courtroom. When this request was refused, he said that he would not give any evidence at the trial.

According to the indictment, at 20 minutes past midnight on 14 January (1 January by the pre-Revolutionary calendar) Ermolayev and Polyakov had entered a car of an underground train and started shouting insults about the CPSU. They did not respond to citizens' requests that they cease this outrage. They resisted the citizens who detained them, pushing them away and twisting their fingers; they tried hard not to let themselves be removed from the car. In the police room they insulted the police official who had helped to detain them as well as other citizens and the Soviet people as a whole. They had knelt and prayed.

Polyakov told the court that he and Ermolayev had shouted out twice: 'The CPSU is a gang! The CPSU are butchers!', after which they had remained silent. He had not put up any resistance to Bogoyavlensky or any of the others. He had not said a word in the police room. He did not deny that he had not been sober.

As Ermolayev had refused to give evidence in court, the evidence which he had given during the investigation was read out. (Ermolayev explained that he had given that evidence assuming that he was being charged under article 206, part 1; Investigator Chistyakov had assured him of that; the same Chistyakov had written down his evidence and had distorted all his points.)

Witness V. I. Bogoyavlensky began by demanding the most severe punishment for Ermolayev and Polyakov and their strictest isolation from society. He related that he had been travelling by underground with his acquaintance Osipova when, on Ermolayev's count of 'three, four!', Ermolayev and Polyakov had shouted out twice, 'The CPSU is a gang! The CPSU are butchers!' Horrified, he had approached and seized them. Polyakov had pulled his finger away, causing him pain. He had then asked other citizens to help him detain the hooligans. Three men had approached and together they had taken the detained parties to the police.

When Rogatkin asked whether the accused had resisted when being taken away, Bogoyavlensky answered that they could not have resisted since they were being held by four strong men. In the police room, according to Bogoyavlensky, Ermolayev and Polyakov had insulted the witnesses and the Soviet people as a whole and had said that they would have liked to serve in Vlasov's army [during World War II]. Polyakov had called Osipova a woman of loose morals (according to Osipova's evidence it was Ermolayev who was insulting her). Bogoyavlensky said that he had been so horrified at Ermolayev's and Polyakov's shouts that he had been ready to strangle them with his own two hands.

A. A. Osipova, virtually repeating what Bogoyavlensky had said, added that if she had had children like that she would have killed them (after the trial Bogoyavlensky and Osipova left the court building in a police car).

There were two further witnesses who had been involved in the detention: N. I. Ryzhkov (who confirmed Polyakov's evidence that he had remained silent in the police room) and policeman Zagitdulin (who said that Ermolayev had insulted him by calling him a crawler, that they had not resisted him, and that he had found Sakharov's telephone number in Ermolayev's address book).

In the report on Polyakov from his place of work it said that he was one of the department's best specialists and that he had tendered his resignation from the Komsomol several months before his arrest (the Komsomol expelled him after his arrest).

In her speech the Procurator accused the defendants of 'slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system'. She named an aggravating circumstance — they were both drunk — and extenuating circumstances: youth, first offence, Polyakov had a child to support (in fact Polyakov has no children). The Procurator demanded five years' deprivation of freedom for Ermolayev (the maximum sentence under article 206, part 2) and four years for Polyakov.

The lawyer Rogatkin said that if his defendant was being accused of 'slanderous fabrications defaming ...', then he should be charged under article 190-1, but he would not be found guilty because the article applies to 'systematic circulation' and not to an isolated incident. The lawyer demonstrated, by reference to the testimony of the witnesses, that Polyakov had not behaved like a hooligan and had not resisted; moreover his actions could not be called 'exceptionally cynical or especially insolent' (the words of article 206, part 2). The

lawyer argued that Polyakov's action was a result of his drunken state. He asked for Polyakov to be sentenced to an administrative measure of punishment.

The lawyer Shalman also said that the actions of his defendant did not constitute a crime under article 206. He pointed out that the accused could not have put up the resistance attributed to them against four adult, healthy men, one of whom was a boxer (Bogoyavlensky). In view of Ermolayev's state of health (he has gastritis, inflammation of the gall-bladder and hepatitis) he asked for him to be acquitted.

In his final speech Polyakov said that the incident had not arisen purely accidentally. He regretted that it had turned out as it had, but the incident had been sparked off by his convictions, which he did not feel it necessary to discuss in the courtroom.

Ermolayev also said that his shouts had reflected his convictions, but also regretted that he had expressed them in such a way. A short while before the incident A. Ogorodnikov (*Chronicle* 52) and others of his friends had been sentenced. He considered that they had been unlawfully sentenced, and so it was possible to understand his state of mind. Ermolayev said that his shouts had not insulted the people or the state and that much of the witnesses' evidence was false.

The court sentenced Ermolayev to four years and Polyakov to three years, six months in hard-regime camps. (The record of the trial states that the Procurator demanded not five but four, and not four but three years.)

A. Naidenovich wrote a short (three-page) essay entitled 'An Open Trial Soviet-Style' about the circumstances surrounding the trial. On 8 October E. Tsitovskaya appealed to Amnesty International to defend her husband,

> because in a country that calls itself civilized it is unthinkable to allow a man to be sentenced to three-and-a-half years for insulting ... the political party in power.

On 11 November the Moscow City Court, in an appeal hearing, left the sentence in force. By agreement with their defendants, the lawyers did not attend the appeal hearing, which lasted a few minutes.

The Trial of Nikitin

On 23 May a criminal charge under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code was brought against Nikolai Nikitin (*Chronicles* 51, 53), a member of the FIAWP* Council of Representatives (*Chronicle* 51). On 1 June Senior Investigator Topolyan of the Leningrad Procuracy signed a warrant for Nikitin's arrest. It appears that in

[* Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People.]

June and July the investigative organs did not know the whereabouts of Nikitin.

During the night of 3-4 August Nikitin was detained in V. Kuvakin's flat (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations'). He was taken to Police Station No. 101. There he was immediately shown the warrant for his arrest, sanctioned by Procurator Vasilev with the date of 6 August. Nikitin started a hunger-strike as a sign of protest and maintained it until the end of the trial.

On 7 August Investigator N. S. Borovik (*Chronicle* 52) conducted a search in **Kuvakin's** flat in connection with the Nikitin case. FIAWP bulletins and copies of Kuvakin's letters and statements to Soviet authorities were confiscated. Kuvakin noted on the search record a protest against the confiscation of materials that had no connection with any criminal case. On 7 September he sent written complaints to the Procurators of Moscow and Leningrad.

On 22 October the Leningrad City Court, presided over by Skipetrova, examined the case against Nikitin. The prosecutor at the trial was Procurator Petrov. Nikitin declined to have a defence counsel. Friends of Nikitin and a specially invited public were present at the trial.

Nikitin (b. 1948) was charged with having participated, in 1978-9, in composing FIAWP documents including a statement about the formation of FIAWP, statements in defence of V. Novodvorskaya (*Chronicles* 51, 52), M. Kukobaka (*Chronicles* 51, 53), V. Skvirsky (*Chronicles* 51-3) and Lev Sergeyev, a statement to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions [ICFTU] and a statement to the ILO [International Labour Organization]; a copy of the latter statement, in Nikitin's handwriting, had been confiscated from Mark Morozov's flat (*Chronicle* 53).

Nikitin pleaded not guilty. He explained that the statement to the ILO was simply copied from a text by an unknown author; he said that he was acquainted with the contents of the other statements but that he had not helped to compose them and had signed them in his capacity as a member of the FIAWP Council of Representatives. Nikitin also pointed out that the statement in defence of Sergeyev had nothing to do with FIAWP, as it had been written long before FIAWP's formation. The statement to the ICFTU, as it was unfinished, should be regarded simply as a piece of paper.

Nikitin petitioned to be allowed to give evidence sitting down; it was the third month of his hunger-strike and his head was spinning. The Judge granted the petition.

When People's Assessor Rylova asked: 'When did your involvement in this type of activity begin and for how long have you had these convictions?', Nikitin answered, 'My convictions are recent ones. They were formed when I began to discover more about what's

going on around me and when they started openly persecuting defenders of the rule of law.'

Rylova Where did you make these discoveries? Such facts, you know, if they do exist, are not usually publicized (laughter in the courtroom).
Nikitin I made these discoveries in the newspaper *Pravda*, in the newspaper *Izvestia* and through other channels of information.

Among the witnesses examined at the trial were Lev Volokhonsky (brought in under guard), the accused's wife Alexandra Nikitina, Yury Ushakov (his pseudonym is Galetsky; he was interrogated during the pre-trial investigation of the Volokhonsky case — *Chronicle* 53) and Andrei Druzhinin (he was examined at Volokhonsky's trial — *Chronicle* 53).

Here is an excerpt from the examination of Volokhonsky:

Judge Did Nikitin play an active part in composing F I A W P documents?
Volokhonsky Nikitin is on the F I A W P Council of Representatives and signed the F I A W P documents under which his signature appears.
Judge Whom can one consider to be the author of F I A W P documents?
Volokhonsky The Council of Representatives, everyone who signed.
Judge You mean that the people who sign a document are its co-authors?
Volokhonsky Yes, of course.
Nikitin The people who have signed a document must be its co-authors — is that your personal opinion?
Volokhonsky Yes, obviously.

The following is an extract from the Procurator's prosecution speech:

There are in existence renegades like Nikitin who try to defame everything. We have fought such renegades in the past and we will continue to fight them until we have suppressed such views.

The Procurator asked for Nikitin's state of health (he has a weak heart), his good record and the fact that this was a first offence to be taken into account, and for the court to award a punishment of two years' deprivation of freedom in an ordinary-regime camp.

From Nikitin's defence speech:

In the indictment, F I A W P's tasks were twice called deliberately false and slanderous, yet the task of the F I A W P, like that of any other trade union, is to defend workers' rights.

By introducing such statements into the indictment the Soviet authorities slander not only me personally but the F I A W P as a whole, and thus attempt to discredit the trade union movement by any means possible.

The F I A W P is a legal trades union organization. The right to establish such organizations is guaranteed by the U S S R Constitution and also by the International Covenants signed by the Soviet Government. Therefore the prosecution of Soviet citizens for belonging to a trades union organization which is not under the control of the C P S U is an anti-Constitutional act and it is a crime to carry out such a prosecution.

... The prosecution did not even try to prove that the contents of the F I A W P documents were untrue and I therefore consider it ridiculous to discuss the question of my relationship to these letters — whether I composed them, whether I circulated or merely signed them ... I only read the documents that I signed, but I was in full agreement with their contents. However, I am neither their author nor their distributor.

The charge is based on false assumptions. I am charged with preparing and distributing letters. The fact that I signed them is considered to mean that I wrote them.

The case is a fabrication from beginning to end.

From his final speech:

The Procurator mentioned in his speech that my parents had fought and defended Leningrad. I want to go into this in more detail. My parents defended with sweat and blood an embattled land, their Motherland, but not the Stalin regime. And this was in spite of the fact that they and millions of other Soviet people lived in fear, under pressure, under the threat of the camps.

I do not want a return to the Stalin era or to those events which took place after his death, in Novocherkassk for example.

I will always oppose violations of workers' rights, wherever they occur and whoever perpetrates them.

Two members of the F I A W P Council of Representatives have already been sentenced. I am the third. The F I A W P, a free trades union, is being tried under our very eyes ...

I also want to state that during the pre-trial investigation I was locked up for a month with a man in the active stage of tuberculosis. During this whole period I was not allowed the exercise laid down by law, the cell was never aired and the windows were never opened. When this man stopped his hunger-strike, which he could no longer maintain because of his state of health, and he was taken elsewhere, I asked to be examined for tuberculosis and my request was refused.

Recently I have been very short of breath and my heart rate

has increased. I am not talking about staying healthy now, I'm talking about staying alive. I am therefore stopping my hunger-strike, but I will be forced to resume it if I am not examined for tuberculosis and if I do not receive the necessary medical help. It's all right to risk one's health, but no one can deprive me of my right to live.

The judgment repeated all the points mentioned in the indictment apart from the letter to the I L O. The court sentenced Nikitin to one-and-a-half years in an ordinary-regime camp. The Judge called the sentence an act of humanity on the part of the Soviet state.

Skipetrova refused to allow notes to be taken during the trial. On 26 October V. Kuvakin sent a letter to the President of the Leningrad City Court complaining about 'the violation of the principle of openness of court proceedings'.

The Trial of Rossiisky

On 12 September, the day after he lost his job, Alexander Gotovtsev (whose artistic pseudonym is Rossiisky) was arrested as a parasite.

On 11 November the Babushkino District People's Court in Moscow, presided over by Judge Zhuikov, examined the case against him. Gotovtsev was charged under article 209 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, on the grounds that in the course of one year from 30 May 1978 he had been out of work for more than four months, despite the fact that he had twice been cautioned.

Gotovtsev was in fact out of work from 30 May until 30 July and from 22-31 August 1978 and from 1 March until 26 July 1979. He was first cautioned on 11 September 1978, when he was already working. He left his job on 1 March 1979. Later in March he gave in his old passport to get a new one. He was only given the new passport in June, and without a passport he could not get a job. On 30 May he was cautioned again and then sent to the Labour Commission. The next day he received a letter from Police Station No. 106 to say that he could go and collect his passport. On 27 July he started a job found for him by the Labour Commission, as a yard-keeper. After a visit to his head office, Works Department 106, he received two reprimands in the course of four working days. He was asked to leave. He left on 11 September. On 12 September he was arrested.

Gotovtsev explained the reasons for his periods without work to the court. By vocation and profession he was a musician; he had graduated from the cello class of music school and had also taken an exam to qualify him as a guitar teacher. It was difficult to find work in his field, but from 1 September 1978 to 1 March 1979 he had had such work, teaching guitar to children in the 'Yauza' House of Culture. In answer to the Judge's question about his reasons for leaving the club, Gotovtsev explained that he had had conflicts with the management — he had changed the time of his classes, as at the time allocated to him he was disturbed by rehearsals of a vocal and instrumental ensemble, and the manager had forbidden him to make the change. (It is known that the club's management was censured for employing Gotovtsev in the first place — see below.)

Gotovtsev also explained that, in spite of his efforts, it took three months for him to obtain a new passport and he could not get a letter explaining that his passport was being renewed.

In his speech for the defence, counsel V. M. Shershevsky pointed out that there had been no grounds for the first caution issued to Gotovtsev and that the caution therefore had no force in law. Moreover the indictment had ignored the objective impossibility of Gotovtsev's finding a job between March and May 1979. The defence counsel said that the hasty arrest of Gotovtsev, just one day after he had lost his job, gave one the impression that the police had other reasons for arresting him. He asked for Gotovtsev to be acquitted on the grounds that no crime had been committed.

The sentence: one year in ordinary-regime camps.

* * *

Alexander Rossiisky is known as a writer and performer of songs, many of which have contemporary socio-political themes. He was an active member of the Unofficial Song Club and the 'Sundays' (*Chronicle* 41) and has received attention from the K G B for a long time (*Chronicle* 43). Gotovtsev was interrogated at M. Morozov's pre-trial investigation (trial — *Chronicle* 53; Morozov is his father-in-law), but did not give evidence (*Chronicle* 52).

* * *

When Gotovtsev was under arrest, K G B officials came to talk to him. (One of these was present at the trial.) They promised to close his case if he would give evidence against V. Abramkin and write an incriminating statement against him and *Searches*. At his trial he managed to exchange a few words with Abramkin during a break (entrance to the courtroom was unrestricted), and to say that he had been told during interrogations that Abramkin had already been arrested.

An appeal (23 signatures) was circulated before the trial:

In Defence of Alexander Rossiisky

... The case against the 'parasite' Alexander Gotovtsev was prepared in advance and thoroughly. First, a man whose credentials identified him as an official of the Crime Department talked to the management of the House of Culture where he was working. Then

the club's director was accused through party channels of helping Gotovtsev to get up a Zionist circle. In the end, Rossiisky was forced to leave the club. The police withheld his passport for three months in order to prevent his finding a new job; they even refused to give him a letter to say that his passport was being renewed. After complaints to a higher authority, the passport was given to him only the day after a caution had been drawn up 'about his parasitic existence'. Gotovtsev was forced to leave his next job for approximately the same reasons as he had had to leave the previous one, and the authorities arrested him the next day, without even giving him the chance to collect his labour book (the point at which, by Soviet law, a person is considered formally to have left his job).

The indictment of Alexander Rossiisky will exploit this five-month break from working, three months of which were organized by the police department by not giving him a passport. However, as in dozens of similar cases, Rossiisky's fate will not be determined by the real circumstances of the 'case' but by the fact that he is a dissenter and by the contents of his art. The guardians of our ideological innocence fear his songs — both the ones he has already sung and, even more, the ones he has yet to sing.

The hounding of dissenters in the USSR has broadened its horizons to include not only defenders of the rule of law but also those whose artistic works are not helpful to the authorities and those whose activities make the growth of free art possible. Apart from Alexander Rossiisky we can mention in this context a man recently sentenced in Leningrad — **Georgy Mikhailov**, and the nonconformist artist **Vyacheslav Sysoyev**. The charges against these people ('parasitism', 'speculation', 'circulation of pornography') are criminal ones, but the price they are paying for the right to free creation is no less pernicious for that. We appeal to all honest people, both in our country and abroad, to rally to the defence of Alexander Rossiisky. We understand perfectly that this is unlikely to stop the reprisals against an innocent man; it has not helped in the past. But we have no other means, no other possibilities ...

(For information on Sysoyev see *Chronicle* 53 and 'Letters and Statements' in the present issue.)

In the Prisons and Camps

Chistopol Prison

On 2 August **Mikhail Kazachkov** (*Chronicle* 53) had a two-hour visit from his mother. Before the visit D. A. Kazachkova asked Malafeyev, the prison Head, to have the censor cross out the prohibited passages in the letters her hunger-striking son had written her and let her read the 'remnants' — so that during the visit she could pretend that she had been given the letters and could persuade her son to call off his hunger-strike. Malafeyev refused.

On 13 August D. A. Kazachkova went to the RSFSR Procuracy. V. Ya. Bolysov, Head of the department supervising places of imprisonment, told her that only the KGB had control over the work of the censorship.

In mid-September prison officials promised Kazachkov that he would be able to write and receive letters in the normal way, and gave permission for him to receive a food parcel from home (evidently in accordance with article 56, part 4 of the RSFSR Corrective Labour Code: 'ill prisoners ... may be permitted to receive supplementary food parcels'; prisoners serving their sentence in a prison do not generally have the right to receive parcels). Kazachkov promised to call off his hunger-strike (begun in January!) when he received the parcel. Prison officials added the name of **Balakhonov**, who was on hunger-strike with Kazachkov (*Chronicle* 53), to the telegram in which Kazachkov informed his mother that he had been permitted to receive a parcel.

In a letter to his mother, dated 24 September, Kazachkov wrote:

> ... On no account will I end my marathon before we have both received our parcels. We will talk seriously about medical treatment only when we have ended our extreme measures. At the moment, in my opinion, it would be unethical and premature. My neighbour's health is considerably worse than mine ... They have started to force B^1 (vitamins) down us and they are building him up with masses of powerful injections (the heart is a serious matter) ...

In October Kazachkov and Balakhonov received their parcels. On 12 October they called off their hunger-strike.
their hunger-strike.

* * *

A. Shcharansky (*Chronicle* 53) is still in bad health. Any references to his health in his letters are always crossed out by the censor. References to letters he has received are also deleted. In October Shcharansky was told to make changes in his regular letter to his family, and then the altered letter was confiscated.

In November Shcharansky was told that he had been deprived of his regular visit, which was to have taken place in February 1980.

* * *

In September, after five years in prison, **Vasily Fedorenko** was sent to Mordovian Camp 1. He still has to serve ten years in special-regime camps.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 1 (special-regime)

On 16 August **Aleksei Murzhenko** had a visit from his wife. On 3 September Lyubov Murzhenko wrote to the Head of the Medical Department of the Mordovian camp complex:

> My husband ... has for many years suffered from chronic over-acidity of the stomach.
>
> Recently these complaints have got worse. He has begun to suffer pain in the lower stomach and the kidney regions, he finds it painful to swallow and has the symptoms of dyspepsia. A rash of festering sores has appeared on his face.
>
> In addition, my husband is suffering from a latent form of pulmonary tuberculosis and chronic cardiovascular weakness with intermittent heart pains ...
>
> I ask you to arrange immediate hospitalization.

On 21 September M. K. Samoilenko, Head of the Medical Department, replied:

> ... Aleksei Grigorevich Murzhenko has been examined annually in the central hospital since 1972. He was last examined and treated from 25 May to 29 June 1979.
>
> On his discharge he was pronounced virtually healthy.
>
> At present A. G. Murzhenko's health is satisfactory and there is no evidence that he needs hospital treatment.

* * *

Ivan Gel's left hand is withering — he can no longer move his fingers. Doctors at the camp hospital cannot reach a diagnosis. Gel's wife Maria wrote several times to the USSR MVD asking for her husband to be given treatment, but received no reply. On 8 November she wrote to Amnesty International, appealing for help in obtaining her husband's release.

In November Gel was admitted to hospital.

Camp 19

In May **N. Rudenko** had a hernia operation. In June he fell ill with polyarthritis and was unable to walk for three months. He also suffers from gastritis. In July Rudenko staged a ten-day hunger-strike in protest against the fact that his poems had been confiscated yet again (*Chronicles* 48, 49).

* * *

Mikhail Karpenok is seriously ill. In 1978, while he was in the cooler, he began to suffer from pain in his leg. In order to gain admission to hospital, he went on strike. He was sent to hospital, but a week later he was told there was 'nothing wrong' and discharged. In 1979 the pain got worse, but he was still forced to work and called a shirker. It was not until his leg began to turn blue that he was admitted to the hospital, where he was operated on immediately. Just after the operation he was brought back to the camp, seriously ill. He was not admitted to the medical unit, but lay in the barrack where he lived. Rudenko carried him outside from time to time. Then the pain got worse again and his leg turned black, at which point 40 prisoners, including some 'old-timers' who do not usually take part in protest actions, declared a hunger-strike. (Such a mass act of solidarity had not occurred for many years.) After this Karpenok was admitted to hospital, where he was found to be suffering from bone decay.

* * *

From 14-18 September **R. Nazaryan, V. Osipov, Z. Popadyuk, N. Rudenko, S. Soldatov** and **A. Radzhabov** staged a hunger-strike in protest against compulsory political education classes (prisoners in this camp are punished for non-attendance at these classes).

* * *

In November-December 1978 **L. Lubman** and **A. Turik** were in Saransk for a 'prophylactic' session (*Chronicle* 51); they shared a cell there. On their return to camp they said that in Saransk they had suffered from severe headaches and watering eyes. This stopped when they were back in camp, but after a while Lubman began to complain of the same symptoms.

For this reason Osipov, in a statement to the USSR Procurator-General, demanded that Lubman and Turik be medically examined and endorsed their view that all this was the effect of some external influence.

At the beginning of August Lubman and Turik were transferred to Perm Camp 36. Here too, both of them, but especially Turik, maintain that they are being subjected to some sort of irradiation. The other prisoners do not believe it. They say that Turik talked of 'irradiation' as long ago as when he was in Vladimir Prison (he was there in 1975-1978 — *Chronicles* 39, 51).

* * *

B. Shakirov (*Chronicle* 51)[5] and **R. Nazaryan** have also been transferred to the Perm camps.

* * *

V. Lapienis, whose three-year camp sentence ended on 19 October, has been sent off to serve his two-year term in exile. In July his wife wrote to the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, requesting that her husband be released from serving his term of exile in view of his age (73) and state of health. She was informed that the prisoner would have to make the request himself.

* * *

In October Camp 19 was disbanded. Most of the prisoners have been transferred to Mordovian Camp 3 (*Chronicle* 51) and some to the Perm camps.

Camp 3

On 19 October 120 prisoners (including **N. Rudenko, V. Osipov, S. Soldatov, G. Ushakov, Z. Popadyuk, M. Karpenok** and **V. Kapoyan**) were transferred from Camp 19 to Barashevo, to Zone 5 of Camp 3 (ZhKh-385/3-5). Several of the warders from Camp 19 were also transferred here. The camp Head is Major Zinenko, former assistant to the Head of Regime at Camp 19.

The single barrack has been a little enlarged, but is very cramped nevertheless — the bunks are so close together that in some places there is not even room to put a bedside table between them. Eighteen prisoners (including **V. Osipov, Z. Popadyuk** and **S. Soldatov**) have occupied the 'red corner' [recreation and reading room]; they have been threatened with eviction from there to the barrack.

The prisoners' work is sewing gloves. The daily norm — 69 gloves — is difficult to fulfil (V. Osipov can manage 39 at present).

* * *

During the transfer from Camp 19 to Camp 3 a copy of the *New Testament* was confiscated from **V. Osipov,** with the explanation that prisoners are forbidden to have books published abroad. However, when Osipov's wife brought him a *New Testament* published by the Moscow Patriarchate, Zinenko would not allow him to have it.

* * *

Six letters addressed to his wife were confiscated from **Soldatov** without explanation.

The Perm Camps

In Camp 35 there are about 70 prisoners, in Camp 36 about 60; in Camp 37 there are 24 prisoners in the 'large' zone and 19 in the 'small' zone (see *Chronicle* 45).

Camp 35

On 14 April **N. Matusevich** was punished with 15 days in the cooler. In April he was deprived of his 'short' visit and in June he was sentenced to three months in the punishment block. In the punishment block he was sentenced to another 15 days in the cooler, for refusing to work (in *Chronicle* 53 his punishments were listed incorrectly).

At the beginning of July, T. Matusevich, who was not yet aware that her brother was in the punishment block, wrote to the camp Head, N. M. Osin, enquiring about the length of the 'long' visit (due on 18 July). Osin replied: 'deprived of visit'. To her repeated enquiry about this visit, T. Matusevich received a reply from Osin dated 10 August, in which he informed her that on 14 August Matusevich had been deprived of his 'regular visit' and that her brother would inform her himself of the date of the 'long' visit. At the end of September she did, in fact, receive a letter from her brother, who was by then out of the punishment block, inviting her to come for a 'long' visit and also informing her that on 14 August he had been told that his 'short' visit, scheduled for November, had been cancelled. She booked tickets and sent her brother a telegram saying she was coming, but two days before she was due to leave, she received a telegram from Osin announcing that her brother had been deprived of his visit. At the beginning of November Matusevich's mother wrote another letter enquiring about the date of the 'long' visit and his wife wrote enquiring about the 'short' one. A telegram from Osin soon arrived: 'Deprived of visits in 1979'.

Matusevich suffers from hypertension (on account of which he was exempted from military service) and has a weak heart.

In October N. Matusevich's mother appealed 'to all people of good will' to come to the defence of her son.

Few letters from his family reach Matusevich.

Camp 36

During the summer the construction of doors with metal surrounds and door and window bars began in the camp. The prisoners think that either a prison or a special regime zone will be built next to the camp.

* * *

There are 35 working prisoners. The rest are unfit for work.

* * *

An article by **Dovganich** (*Chronicles* 48, 50-52), former prisoner of Camp 36, was published in a Spring issue of *Towards a New Life,*

the special MVD periodical for prisoners. The article claims that 'dissidents' in the camp receive parcels and printed matter worth 250-400 roubles from abroad every month. The 'dissidents' overeat, pass food on to 'their own people', even in the punishment cells, and sell the rest to other prisoners. In order not to attract undue attention, the 'dissidents' deceive the warders, who think that they go to the bathhouse to wash, whereas in fact they go there to eat their supplies.

* * *

Before it was published, prison officials showed the article to **Kovalyov** (also is mentioned in the context 'Kovalyov and other Zionists ... ') and asked his opinion. Kovalyov replied that in his opinion the article could be freely published and that no commentary was needed.

* * *

On 20 September the prisoners of Camps 36 and 37 staged a joint 'Day in Defence of the Helsinki Groups'. This was the second day of its kind for the prisoners of Camp 37 (*Chronicle* 51). **Grigoryan, Ismagilov, Kovalyov, Marinovich** and **Yuskevich** staged a one-day hunger-strike and sent statements about it to the administration.

* * *

In the autumn a group of prisoners was transferred to a new job (the camp produces components for electric irons). To assemble one component a prisoner has to put in three or four 3-millimetre screws, using a semi-automatic screwdriver, and attach a cable to two of them. He must then twist the cable. The norm for the job is 700 components. None of the prisoners is able to fulfil this norm — the largest output does not exceed 400 components. Group 2 invalids (whose working day is half as long) have to fulfil half the norm, but in order to do this they continue working after dinner.

In an attempt to make the prisoners fulfil the norm, the administraton makes use of the fact that 'even' the invalids fulfil their norm. Some female workers, who performed the same job at a 'free factory' and fulfilled the norm in a day, visited the camp at the invitation of the administration.

The prisoners regard their transfer to this new job as a punishment, for it requires practice and a particular skill, whereas they had got used to their previous job and were able to fulfil the norm. Similarly, the prisoners who were in their turn transferred to the old job are still unaccustomed to it and unable to fulfil that norm.

Grigoryan, Ismagilov, Kovalyov, Strotsen and **Yuskevich** are known to be among those transferred to the new job. Strotsen's transfer was

evidently caused by his persistent refusal to write an appeal for pardon (*Chronicle* 52).

* * *

In the summer Nikomarov replaced Rozhkov as Head of Operation (it was Nikomarov who said to **Kovalyov** in March that the reason his visit from lawyer Reznikova did not take place was her own announcement that she did not want to see Kovalyov — *Chronicle* 53).

* * *

In August **Yuskevich's** daughter came to visit him. On the day of her arrival a notice was put up to the effect that visits were cancelled 'until further notice'. Yuskevich was granted his visit in Camp 35 a week later.

* * *

On 18 October duty officer Rak asked **Yuskevich** to explain why he was not at his work-place. Yuskevich replied that he was going to fetch water. That evening Yuskevich was informed that he was being punished with five days in the cooler for 'insulting' Rak. The following day, however, Yuskevich was unexpectedly (his sentence ends in December) dispatched under guard on his way to release.

(Such actions by the administration are termed 'snatches into transit' in camp jargon. The obvious reason for these 'snatches' is to prevent the prisoners who remain behind from transmitting any information to the outside world via the released prisoner.)

The following were confiscated from Yuskevich before his transfer: a copy of the judgment in his case; private notes, including a notebook with information on acupuncture, notebooks containing exercises in foreign languages, self-compiled mini-dictionaries, and 66 poems given to him by **I. Kalynets,** who was released earlier.

* * *

In 1981 **O. Kulak's** (25-year) sentence ends. Onufry Kulak was born in 1928. He took part in the war and was thanked by Stalin for his part in the taking of Berlin. In 1956 he was sentenced for belonging to the Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army [UPA]. Until the end of the 1960s he refused to work in camp. For several years now he has refused to receive parcels, printed matter and letters.

Kulak suffers from thrombophlebitis and a trophic ulcer in his leg. He is a Group 2 invalid. In 1978 attempts were made to persuade him to write an appeal for a pardon. He refused and was subsequently deprived of his invalid status (*Chronicle* 51). He was not restored to invalid status until August 1979. Attempts to persuade him to appeal for a pardon continue.

* * *

At the beginning of August about ten prisoners arrived here from Mordovian Camp 19. Apart from **A. Zagirnyak** (*Chronicle* 51), **L. Lubman** and **A. Turik**, the group included several prisoners sentenced 'for war crimes'. There were several completely senile or seriously ill prisoners among them.

* * *

On learning of **S. Kovalyov's** hunger-strike (from 15 June to 11 July, *Chronicle* 53), his son Ivan Kovalyov wrote to Brezhnev on 30 June:

> Naturally you realize that a prisoner who is already tormented by hunger will resort to such an extreme form of protest only in the most extraordinary circumstances.

Ivan Kovalyov then describes S. Kovalyov's refusal to engage in correspondence (*Chronicle* 47), the violation of his right to a defence, and the 'openly mocking' way in which he was deprived of his last (June) visit (*Chronicle* 53).

> My acquaintance with the Soviet penal system, which has lasted over four years, has convinced me that all acts of tyranny are left totally unpunished. I believe that you, as Head of State, are more than anyone else responsible for this lawlessness.

On 25 July Procurator Melnikov came to see S. Kovalyov. He said that he had come to discuss 'a complaint which has been received by the Procuracy of the R S F S R'. Having discussed in detail the reasons behind Kovalyov's hunger-strike, Melnikov asked two questions: were the prisoners tormented by hunger, and what was the situation as regards their medical service? Kovalyov replied that on normal camp rations the prisoners 'are not tormented by hunger', but he described the cooler rations in detail (1,350 calories one day, 850 calories the next, alternately the normal camp ration being 2,450 calories a day — *Chronicle* 33); speaking for himself, he could not remember an occasion when he had been refused medical assistance.

On 8 August A. S. Pobezhimov, a Deputy Procurator of the R S F S R, replied to I. Kovalyov's letter to Brezhnev: on the orders of the C P S U Central Committee a check had been carried out which ascertained that: S. Kovalyov's correspondence rights had not been violated in any way; he himself had announced in court that he would conduct his own defence and had refused the services of a lawyer; he had been granted three visits from his lawyer; a further visit had been arranged for 1 March, but Reznikova had refused to see Kovalyov (*Chronicle* 53); Kovalyov had been justly deprived of his June visit from his family; all the prisoners, including Kovalyov, were fed 'in accordance with the established norms'; medical assistance was and continues to be given; at present S. Kovalyov's health is satisfactory.

On 8 August Kovalyov had a 'long' visit from his family. For the first time he was granted 48 hours. During the visit Kovalyov described how in the spring he had been in the medical unit with hypertension — his blood pressure was over 200. (On 4 June, when his wife and children came to visit him, Fyodorov had told them that Kovalyov was in good health, there was no cause for complaint). During his hunger-strike Kovalyov's blood pressure fell to hypertonic level (100) but by the time of the visit had risen to normal again. Even then, however, he was still very weak, his legs still swollen.

Kovalyov told his family that he wanted to try writing letters again and had already submitted his first letter for censorship. In this connection he described a conversation he had had with camp Head Zhuravkov. During the last time he had seen his lawyer Kovalyov submitted a request to Zhuravkov — that he discuss things with him in the presence of his lawyer. Zhuravkov sent a message that he would definitely drop in, as soon as he could find the time. During the three days until Reznikova's departure, he did not 'find' the time. The discussion nevertheless took place the day after her departure.

Kovalyov explained to Zhuravkov that he wanted to write and receive letters again, but that he would like a guarantee that there would be no more 'losses' in the post. He considered the following a sufficient guarantee: he would write to his wife that Zhuravkov had confirmed that Kovalyov was correct in his interpretation of the law regarding letters which arrived for him, namely that the administration could either confiscate them, presenting him with the relevant document stating the reasons, or give them to him; letters he had written would either be returned to him by the censor for rewriting, or posted immediately.

Zhuravkov replied that Kovalyov understood the law correctly, but forbade him to mention in a letter that he had said this, or the letter would be confiscated. For this reason Kovalyov removed this passage from his letter. His wife received the letter. It is to date the first and only one.

Camp 37

A. Tsurkov (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53) has arrived in the 'large' zone. **M. Kostava, M. Kiirend** and **M. Tilgalis** are in the same barrack.

On 28 August A. Tsurkov had a 'long' visit from his wife, lasting three days. Before and after the visit she was throughly searched — to the point of being made to squat down and bend over. Tsurkov's sight has deteriorated considerably. He is suffering from thrombophlebitis.

* * *

On 21 August **Yu. Orlov** had a 'long' visit from his wife and son,

lasting 24 hours. When she was searched, Irina [Orlov's wife] refused to undress to complete nakedness.

The Deputy Camp Head in charge of regime told her that the visit was of minimum duration only, since Orlov 'does not want to fulfil the norm'. For failure to fulfil the norm, Orlov has been deprived of access to the camp shop and the administration is threatening him with further reprisals. In fact, he is unable to fulfil the norm on account of his poor health.

He is once again (*Chronicle* 53) working as a lathe operator. He becomes over-exhausted, often has headaches and pains in his spine, sometimes his right arm and leg become paralysed (these are evidently the consequences of the concussion he sustained in a motor accident). He has managed, with difficulty, to obtain permission to rest for two hours either before or after work.

For a year Orlov complained of toothache, but was unable to obtain assistance. He wrote to the USSR Procuracy. Shortly before the visit referred to above, he received a reply from the Medical Administration of the MVD: 'The dental technician came, you were seen to'. But Orlov got no medical treatment.

Orlov receives, on average, one letter a month from his wife, although she writes a great deal more often. He does not receive letters sent to him from abroad. He is forbidden to correspond on scientific matters and scientific observations are crossed out, even in letters to his wife.

Orlov received the following reply to his statement to the Procuracy concerning the confiscation of his scientific correspondence:

> ... The prisoner may keep with him his private correspondence, five books and nothing else; this includes anything in the form of scientific notes.

On 27 August, on her return from the visit, Irina Valitova published a statement concerning her husband's situation. In it she reproduced from memory Orlov's statement of 12 May — the third anniversary of the founding of the Moscow Helsinki Group:

On the Group's Anniversary

> I believe that our sacrifices are not in vain!
>
> During the many years of its existence, the Democratic Movement has contributed
>
> — to changing the phraseology of the powers that be, and this influences the next generation;
>
> — to the ideological emancipation of the intelligentsia;
>
> — to a growing sympathy among workers for the campaign for political and civil rights.
>
> Therefore I look to the future with optimism.

At the end of September or beginning of October Orlov sent a list of camp 'stool-pigeons' to the KGB; one of them (Syurguchev) had admitted to Orlov that he had been 'assigned' to him.

In October Orlov was questioned in connection with the fact that the manuscript of a scientific article written by him had been found outside the zone (one of the 'free' workers was suspected of taking it out). On 22 October Orlov was sentenced to six months in the punishment block on this account.

* * *

On 24 September **M. Kostava, B. Mukhametshin, A. Berniichuk, M. Kiirend, A. Tsurkov, S. Kuznetsov, N. Belov, Kokorin, Ukolov** and **Magdeyev** staged a one-day strike. In the statements they sent to Khorkov, Head of 'Institution VS-389', they protested against the substitution of oats for groats and ducks' giblets for meat, the delaying of letters, the lack of a daily milk ration for those doing harmful work (instead of 0.5 litres daily they are given 3.5 litres once a week) and the showing of the same film for weeks on end.

The strike was answered by punishment (some were issued reprimands, others given extra cleaning duties).

* * *

The administration are confiscating stamps and blank post-cards, including those with pictures and envelopes which arrive in letters (see *Chronicle* 52).

In Other Prisons and Camps

In his new, 'criminal' camp **V. Pidgorodetsky** (*Chronicle* 53) met Khromushin, former Head of Operations at Perm Camp 35, known for his sadistic tendencies. Now he is Assistant District Procurator responsible for places of imprisonment. Pidgorodetsky asked Khromushin about the reason for his transfer. He replied: 'So I can be treated for otitis'.

'Why can't I have treatment?'

'I don't know.'

In his letters Pidgorodetsky describes the savage customs in the 'criminal' camp and says that he dreams of returning to a 'political' camp.

Pidgorodetsky is known to be suffering from hypertension and coronary weakness (irradiation in the left arm), and he becomes short of breath when under physical strain. Now he complains of otitis and pains in his right arm.

In Perm Camp 35 he was operated on for a hernia, but the operational incision did not heal for several months and turned septic.

* * *

M. Simchich (*Chronicle* 53) has written — first to the M V D, then to the K G B — asking for a transfer, either back to Perm Camp 35 or to Zaporozhe Region (his family lives in Zaporozhe), since conditions in his new camp are very harsh for a man in his state of health, and it is very difficult for his wife to come and visit him. In his statement to the K G B he wrote: '27 years of imprisonment have ruined my health. During my eight years in Kolyma I lost nearly all my teeth through scurvy'. In his new camp Simchich was asked to write to his family in Russian; he replied that he never had, and would not do so.

At the time of his transfer, Colonel Karpov, an official of the Perm Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, had a talk with Simchich. At the end of the three-hour session Karpov said: 'I can see that they have not managed to re-educate you after 27 years, so I am certainly not going to try. You can stay with your beliefs'.

* * *

In mid-October **V. Barladyanu** (on his trial see *Chronicle* 46; in camp — *Chronicles* 47, 48, 51) declared a hunger-strike, demanding the return of material confiscated on 25 September during a search of his wife's home (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

Barladyanu's fellow-prisoners are being questioned as to whether he is slandering the Soviet regime. He is being threatened with new charges. His term ends on 2 March 1980.

* * *

In July-August **E. Buzinnikov** (for his trial see Chronicle 51; in camp — *Chronicles* 51-53) worked as an assistant electrician.

In July a pastry was confiscated from a parcel of printed matter addressed to Buzinnikov. It was described in the report as 'an unknown substance with a specific smell' (the pastry was savoury).

Division Head Lieutenant Shulyayev asked Buzinnikov whom he knew abroad, and insisted that prisoners were forbidden to correspond with people abroad. He actually confirmed that the fact that Buzinnikov was not receiving his mail was connected with the article under which he was sentenced (article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code).

Because 'Institution I-299/2' was being converted from a strict to a special-regime camp, on 9 October Buzinnikov and the other prisoners were transferred to 'Institution I-299/6'. They were transported in iron boxes fixed onto the backs of lorries, with 30-35 people (loaded from above) in each box.

On 28 October Buzinnikov was transferred to another camp with the address: 623980 Sverdlovskaya oblast, g. Tavda — 1, pos. Bely Yar, uchr. I-299/1-9. He works in the packaging workshop.

* * *

A. Ogorodnikov (*Chronicles* 51, 52), who is in a camp in Komsomolsk-on-Amur, has been put in the cooler three times for 'preaching'. There have been no letters from him since April. In the autumn he was brought to Leningrad (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations'). His sentence ends on 20 November.

* * *

In June **I. Zisels** (for his trial see *Chronicle* 53) arrived in a camp with the address: 275000 U S S R, Chernovitskaya oblast, g. Sokiryany, uchr. RCh-328/67-D (a camp with hard regime) [see illustration 14].

The timetable is: 5.30 am: reveille; 5.40: breakfast; 7.00-15.00: work; 16.20: dinner (according to medical norms the length of time between meals should not exceed eight hours); 17.00-20.00: free time; 20.00: roll-call, supper; 21.20: sleep. The prisoners live in three-storey stone buildings. In Zisels's section there are another 15 prisoners; the bunks are in two tiers.

The doctor exempted Zisels from work underground (extracting rocks from a mine) because of his stomach ulcer. At first Zisels was sent to mend sacks, then he was transferred to putting wooden boxes together.

At the beginning of August Zisels was issued a reprimand for asking whether he and other prisoners would be given milk at their new jobs. The reprimand was formulated: 'He blackmailed the group into refusing to work'. In August Zisels fulfilled the norm and was rewarded with an extra two roubles to spend in the camp shop. After deductions, a total of eight roubles 39 kopecks was paid into his account for the month of August.

On 29 August Major Revutsky, Deputy Camp Head for Political Matters, and Captain Chernei, Head of Operations (his wife is the censor), informed Zisels that two letters from P. A. Podrabinek (*Chronicle* 48) had been confiscated. The reason was: administration officials found the subject matter incomprehensible and the references to foreign sources confusing. Zisels managed to get the letters given to him on 7 September.

On 29 August about 40 prisoners, including Zisels, left work at 12 noon and went to have dinner. The following day the camp Head, Yakovlev, ordered that everyone should go for dinner at 12 noon. On 30 August Zisels refused to write down his socialist labour obligations. On 31 August he was transferred back to mending sacks. It was announced that those prisoners who did not fulfil the daily norm (65 sacks) would carry on working until they did so. On 1 September, 20 out of 21 prisoners failed to fulfil the norm and 11 of them, including Zisels, were made to stay behind and continue working. They refused to work and were all allowed to go. Zisels wrote a statement concerning the unrealistic norm and the poor working condi-

tions (the building is damp and the prisoners work standing up and stooping). On 3 September (2 September was a Sunday) there was no attempt to make anyone stay behind at the end of the working day. On 4 September Zisels was again sent back to putting boxes together.

On 7 September Zisels fulfilled 150% of the norm. After work the deputy brigade leader announced that the brigade would peel potatoes after work, both that day and the next; it was up to each prisoner to choose his day. Zisels decided he would go on the 8th. An hour later, on the orders of the camp Head, he was placed in the cooler for 15 days, for refusing to peel potatoes (only five out of 18 prisoners went to peel potatoes on the 7th, but no one else was punished).

Zisels was not taken out to work while in the cooler, so he received correspondingly lower rations. He was unable to sleep for four days and nights because of the cold. He was given a towel on the fifth day, soap and a toothbrush on the sixth. On 9 September a K G B official came to see him in the cooler. He told Zisels that if he continued helping other prisoners to write complaints and statements, things would end badly for him.

Zisels wrote to the Regional Procuracy complaining about his unlawful sentence to the cooler. Four days later an Assistant Procurator of Sokiryany came to see him, but would discuss only Zisels's complaint about the illegal reprimand; he refused to discuss the cooler sentence, saying he was 'not authorized' to do so.

On 15 September Zisels's stomach ulcer got worse and he called the doctor. The medicines the doctor prescribed (almagel and no-shpa) were not available and he was treated with besalol. The same day Revutsky and Captain Pushny, an official of the Chernovtsy Regional O V D, came in response to Zisels's complaint about the cold cell; they said they did not find it cold. Throughout his remaining days in the cooler Zisels asked, repeatedly and without success, to be put on a regime that involved going to work, because of his illness. Zisels left the cooler on 22 September. The prisoners greeted him warmly.

On 1 October he sent statements to the Ukrainian Procuracy and the Ukrainian Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, in which he listed all the injustices perpetraed against him during the previous three months. On 5 October Zisels's wife sent the following letter to the camp Head:

Respected Comrade Yakovlev!

Thank you for finding time, although you are extremely busy, to answer my telegram concerning the absence of letters from my husband, Iosif Samoilovich Zisels.

You are doubtless aware that according to the doctor who works in your institution, my husband is suffering from a stomach illness. This was the reason he was exempted from work in the mine.

I have learned that last month my husband spent 15 days in a punishment isolation cell, which led to a worsening of his stomach illness. Unfortunately I do not know what regulations my husband had broken in order to earn this punishment but, in the circumstances, the important fact is that the punishment damaged his health.

I imagine that he must have been put in the punishment cell without your knowledge, since you must undoubtedly be aware of the humane principle of Soviet law which states that a punishment must not in any way harm the health of the prisoner.

I hope that next time you are forced to punish my husband you will find a way of doing so which will not harm his health.

You are very busy, so please do not trouble to reply to my letter.

During a search on 1 October an unposted letter addressed to V. Bakhmin, describing the September events and a supervisory complaint he had written for another prisoner, were confiscated from Zisels. He was again sentenced to 15 days in the cooler. The official reason was: illegal correspondence, insulting the administration in statements to the Procuracy of the Ukrainian S S R (according to the Corrective Labour Code, statements addressed to the Procurator are not subject to camp censorship) and helping other prisoners to write complaints. As he was sending Zisels off to the cooler, the camp Head expressed disappointment that 'There's no Hitler to deal with him'; he threatened to set the criminal prisoners on to him, to let him rot in the mine, and to send him off to the far North.

On 16 October, when Zisels had left the cooler, Chernei informed him that three foreign letters addressed to him had been confiscated. The reason was that they contained too much undesirable information. Zisels's health deteriorated and on 18 October he was admitted to the medical unit; he was discharged a week later.

On 30 October, Political Prisoners' Day, Zisels staged a one-day hunger-strike. In an accompanying statement which he handed in to the administration, he protested against tyranny, threats and repression. For this he was deprived of a 'short' visit scheduled for November. The official reason was stated thus: a hunger-strike is a violation of the regime, since according to paragraph 1 of article 23 of the 'Rules on Internal Order', eating takes place in the dining room in accordance with the daily timetable. Yakovlev gave Zisels a severe talking-to, during which he let slip some anti-Semitic expressions.

On 10 November Zisels, who had a cold, refused to go and peel potatoes, which earned him another 15 days in the cooler. On 12 November Zisels was taken to an M V D hospital in Lvov 'for examination'. At the same time his wife received a letter from the Ukrainian Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, informing her that

her husband had been transferred 'to another camp', 'for health reasons'.

* * *

After his trial **L. Volokhonsky** (*Chronicle* 53) remained in the 'Kresty' ['Crosses'] Prison in Leningrad, doing odd jobs. On 22 October he was taken to the trial of his friend N. Nikitin (see this issue).

On 23 October Volokhonsky registered his marriage to Natalya Lesnichenko. He was granted an hour-long visit from his wife and mother — they spoke through a glass partition. On 24 October Volokhonsky was transferred to the ordinary-regime camp known as 'Yablonevka' (195213, Leningrad, uchr. US-20/7). On 11 November he was taken back to 'Kresty' Prison. On 14 or 15 November he was taken off on a journey under guard.

* * *

V. Bebko (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53) was held in the Syzran Investigations Prison — 'uchr. IZ-42/2' — until the middle of October.

On 20 August his mother, F. N. Bebko, complained to the Procuracy about the way in which her son was being bullied by his cell-mates (*Chronicle* 53). A. P. Martynov, Assistant Procurator of Syzran, replied on 11 September:

> ... on his arrival from Investigations Prison-2, V. V. Bebko was put in cell No. 128, from which he was transferred to another cell because of his strange behaviour.
>
> A check-up has not revealed that your son was subjected to violent treatment by prisoners in the cells he occupied.
>
> The administration of Investigations Prison-2 recommended tighter checks on the conduct of other prisoners towards your son, who, due to certain mental deviations, behaves somewhat strangely and utters confused thoughts.

In the 'other cell' the situation was no better: his cell-mates took Vladislav's pillow and blanket, kept taking his clothes, sheets and most of the food he received in parcels; they also tried to rape him. F. N. Bebko described all this in a letter to the Kuibyshev Regional Procurator, dated 12 October.

On 20 August the R S F S R Supreme Court heard lawyer N. Ya. Nemerinskaya's (her name is spelt wrongly in *Chronicle* 53) appeal and left the verdict in Bebko's case unchanged. News of this did not reach Syzran until the middle of October.

On October V. Bebko arrived in camp with the address: Kuibyshevskaya oblast, Stavropolsky raion, s. Verkhnyaya Belozerka, uchr. UR-65/12-2-20.

* * *

An article about V. Bebko, entitled 'Under the False Mask of "Truth-seeker"', appeared in the Kuibyshev Polytechnic Institute's newspaper *Young Engineer*. On 14 November the article was reprinted in *University Life*, the newspaper of Kuibyshev University.

* * *

On 13 August **M. Kukobaka** (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53) arrived in a camp with the address: 211440, Vitebskaya oblast, g. Novopolotsk, uchr. UZh-15/10-D. The camp Head is Major Novik, the Deputy Head in charge of Regime is Major Kosyak and Head of Operations is Major Goncharov.

On 24 August Kukobaka sent a 'supervisory complaint' to the U S S R Supreme Soviet:

> My beliefs are directly opposed to Soviet communist ideology and cannot be changed through any 'corrective labour'. I have already served seven years' imprisonment on their account ...
>
> I cannot and do not wish to live in conflict with my beliefs. But in the present situation, where the Soviet authorities consider my beliefs to be 'knowingly false, slanderous fabrications', I will always, wherever I am in the U S S R, be a criminal according to Soviet law. For this reason I request the Plenum of the U S S R Supreme Court to act with humanity and common sense and, instead of imprisoning me in a corrective labour colony, to deprive me of my Soviet citizenship and deport me to any non-communist country.

In case such a request proved impossible to carry out, Kukobaka asked to be transferred from his 'criminal' camp to a 'political' camp or to a prison.

When he arrived in camp, Kukobaka immediately announced that he would not take part in so-called 'civic life' or attend political education classes, and that on 30 October and 10 December he would stage hunger-strikes in protest against violations of human rights in the U S S R.

At first Kukobaka was sent to the packaging shop. On 27 August he was transferred to the polishing shop. On 7 September he sent the following statement to the Vitebsk Regional Procuracy:

> I wish to inform you that in Institution UZh-15/10 the laws governing work safety and the treatment of prisoners are being grossly violated. At present I work in the polishing shop (I was transferred here from the packaging shop on 27 August). We strip reinforced aluminium components and then polish them. The castings (the components after they have been cast) are treated using the dry method (ie without water, etc) on emery circles and emery strips, with an electric cable attached. In the confined space where we work there is no air-conditioning; we are not issued with breathing apparatus either. We work three eight-hour shifts per day (ie each

person works 48 hours a week). We receive the usual food rations. The so-called 'special diet' consists of two mugs of ordinary milk per week (or less). The special clothing is torn and filthy and one set is shared between three (we pass it on at the end of each shift). There is practically nowhere to change or leave one's underwear. After work we put our everyday clothes on to our filthy bodies and go to the living zone to wash. There is only one (cold-water) tap in the workshop.

When I talked to the Head of Division Five about our working conditions, I was surprised by his answer: 'We have long been considering giving the polishing shop work to the prisoners in the punishment cells. And we shall soon do so'. In this way I realized that the working conditions described above are not the result of negligence by the administration, but are deliberately intended to ruin prisoners' health and are used as a form of punishment. My transfer there was no coincidence either. I was punished for refusing to reconsider my beliefs and because I refused to admit any guilt. Major Novik, Head of Institution UZh-15/10, put it simply and clearly: if a prisoner works an eight-hour shift every day for two years or more, inhaling emery and other sorts of dust, then a serious illness of the lungs is guaranteed. However, I wish to warn the Procuracy that if steps are not soon taken to improve working conditions, I will be forced to refuse to do this work, whatever the consequences may be.

The medical facilities need special mention. The first-aid kits in the work zone and the living zone are not properly equipped; there is not even any iodine. Because the institution is divided into localized zones it is *impossible* to obtain prompt medical assistance. For example, at 4 pm on 18 August this year, prisoner Lipkin in the First Division grazed his nose on a ventilator blade. He was given first aid about 36 hours later. The medical service is superficial. For example, during my first medical examination after arriving in Institution UZh-15/10, the doctor was very interested in taking blood samples and it did not even occur to him to take my blood pressure.

I have heard numerous complaints from prisoners about the heavy-handedness of the warders. (Furthermore, it is not only sergeants and ensigns who are guilty.)

On 24 September Kukobaka sent a statement to the Procurator of Novopolotsk:

I am informing you that, as from 24 September I refuse to work in the polishing shop ... While I was working there I fell ill (a recurrence of chronic otitis in the right ear) and 3 September I went to the medical unit. However, I was refused help until 13 September. This was after I had complained to a member of a commission from the M V D Regional Administration which was visiting the camp at the time. An ear, nose and throat specialist from the city hospital examined me and concluded that my work was unsuitable on account of my health. He wrote a recommendation that I be transferred to another job. On 17 September the administration split up our brigade. Almost half its members were sent to other jobs, but I was left where I was, despite the doctor's recommendation. I applied to the Head of the Divisional Medical Unit, and, on 19 September, to Deputy Camp Head Major Kosyak, asking for a transfer, but without success. This sort of behaviour on the part of the administration can only be regarded as provocation. It does confirm my theory that I was not transferred to the polishing shop by chance, but with the deliberate aim of weakening my health. In the circumstances I am forced, without regard to the consequences, to refuse to work in this workshop. I see no other way out.

From the day of his arrival, Kukobaka's correspondence has been strictly monitored: his letters are looked through by Major Goncharov personally, as well as by the camp censor. Here is an extract from his complaint to the Vitebsk Regional Procurator, dated 11 September:

In Institution UZh-15/10 I have in effect been deprived of my right of correspondence. The Head of Operations, Major Goncharov, forbids me to write about anything except the weather. He also forbids me to express any opinion in my letters unless that opinion coincides with his own, which it doesn't always. Moreover, one cannot expect it to agree. I am not a criminal but a political prisoner, and I am here because I am being punished for my views ...

Letters addressed to the Procurator are unceremoniously opened. On 7 September the Division Head did this before my very eyes with my statement to the Regional Procurator concerning conditions of work and discipline ...

* * *

The Baptist **Alexander Kalyashin** has been serving a three-year sentence in an ordinary-regime camp since 11 August 1978, for refusing to take the military oath (the address of his camp is: Sumskaya oblast, Romensky raion, s. Perekrestovka). His family was informed by Lieutenant Moskalenko of the Operations Department that their letters to Kalyashin would not be given to him, because the name of God was mentioned in them.

* * *

The Baptist **Ivan Petrovich Shteffen** was arrested in 1978 and sentenced to five years in a strict-regime camp on account of his religious activities (*Chronicle* 44). This is his third conviction. He is serving his sentence in a camp with the address: Mangyshlakskaya oblast, g.

Shevchenko, uchr. GM-172. In October 1978 he was offered a conditional release, with compulsory labour. He refused, since he did not consider himself guilty, and demanded unconditional release. Shteffen is suffering from extreme exhaustion and the climatic conditions are having a severely adverse effect on his health [see illustrations 39, 40].

In Defence of Political Prisoners

V. Nekipelov: 'When Repression is Pointless ...' (Open Letter in defence of Mikhail Kukobaka; 14 September 1979.)

The letter is addressed to US Senator Dole, who has decided to take a continuing personal interest in the case of M. Kukobaka.

The C U E (coefficient of useful effect) of this oppression equals nought. Every punishment has the aim of reforming the person being punished, to change his habits, inclinations and way of behaviour. To punish someone who affirms 'This is what I believe' is to deprive him of his freedom because of his convictions; it is absurd — deliberate torture and slow murder ...

V. Nekipelov: ' "Inclined to Escape and Suicide ..." (secret judgments on Soviet political prisoners)', 27 September 1979

The cautionary stamp on the case file of M. Kukobaka means a deliberate increase in persecution of him ...

The stamp on M. Kukobaka's card evidently indicates an even greater degree of isolation and surveillance.

In sending this information to Amnesty International, I am calling for public protest against the system of secret symbols denoting special discrimination in the Soviet penal system and request that all such incidents be publicized.

I demand that the false, discriminatory 'judgment' inscribed on Mikhail Kukobaka's prison file by the K G B be removed immediately.

27 signatures: 'Without Right of Correspondence' (appeal on behalf of Mikhail Kukobaka; November 1979).

The demonstrative violation of M. Kukobaka's right to correspondence by the camp administration is frightening ...

Furthermore, article 36 of the Corrective Labour Code, concerning the right of prisoners to write to the Procuracy, is being grossly violated. Kukobaka is not being allowed to send statements to the Procuracy in sealed envelopes ...

Stalin's special camps 'without right of correspondence' were formally condemned during the years following the Twentieth [Party] Congress [1956]. It looks as though they have now returned for Mikhail Kukobaka.

Releases

On 24 June 1978 **Vladimir Grigorev** (*Chronicle* 49) was released at the end of his sentence. Until his arrest, party member Grigorev (b. 1936) was in charge of the letters department of the Belyi Yar district newspaper, in Tomsk Region. He was arrested on 24 December 1976. Evidently the charges against him were based on the manuscript of his book *Fascism in a Worker's Smock*, which was confiscated at the time of his arrest. In December 1977 the Tomsk Regional Court sentenced Grigorev to 18 months' imprisonment under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. He served the remaining six months of his sentence in Corrective Labour Colony No. 2 (in the town of Asino, Tomsk Region).

* * *

Lithuanian partisan **Bronius Purlis** was released from Perm Camp 35 on completion of his 25-year sentence, on 7 March 1979.

Aleksei Savchin from the Ukraine was released from Perm Camp 35 on completion of a 25-year term. He now lives at 293623, Lvovskaya oblast, Skolevsky raion, s. Golovetskoye.

* * *

On 15 September **Svyatoslav Karavansky** was released in Tarusa, to which he was brought from Mordovian Camp 1. He has been imprisoned (with a break — see *Chronicle* 35) for about 31 years. Karavansky's wife Nina Strokatova lives (under surveillance) in Tarusa (see 'After Release').

* * *

Anatoly Zdorovy, brought from Perm Camp 36, was released in Kharkov at the end of his seven-year sentence. On 22 June he was placed under administrative surveillance. He was given a week to go and visit his parents (they live in Kharkov Region). This year A. Zdorovy's son started studying at an institute — the first to greet him there were K G B officials.

* * *

In July, **Yury Vladimirovich Vasilev** was given a conditional release, with compulsory labour, from Perm Camp 37, after serving ten years and two months of his 11-year sentence for 'betrayal of the Motherland'. His sentence also included three years' exile, but this has been cancelled. His wife is a former librarian in the camp. Their address is: 617407, Permskaya oblast, Kungursky raion, pos. Komsomolsky, Sportivnaya ul. 28, kv. 15. The camp sentence of his sister and co-

defendant (attempt to hijack an aircraft) **Galina Selivonchik** ends in 1982; she then has to serve five years in exile.

* * *

On 6 September **Vitaly Adamovich** from Kiev, having served a three-year sentence under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= art. 190-1 of the R S F S R Code) was released.

* * *

In 1979 Lithuanian 'twenty-fiver' **Julius Dubauskas** was released from Perm Camp 36.

* * *

On 28 February **Pyotr Naritsa** (*Chronicles* 42, 44) was released at the end of his two-and-a-half-year sentence. In an 'Open Letter' dated 4 November he describes his ordeals after release.

In Exile

Bodaibo, Irkutsk Region. On 3 October **Zinovy Antonyuk** (*Chronicle* 53) wrote to U S S R Minister of Internal Affairs N. A. Shchelokov. He requested permission to visit a specialized medical institution for examination and treatment, or that his place of exile be changed to a town where there is a urologist, a specialist 'in tuberculosis of the urinogenital area, and where the natural surroundings would not be as harmful for tuberculosis as they are in Bodaibo'.

Antonyuk writes that he contracted tuberculosis in Vladimir Prison and in October 1978 a special commission from Perm U V D decided he should be sent to an M V D hospital in Leningrad (*Chronicle* 51). This decision was not carried out. Antonyuk asks who was responsible for this and who concealed the fact that he had active tuberculosis when his place of exile was selected. Antonyuk's statement was supported by several political exiles (including the Kalynets couple — *Chronicle* 51).

In October-November Antonyuk was very weak, tired easily and sweated a lot (especially at night); after an hour's walk he had to lie down for half a day. His temperature was always 37-37.2°. On 5 November Antonyuk was discharged from hospital. He is once again living in the hostel with the address: 666910, Irkutskaya oblast, g. Bodaibo, ul. 30-letiya Pobedy 38.

* * *

Altai Territory. **Ivan Svetlichny** (*Chronicle* 52) is in very poor health. He even finds it difficult to write letters.

* * *

Bagdarin, Irkutsk Region. During a routine search in Perm Camp 36, where **Evgeny Sverstyuk** had served his sentence, some notes were found. They were written by a number of prisoners, including, apparently, Sverstyuk. In this connection an investigator came to see Sverstyuk.

On 20 October Sverstyuk was questioned about a visit from Pëtr Rozumny (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations'). Sverstyuk works as a carpenter.

* * *

Ayan settlement, Khabarovsk Territory. **Alexander Sergienko** arrived here in February 1979 (*Chronicle* 52) and worked as a joiner. The house he was given to live in was falling apart and he repaired it himself. When his mother O. Ya. Meshko and wife Z. Vivchar, who came to visit him in the summer (*Chronicle* 53), had left, a certain Rudyak was installed in his house. On several occasions Rudyak got drunk and attacked Sergienko — on one such occasion with a knife.

Right at the beginning of Sergienko's exile, his mother O. Ya. Meshko had requested that he be transferred to another place, even if it were still in Khabarovsk Territory, because the climate in Ayan settlement, which is on a peninsula, was very bad for his health (he has suffered from tuberculosis since before his arrest). Her request was refused. During the summer Sergienko felt worse and worse and went to the clinic several times, requesting that they send him to Khabarovsk for examination, as he had been promised after his arrival. He was refused. In August, having spent a whole day in the clinic undergoing various tests, he was unable to obtain a medical certificate. The day was counted as 'absenteeism' and he was immediately dismissed from his job.

Sergienko wrote to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet stating that, on the strength of experience (his own and other people's) in camp and exile, he did not trust Soviet doctors when they came to treating political prisoners. He requested permission to go for treatment to Australia, where he and his family had a long-standing invitation from relations.

In September O. Ya. Meshko appealed to the U S S R Ministers of Health and Internal Affairs, to the International Red Cross and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, for help in obtaining her son's admission to a hospital in Kiev.

Sergienko was given a warrant for treatment in Khabarovsk, on the grounds of suspected cancer, but the police would not let him go. In October O. Ya. Meshko wrote to the U S S R M V D in this connection. Colonel Karagezyan, Head of Section Five (concerned with exiles), whom she had seen and spoken to on the telephone several

times, finally informed her: 'We have arranged to send him to Khabarovsk'.

A. Sergienko set off for the District Cancer Clinic in Khabarovsk on 11 October, straight from a police cell — a few days previously he had shouted at a doctor during his regular battle at the local clinic and been sentenced to 15 days (Rudyak was placed in the same cell). The remaining 13 days of his sentence were not revoked, simply postponed until Sergienko's return from hospital.

* * *

Yakutsk A S S R. In July **Vasily Lisovoi** (*Chronicle* 53) arrived for his three-year exile at: 671311, Buryatskaya A S S R,[6] Zaigraevsky raion, pos. Novaya Bryan. He lives in a hostel. On 1 November he was admitted to hospital with jaundice.

* * *

V. Chornovil (*Chronicle* 53) has moved to a district centre, the town of Nyurba, where he lives in a rented house. He works as a transport controller in a building administration.

* * *

Towards the end of the summer a relative of **Mustafa Dzhemilev** (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53) from Tashkent came to visit him in the settlement of Zyryanka, intending to stay and work there [see illustration 7]. He moved into the hostel with Mustafa and found himself a job. However, the police refused to give him a residence permit, saying that no one who came to Zyryanka was issued one; one of the local officials had a 'talk' with him: 'You are a member of the Komsomol, yet you get mixed up with an anti-Soviet!' He was turned out of the hostel, the hotel was forbidden to admit him and Mustafa was moved to another room, occupied by a number of people, where no space could be found for his guest. The police began to threaten Mustafa's relative with criminal proceedings under article 198 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Violation of the Residence Regulations'). He had to return to Tashkent.

On 9 September M. Dzhemilev sent a statement to the Uzbek Supreme Court demanding that criminal charges be brought against Yu. Kruzhilin, author of the article 'Profession: Sponger' (*Chronicle* 53) for defamation and libel.

* * *

Pëtr Sartakov, who left Mordovian Camp 19 on 22 June (*Chronicle* 53), did not arrive at his place of exile — the village of Irba in Boguchany District, Krasnoyarsk Territory — until 4 August. For 26 days of his 43-day journey he was held 'at the whim of the warders in Krasnoyarsk Prison No. 1, noted for its inhuman conditions' (from his letter).

Earlier he had requested to be exiled to a place near the town of Zima in Irkutsk Region, where his sister lives, but the request was refused. To his request to be exiled to the village of Shushenskoe he received the reply that one had to earn such a place of exile. In Irba it was some time before his money arrived from camp, and at first he had to eat in the canteen on credit.

Divisional Police Inspector Sharoglazov and the chairman of the village soviet tried to give him a labouring job, despite the invalid's certificate issued to him in camp. When Sartakov managed to find a job as a guard in a store, they forbade the store manager to employ him, saying that in their opinion he had no right to such a job. Sartakov managed to get the job in October, after numerous complaints.

As he suffers from a number of chronic illnesses, Sartakov wanted to move from Irba to the district centre of Boguchany, where there is a hospital. Travel there from Irba is very difficult and costly and possible only by air. In response to this request Sharoglazov threatened to pack him off to an even more remote village. Sartakov also received a written refusal from M V D official Soldatov, in charge of all exiles in the Boguchany District.

On 2 October Sartakov was beaten up by a local hooligan, who afterwards boasted that a K G B man had put him up to it. The same day Lieutenant Khmurovich, a K G B official from Boguchany, had visited Irba. At the local health centre Sartakov was not given the certificate listing the injuries he had sustained.

Letters written by Sartakov to people abroad are not accepted for dispatch. They tell him at the post-office that they are not sure whether he is allowed to send letters abroad, but promise to find out.

On 12 October I. Dyadkin and A. Lavut wrote to the Boguchany District Procurator about the illegal persecution of Sartakov — according to the Corrective Labour Code an exile has the right to choose his job and place of residence within the confines of the administrative district to which he has been exiled.

* * *

At the beginning of August **Maria Semënovna Rusnak** arrived in Boguchany District to serve her term of exile. She had lived in Chernovtsy until her arrest. She was sentenced to five years' camp and five years' exile under the first section of the 'religious' article 209 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= art. 227 of the R S F S R Code, maximum sentence: five years' camp; under art. 209 of the Ukrainian Code the maximum is five years' camp plus five years' exile). She served her term of imprisonment in a camp near Odessa with the address: Odessa-59, uchr. YuG-311/74.[7]

* * *

Parcels and printed matter sent to **Nijole Sadunaite** (who is in exile in Boguchany — *Chronicle* 47) from abroad are systematically stopped at customs and returned to the senders.

* * *

Town of Mikun, Komi A S S R. On 6 August **Vadim Konovalikhin** (*Chronicle* 52) wrote to the head of the Ust-Vym District O V D requesting permission to visit his parents (his father is a Group 1 invalid of the Great Patriotic War; his mother is a Group 2 invalid) and his wife during the time allotted for his holiday. On 9 August the deputy head refused his request. On 10 August Konovalikhin sent a statement to the Procurator of the Komi A S S R:

> ... The deputy head of the District O V D refused my request on the grounds that I am violating the moral code of the builder of communism!
>
> To me, a person who has been suppressed by the Soviet authorities — who are led by communists — such a reason to refuse permission to travel sounds like mockery. I consider the refusal an inhuman act on the part of the Soviet authorities. As a protest I declare a hunger-strike from 12 to 22 August 1979!

Releases

Andrei Koroban's (b. 1930) three-year exile term ended in September 1978 [*Chronicles* 18, 44, 46]. He lives in the town of Vasilkov in Kiev Region. He is an English teacher by profession. He now works as a loader.

* * *

The five-year exile sentences of **Mark Nashpits** and **Boris Tsitlënok** ended in the summer of 1979. They were sentenced for a five-minute demonstration (Chronicle 36) on the steps of the Lenin Library, in support of their demand for permission to emigrate (see also 'The Right to Leave').

* * *

Evgeny Pashnin's three-year exile sentence ended in October (the length of his exile term was given wrongly in *Chronicle* 43).

* * *

Nikolai Kots's (*Chronicle* 46) five-year exile sentence ended in September. He returned home — to the town of Novovolynsk in Volynskaya Region — but has been unable to find anywhere to live or to get a job (before his arrest he taught Mathematics in a school). Kots travelled around the three neighbouring regions in search of somewhere to live. When one woman finally agreed to register him as her lodger and he went to the police station with the house book, the book was taken from him and the woman was fined ten roubles (as if he had been staying with her without a residence permit) and threatened with criminal proceedings for 'speculation in living space'.

Kots has been unable to obtain permission to visit his mother's grave (the cemetery is two kilometres from the Polish border).

* * *

Vasily Stus's (*Chronicles* 45, 51) term of exile ended in the autumn. He returned to Kiev. At the beginning of October Stus wrote to the Ukrainian K G B asking for the return of the manuscripts confiscated by the K G B in 1972-78; he also demanded a job which would take into account his speciality and his undermined health. He received a reply to this effect: the manuscripts confiscated during a search in 1972 were in his case file; the other manuscripts had been burned, with Stus's own consent and there was a report to this effect, which Stus had refused to sign. The manuscript of the collection of poems entitled *Winter Trees* had been confiscated from the publishing house 'Ukrainian Writer' and was also in his case file.

As he was unable to find a job in his own profession, the poet Stus found work as a moulder in a factory.

* * *

Pëtr Vinnichuk's (*Chronicle* 47) two-year exile sentence has ended.

* * *

In the Psychiatric Hospitals

This section had been compiled largely from the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, Nos. 18 (12 August 1979), 19 (15 October 1979) and 20 (8 December 1979).[8]

In Special Psychiatric Hospitals

Tashkent S P H

Following **Nikolai Demyanov's** transfer from Perm Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1 to Tashkent S P H (*Chronicle* 53) his mother Maria Egorovna Plakhotkina (of 129346, Moscow, Palekhskaya ul. 13, kv. 227) issued a Press Statement:

> ... My son has never committed any crime, he only told the truth about the situation in his country ... He was deprived of his freedom while still virtually a child and for many years now he has been

moved about under guard as a dangerous criminal and subjected to compulsory treatment, having been declared insane ...

I can no longer stand this tyranny. I am already very old and ill and his transfer to a prison means that I shall never see him again.

My son's health has been seriously undermined in prisons and psychiatric hospitals ...

Today I appeal to all mothers in the world to help me free my son from the Soviet Gulag ...

* * *

Chronicle 53 wrongly reported that **V. O. Lipinskaya** (*Chronicle* 52) had been transferred to an ordinary psychiatric hospital. She is, in fact, still in Tashkent S P H.

* * *

In May a regular medical commission refused to recommend the release of **Lev Ubozhko** (*Chronicle* 49). He is being given intensive insulin shock 'therapy'. Ubozhko is in a seriously depressed state.

* * *

Chernyakhovsk S P H

Leonid Ivanovich Melnikov is here. In 1973 or thereabouts Melnikov, who was then employed as an economist in a factory, organized a Committee for Social Assistance. According to his ideas the Committee would, through studying the works of Marx and Lenin, help citizens to solve 'confusing questions'. He was dismissed from his job because of 'staff reductions' and for a long time was unable to find a job. He applied to various official bodies in this connection and ended up in the local psychiatric hospital. On his release from there he went to Krasnodar. He was arrested there in 1976, charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (with recording foreign radio broadcasts), declared not responsible and sent by the court for compulsory treatment in an S P H.

* * *

Dnepropetrovsk S P H

Vladimir Kalyuzhny from Donetsk has been here since 3 June 1976. In 1975 (or the beginning of 1976) he crossed the Soviet-Afghan border and got as far as Kabul, where he tried to locate the embassy of any Western country; but he was arrested and handed over to the Soviet authorities. He was convicted of 'illegal crossing of the frontier', declared not responsible and sent to an S P H for compulsory treatment. Kalyuzhny was given an intensive course of treatment with neuroleptic drugs, which has made him inhibited and apathetic.

* * *

According to his wife, **Iosif Terelya** (*Chronicles* 43, 45-8, 51) he has changed beyond recognition: he has put on weight, become sluggish and inhibited and rarely writes letters. These are evidently the effects of psychotropic drugs (Terelya is known to have been treated with haloperidol for a long time). His wife learned from talks with the doctors that there is no hope of a speedy release.

* * *

Kazan S P H

Vyacheslav Kondratevich Zaitsev (b. 1917), Doctor of Philological Sciences, was brought here after a trial under article 186-1 of the Belorussian Criminal code (= art. 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). His wife I. Konopatskaya was unable to obtain a copy of the decision on his case of the Belorussian Supreme Court. Zaitsev was arrested in November 1978.

In the hospital Zaitsev was prescribed injections, then these were stopped and when his wife visited him on 30 August he told her that he felt well. Later, however, his condition deteriorated. He is virtually unable to write or read. Letters consisting of a few uneven lines have begun to arrive from him.

In Ordinary Hospitals

Alexander Skobov (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53) is undergoing compulsory treatment in Leningrad City Psychiatric Hospital No. 3 (Skvortsov-Stepanov). He is in Section Eight, which is in the charge of A. I. Tobak (*Chronicles* 38, 43, 44, 52).

* * *

Alexander Yankovich (*Chronicle* 53) is in Kaluga Regional Psychiatric Hospital.

* * *

Anatoly Lupinos (*Chronicle* 53) is in Cherkassy Regional Psychiatric Hospital (in the town of Smela).

* * *

Sergei Malyarevsky was in a psychiatric hospital in the town of Novozhdanovka (Donetsk Region) from 20 August to 20 September [1979].

Malyarevsky (b. 1954) was a student at Donetsk University. In March 1979 he applied for an exit visa; in June he received a refusal. He was then sent to Donetsk for a psychiatric examination. On the same day a search was conducted at his home, and books and letters were confiscated.

* * *

On 11 September **Gavriil Yankov** (*Chronicles* 49, 51, 53) was discharged from Moscow Psychiatric Hospital No. 13. During a talk with Yankov on the eve of his discharge, the doctors advised him to go and stay with his sister in Buryatia, but Yankov replied that he would assert his right to live in Moscow.

On leaving the hospital Yankov also tried to get his old job back — he filed a lawsuit against his former employers. On 2 November he received a summons to the Zhdanov District People's Court. Yankov arrived early and asked Judge G. A. Moliboga to give him a chance to study the case materials. He was sent to the archive room, where two policemen were waiting for him. They took him to a police station and then to Psychiatric Hospital No. 14.

The duty officer at the police station said that he had detained Yankov on the orders of the Judge. Judge Moliboga told V. Kuvakin (*Chronicles* 48, 51 and 'The Trial of Nikitin'), who arrived at the court for the hearing, that Yankov's suit would not be heard, since the plaintiff had not appeared. Yankov was told in hospital that there was a statement to the effect that he had made a provocative speech in the court. In answer to enquiries from the hospital, the Judge said that he had not seen Yankov on that day. Furthermore, he asked the doctors to help the court by persuading their patient that his lawsuit was hopeless.

* * *

On 16 August the Ukrainian Supreme Court upheld the decision of the regional court to refuse the petition of a medical commission that **Nikolai Plakhotnyuk** (*Chronicle* 53) be released from compulsory treatment.

* * *

Ivan Timofeyevich Kareisha (b. 1938) lives in the village of Vysokaya in Tolochin District, Vitebsk Region. He has worked on a collective farm from the age of 12: he was a shepherd, then a tractor driver. In 1970, due to a serious stomach ulcer, he switched to ligher work as head of the collective farm fire service. While doing this job he came into conflict with the collective farm chairman: Kareisha warned him of the fire risk to one of the farm buildings, which did, in fact, later burn down; the chairman was fined. This was when Kareisha's troubles began. In flagrant violation of all the rules, the chairman turned Kareisha out of his job and managed to organize his expulsion from the collective farm. Kareisha fought back. He wrote complaints to all the higher official bodies and to the newspapers; at the lower level, he wrote to the village and district authorities, who brought more and more pressure to bear on him. The police told him plainly: 'stop complaining or we'll put you inside'.

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1 Tatyana Velikanova, longstanding human rights activist arrested in 1979 *standing, centre*, with members of her family, c1975. Others standing, *l to r*: Alexander Daniel, Maria and Ekaterina Velikanova (sisters of Tatyana), Yulia Babitskaya (daughter) and Fyodor Babitsky (son), sitting: Kirill Velikanov (brother), Natalya Velikanova (mother), Kolya Myuge (nephew), Ksenia Velikanova-Myuge (sister), Andrei Velikanova (brother).
2-3 Viktor Sokirko, economist, and Nina Lisovskaya, biologist, human rights activists whose homes were searched by the KGB in connection with Velikanova's arrest

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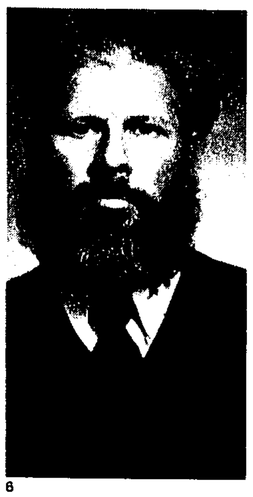

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4 *Sitting l to r:* Tatyana Osipova, also subjected to a search, and her husband Ivan Kovalyov, Helsinki Group members. Genrikh Reimer, a German refusenik, Evgeny Nikolayev, free trade unionist *Standing* Sergei Potylitsyn, Avgusta Romanova, Vyacheslav Bakhmin, Tamara Los, Silva and Rafael Oganyan. **5** The pile of discarded materials left behind on the floor after police had confiscated 117 other items from Viktor Nekipelov, August 1979 **6** Stepan Nelyubin (1922-78) in 1976 a farm labourer from Kurgan in SW Siberia who repeatedly advocated human rights and died in captivity due to official negligence See *Chronicle* 52

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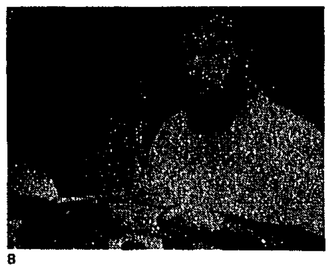

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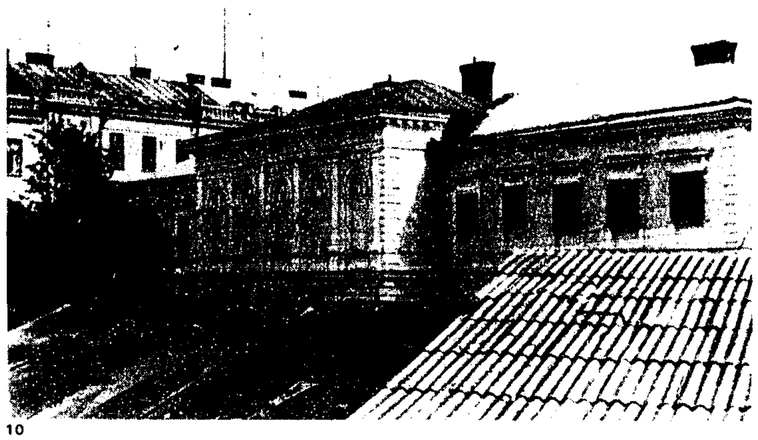
7 Mustafa Dzhemilev *l*, Crimean Tatar leader, and relative who came to live with him in exile but was forced by the authorities to leave **8** Vadim Konovalikhin, human rights activist exiled from Kaliningrad region (formerly E Prussia) to the Urals for 4 years (*Chronicle* 51) and harassed there in 1979 **9** Natalya Ostrovskaya *l* and her husband *r* witnesses at the wedding of Alexander Podrabinek and Alla Khromova, NE Siberia, April 1979 Ostrovskaya was later threatened by the KGB with political charges



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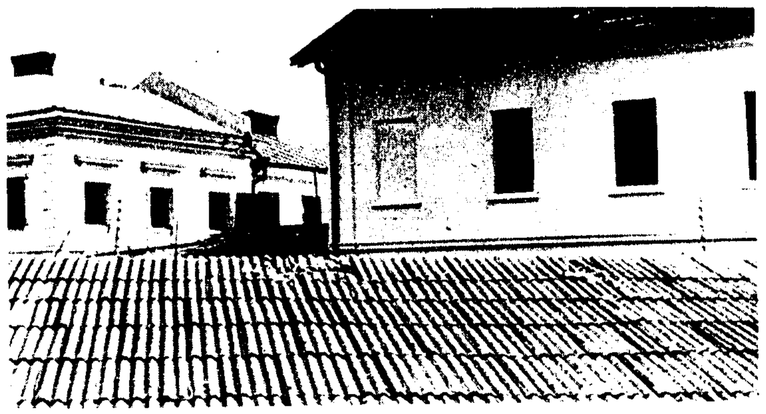

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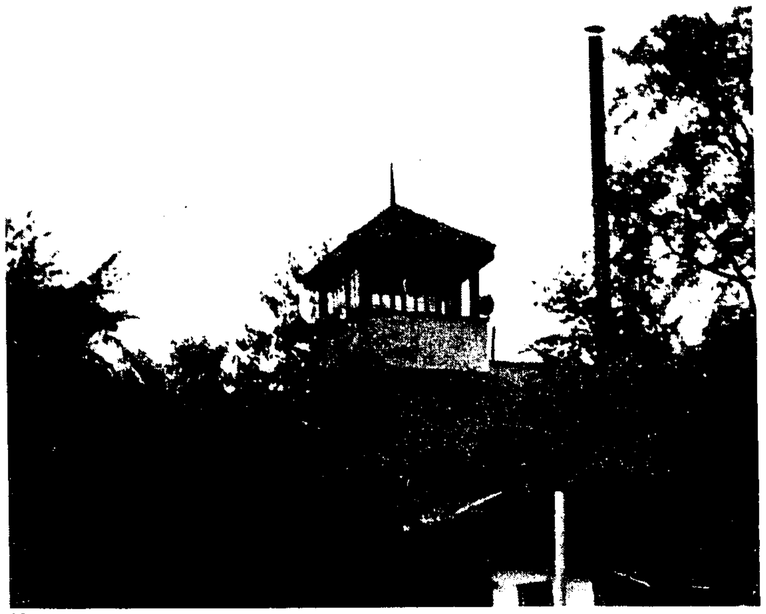
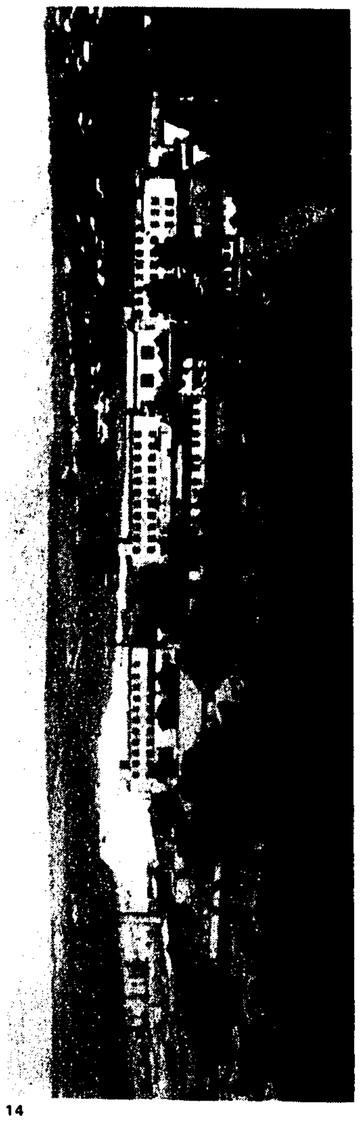


12

10-12 The MVD's investigations prison in Chernovtsy, SW Ukraine, where Iosif Zisels was held in 1978-9 (*Chronicle* 52). Photos **10** and **11** (opposite page) constitute a continuous panorama, as viewed from the upper storey of a neighbouring school, over the 6-metre prison wall. The building was a Rumanian prison before this part of Ukraine was annexed in 1940. Since then the MVD has bricked up many of the cell windows (photo **10**). The heavy blinds over others make those cells dark even in daytime. Others *right* are covered by conventional bars. Photo **12** (opposite) is taken from the other side of the prison and shows a watch-tower on a corner of the walls, with a search-light on the right. **13** Zisels's wife Irena *r* with Zinovy Krasivsky (*Chronicle* 51) and his wife.



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14 View of the hard-regime camp (p/ya RCh-328/67) in Sokiryany, Chernovtsy region, SW Ukraine. In 1979 Zisels was held in the 3-storey barrack on the right, and was being persecuted by camp officials.
15 Vyacheslav Zaitsev, a well-known science-fiction writer arrested for propagating apocalyptic religious views and interned in the Kazan special psychiatric hospital. **16** Boris Evdokimov (1923-79), Leningrad journalist arrested in 1971 for publishing articles abroad. Psychiatrically interned until 1979, he was released only when his undiagnosed cancer became terminal.

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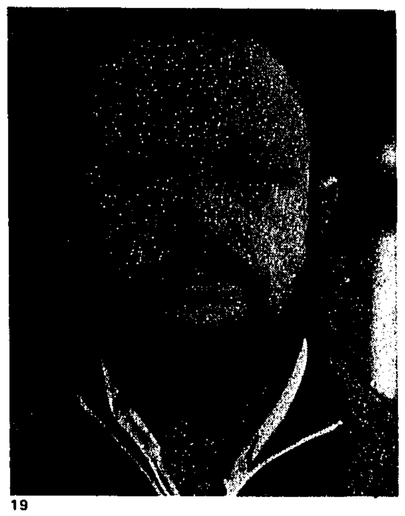
17 *On r.* Evdokimov's daughter and son Rostislav, who did much to help their father. *L.* Irina Grivnina, a Moscow campaigner against psychiatric abuse, and a friend. **18** Dr Alexander Voloshanovich, dissenting psychiatrist *centre*, with two ex-victims of political psychiatry, Alexander Shatravka *l* and Sergei Potylitsyn (*Chronicle* 51), whom he examined and found not to be mentally ill. In 1979 Shatravka was almost reinterned (in Ukraine), and Voloshanovich was briefly detained by police in Gorky.



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19 Mark Kovner, Jewish refusenik and former physics professor at Gorky University, who was detained with Voloshanovich. **20** Anatoly Lupinos, Ukrainian whose legs are partially paralysed, was arrested in 1971 for reading his poems in public ('anti-Soviet agitation') and interned in a prison hospital. In 1979 he was twice transferred to other institutions. **21** Boris Kalendarev, Jewish refusenik from Leningrad, imprisoned for refusing military call up (*Chronicle* 53). **22** Galina Didyk (1912-79), imprisoned from 1950 to 1971 for Ukrainian nationalist activity, was systematically persecuted in 1979 and soon died.

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23 Alexander and Polina Paritsky and their daughters, longstanding Jewish refuseniks in Kharkov subject to frequent official harassment. See *Chronicles* 52, 53. **24** Yankel Groberman, a Moldavian Jew, refusenik since 1973, was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment in 1979, with two friends, after being provoked into a fight by anti-semites. **25** Vladas Lapienis, organist and Lithuanian activist, sent into 2 years' exile in 1979 at age 73 after 3 years in camps. **26** Nijole Sadunaite, Lithuanian Catholic activist, at her place of exile in central Siberia. In 1979 officials were confiscating parcels sent to her.

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27-31 The trial of Romualdas Ragaišis, Lithuanian nationalist and optician, which took place in Vilnius on 9-10 July and 12 14 September 1979 **27** Police lead him from the Lenin district courthouse, while Algimantas Andreika (in leather jacket) starts to give him a bouquet of flowers (10 July) **28** The scene outside (9 July) *1st and 2nd from right* Vladas Sakalys and Antanas Terleckas (with bag – he was arrested in October 1979), *1st and 2nd from left* Jonas Volungevičius and Jonas Petkevičius **29** Police put Ragaišis into a van after a court session (12 September) **30** Group outside courthouse *L to r standing* Kastytis Matulionis, unknown, Mečislovas Jurevičius (Lithuanian Helsinki Group), Fr Sigitas Tamkevičius, Terleckas, Algirdas Statkevičius (Helsinki Group), Liutauras Kazakevičius, Leonora Sasnauskaite (sister of J Sasnauskas), G Rickevičius, *crouching* Andreika, R Grigas, Volungevičius, Kestutis Subačius

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31 The public in the courtroom on 9 July (access was free). *Back row, from l:* Sakalys (with beard), Petkevičius, Volungevičius. *Front row:* Mart Niklus (Estonian activist), Ragaišis's daughter. **32** Father Algirdas Mocius leads a procession to the Hill of Crosses near Šiauliai, 22 July 1979. The hill is a traditional place of pilgrimage for Lithuanian Catholics, often subject to officially sponsored sacrilege (*Chronicle* 36, p193). Behind Mocius is Mečislovas Jurevičius. **33** The procession arrives at the hill.

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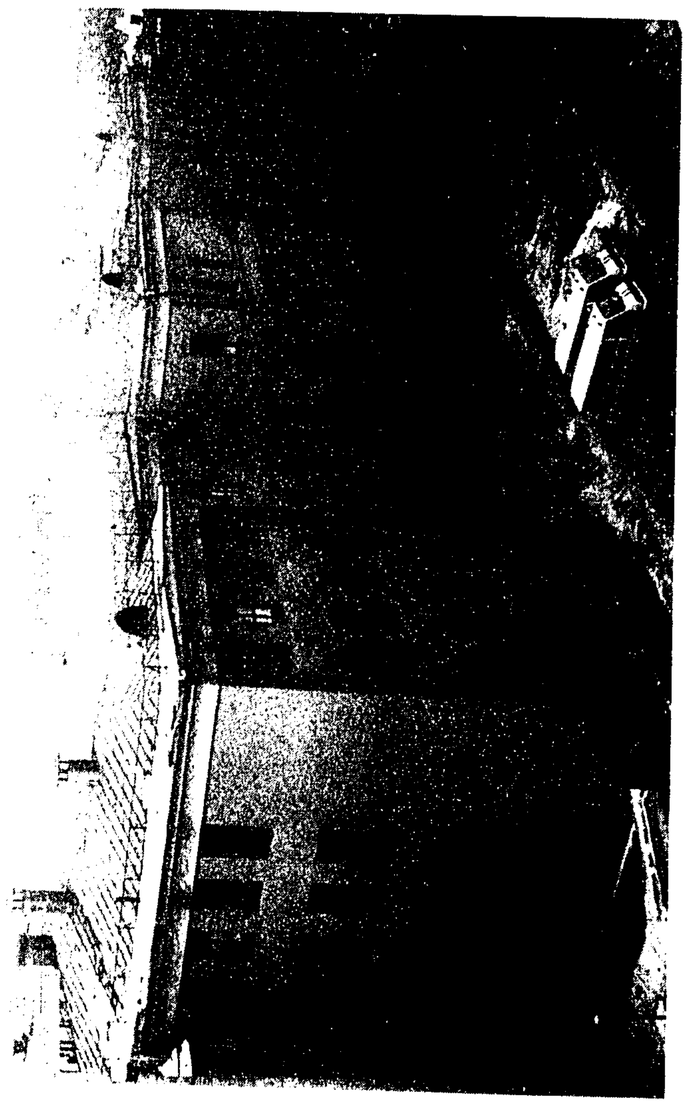
34 Another procession is led by Father K. Krikščiukaitis from Tytuvėnai to Šiluva, a famous Catholic shrine, for the church's patronal festival, 26 August 1979. **35** Algis Patackas, a mathematician at the Chemistry Institute of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, persecuted in 1976 (*Chronicle* 43) and again, by the KGB, in 1979. **36** Police detain Liutauras Kazakevičius outside Ragaišis's trial (photos 26-30), 10 July 1979.



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37 Left-hand wing of Moscow's Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry, as viewed from Kropotkin Lane Section 4, in which many political detainees are examined for 1-2 months, described by Viktor Nekipelov in his *Institute of Fools* (US and UK editions 1980), is in the second storey from the top of this wing Two ambulances stand in the yard

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38 View a little to the left, showing the entrance from Kropotkin Lane and the high inner gate and fence. **39-40** Ivan Shteffen, b 1927, German Baptist from Kazakhstan, photographed both before his arrest in 1976 and condemnation to 5 years (his fourth term of captivity), and later in a camp In 1979 he was in a state of extreme exhaustion **41** Valery Nazaruk, b1957, Ukrainian Baptist whose release after serving 4 years for conscientious objection led to the violent break-up by police of a Baptist meeting

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42 Valery Fefelov, whose legs are paralysed, and his wife Olga Zaitseva, members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled, with their children. In 1979 Fefelov was subject to continuing official harassment designed to limit his use of the small car which is essential to him. 43 The garage of his house (in Vladimir region) after the road had been dug up during the night of 2–3 November 1978 to prevent him getting his car out. He lives alone.

In 1976 the certificate exempting him from hard physical labour was taken away and charges of 'parasitism' brought against him. The case, however, ended only in administrative punishment.

In the summer of 1978 Kareisha, who holds a 'white ticket' [exempting him from military service] was summoned to the Military Registration Office, where he was told that he would be sent for 'hypnotic' treatment of his ulcer. He suspected something was wrong, and two policemen handcuffed him and took him to a psychiatric hospital. He was not examined by a medical commission until the seventeenth day after his arrival. The doctors also advised him not to write any more complaints and let him go.

In April 1979 Kareisha was detained by police in Moscow, where he had come with a new batch of complaints. In the police station he was at once seen by two psychiatrists. He was released. But at home, in the village, his 'own' police were waiting for him. From time to time he hid and did not live at home.

On 1 November Kareisha was once again forcibly interned in the hospital. This is his own description of it in a letter dated 7 November:

> Dear Aunt, On 1 November 1979 the police came to our house, where I was chopping wood, and said to me: 'come on, the District Chief Doctor is summoning you for a health check'. I refused to go. They immediately twisted my hands behind my back and pushed me into a car. I felt sad when I heard mother crying and shouting that the Germans were so vicious to me (ie to her — *Chronicle*) because of her husband and four brothers, that she had sent them off to defend Soviet power, and now you are taking my son away. They took me to the police station and threw me into a cell, like a dog. There was nowhere to sit or lie down ... Early on the morning of the 2nd they summoned me from my detention cell, shoved me in a car and drove off. Of course, I didn't know straight away where they were taking me, but later, when we passed our house, I realized that we were going to the Regional Psychiatric Hospital, the madhouse When we arrived they threw me into a ward and began compulsory treatment with injections straight away. I lost consciousness. But my health has not yet collapsed completely.
>
> Dear Auntie, it is 7 November 1979 and I am in a serious condition, and I decided to write you a letter.
>
> I don't know whether I will survive all this treatment and the drugs. But there is someone else here, who has fought for lawfulness like me ... help me to get away from psychiatry so that I'm not given these injections ...

Kareisha is in Vitebsk Regional Psychiatric Hospital.

Releases

On 17 July the Gorky Regional Court decided to end the compulsory medical treatment of **Nikolai Vasilevich Levenkov** (*Chronicle* 53). The decision of the Court was as follows:

> ... Levenkov is in a state of lengthy and steady remission as regards his emotional-volitional personality disorder. He has fully normalized his behaviour and has shown a firm determination to work. During his stay in hospital it was noticed that he made no attempt to write any letters, apart from letters to relatives, or medical works. Also, taking into account his long stay in the psychiatric hospital, the medical commission considers that Levenkov is no longer a danger to society and that further compulsory treatment will not be required ...

In August Levenkov was released under medical supervision and was given the status of an invalid (Group 2).

In *Chronicle* 53 there was some inaccuracies in the information given on Levenkov. Levenkov was arrested on 28 April 1977, because of an autobiographical manuscript, *A Confession*, which he had given to a typist and which then fell into the hands of the K G B. The work entitled *Soviet Power and Medicine* was confiscated from Levenkov during a search.

* * *

On 14 September **Yakov Agafonovich Khutorskoi** (*Chronicle* 53) was released from the Republican Psychoneurological Clinic (in the town of Nalchik).

* * *

On 20 June **Salavat Gallyamov** (*Chronicle* 53) was released from the Republican Psychiatric Hospital (in Ufa).

Gallyamov (born 1959) was a student taking evening courses at the Faculty of History, Bashkiria University. In the autumn of 1977 Gallyamov was baptized. During the spring of 1978 he travelled round monasteries, talking to the monks and priests.

On 3 April 1979 Gallyamov was taken to K G B headquarters. There he was told that he had been travelling round the neighbouring districts because he was getting ready to flee the country. He was also told that he was spreading religious propaganda and disseminating slanders about the Soviet system. The K G B demanded that Gallyamov write an explanation, but he refused. Four hours later he was released.

On 17 April, while Gallyamov was attending classes, a search was carried out at his home and 11 religious and philosophical books were confiscated. No copy of the search warrant was left behind.

Gallyamov sent a complaint to Chirikov, Chairman of the Bashkir K G B.

On 4 May Chirikov received Gallyamov. Also present at the interview was Povarov, head of the admissions department at the Republican Psychiatric Hospital (he introduced himself as 'colleague, Ivanov'). Chirikov told Gallyamov that they would not stand any 'church rubbish' and tried to persuade him not to read religious literature, as such books 'don't teach you anything'. At the end of their talk Chirikov said the Povarov: 'See what kind of comrade we have here — writes complaints, but won't sign explanations'. Gallyamov was asked to come back two days later. However on the same day he was called out of a lecture to see Pro-Rector Ismailov — where medical orderlies were awaiting him.

In hospital Gallyamov was diagnosed as a 'severe psychopathic case'. For the first three weeks he was given no medicine. Doctor-in-charge Z. M. Amirova turned her talks with Gallyamov into interrogations, but he refused to discuss religious themes in hospital. On 1 June Gallyamov began to receive intensive treatment. Aminazin made him vomit, so he was given injections of sulphazin, which gave him a temperature of 40° and pains in the heart.

Before he was discharged, Gallyamov was advised persistently by the doctor to avoid contact with his former friends and not to travel anywhere. She warned him that 'psychopathy can turn into schizophrenia'. Gallyamov has been put on the register at his local Psychoneurological Clinic.

After Release

Vasilkovka (Dnepropetrovsk Region). On 2 November **Vitaly Kalinichenko** (*Chronicles* 46, 48, 49) had his administrative surveillance renewed for the eighth time. He was again given an official warning 'according to the Decree' (*Chronicle* 46). He was shown over 30 letters — statements from people he had been meeting; the letters ended with the words 'I ask to be protected from ...'. Kalinichenko now avoids conversing with people — he is afraid they might be provacateurs. Kalinichenko has taken back his statement renouncing Soviet citizenship and asking permission to emigrate (*Chronicle* 48). He is an economist by profession but cannot get work, even as an unqualified worker. Because of this, on 7 October Kalinichenko staged a hunger-strike. In a statement addressed to the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Committee of the C P S U, he asked to be registered as unemployed and to be given material aid.

* * *

Tarusa (Kaluga Region). On 13 September a judge again fined **Nina Strokatova** (*Chronicles* 46, 52) for 'infringement of the surveillance regulations', this time for not letting into her home a policeman who was checking up on her. Since a series of such incidents directed at her and Lyubarsky in the spring of 1977, this was the first time it had happened. Her husband **Svyatoslav Karavansky,** who was released on 15 September (see 'In the Prisons and Camps'), was also put under administrative surveillance. They have applied to emigrate.

* * *

Khristinovka (Cherkassy Region). Galina Didyk was released in the spring of 1971 (*Chronicle* 19) after serving 21 years in the camps (she was a leading figure in the Red Cross under the Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army, in the reconnaissance and communications section). She is now 67 years old. She is an invalid but receives no pension. In the period just after her release she received many parcels from abroad; she divided up almost all of them among others. For some time parcels have not now been reaching her. Recently the authorities have been trying to get her to sign a statement repenting about her past — but she has refused. Assaults on her by hooligans have become more frequent. In the middle of October large stones came flying through the window of her room; one of them had a note tied to it, threatening to settle accounts with the 'Banderist swine'.

* * *

Krivoi Rog. On 25 October **Alexander Shatravka** (*Chronicle* 53) was summoned to K G B headquarters. The pretext given for his summons (according to the K G B official) was the disappearance of one of the men with whom Shatravka and his brother tried to cross the frontier in 1974.

However, the conversation then switched to A. Shatravka's trip to Kiev and Moscow. Shatravka said that in Moscow he had been examined by a psychiatrist (an expert of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes) but refused to give any more details [see illustration 18]. Later the same day Shatravka noticed an 'ambulance' accompanied by police driving up to his house and quickly made his escape.

Persecution of Crimean Tatars

Deportations from the Crimea

The 'temporary measures' recommended in Resolution No. 700 of the U S S R Council of Ministers, 15 August 1978, continue to be enforced: the police are evicting unregistered Crimean Tatars from the homes they have bought and are forcibly 'removing' them from the Crimea. More detailed information is available about only some of these actions.

On 20 August **Ibraim Asanov** was deported from Belogorsk, followed by **Riza Osmanov** on 23 August. On 25 August a detachment of 200 men deported the family of **Izzet Mustafayev** from Stary Krym. On 26 September the **Pashala** family (*Chronicle* 37)[9] was deported from the village of Zolotoye Pole (Kirov District).

On the same day two families were deported from the village of Krasnoye in Saki District. One of those evicted, **Asan Kosse,** was not given his car back. Asan Kosse participated in the mass journey of Crimean Tatars to Moscow in January-February 1979 (*Chronicle* 52) and was one of a group of delegates representing war veterans.

On 20 October the **Ametosmanov** family was deported from Stary Krym. It is also known that six or seven families have been deported from the village of Batalnoye, Lenin District.

The Case of Reshat Dzhemilev

In Tashkent the investigation is still proceeding in the case of Reshat Dzhemilev, who was arrested on 4 April (*Chronicle* 53) and charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code and its equivalent, article 191-4 in the Uzbek Code. On 6 April R. Dzhemilev protested to the Procurator of Tashkent against his illegal arrest and the fact that he had been taken away under the eyes of his dying mother; he asked that Investigator F. Kh. Mustayev be removed from the case. He also issued a declaration asking that he be released on parole to attend his mother's funeral. From the start of the investigation R. Dzhemilev had been demanding an end to the case or, if this was refused, the inclusion in the case of all the documents confiscated from him and the summoning as witnesses of people listed in the documents as victims. He handed in this request even after he was told that the investigation had been concluded (10 July). On 11 July Investigator Mustayev issued a 'Resolution denying the accused's request':

> ... The accused R. Dzhemilev requested that the documents entitled 'Events in the Crimea', 'Trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev in Omsk' and 'The Self-immolation of Musa Mamut in the Crimea' should be included in the case evidence, as he considers them relevant to the case.
>
> During the pre-trial investigation these materials were examined. The documents describe events which have no connection with the charges against the accused R. Dzhemilev and many of them have been composed without indicating definite sources which could confirm the events described in the documents. After taking this

into account, and in view of the fact that these documents are not for public distribution, a case resolution was passed and it was decided to destroy them.

The accused Dhzemilev further requested that he should be allowed to confront witnesses listed in the documents confiscated in connection with the case. During the pre-trial investigation the accused Reshat Dzhemilev refused to give evidence, alleging that the investigation was not being conducted objectively and was unlawful: as a result there is no contradiction between the evidence given by witnesses and that of R. Dzhemilev himself and there are no legal grounds for a confrontation between the two.

By means of the same resolution, the Investigator refused Dzhemilev a meeting with his wife to agree on their choice of a lawyer, as such a 'meeting between them could result in a leakage of information about a criminal case'. (*Chronicle* 53 reported how Zera Dzhemileva was forbidden to fly to Moscow in search of a lawyer.)

On 30 July, without Dzhemilev being given an opportunity to study the case evidence of the pre-trial investigation, an indictment was drawn up by the Procurator and the case was sent to the City Court.

On 7 August the first hearing of the case was held, with Judge A. I. Lipatov presiding. R. Dzhemilev's relatives had not been officially informed of the date of the trial, but they nevertheless arrived at the court-house, together with a few other people. Dzhemilev's wife and his middle son Nariman were not allowed into the trial, the others were simply not allowed inside, but three of them literally broke through into the courtroom after the hearing had already begun.

In court it turned out that the defence counsel was not acquainted with the case. R. Dzhemilev, in a detailed speech, described the unending violations of legality in the cases of people involved in the Crimean Tatar movement and challenged the composition of the court. The Judge said that if the accused went on insulting the Soviet court, he would be removed and the case would be heard in his absence.

After the interval the Judge stated that the hearing would be postponed, as 'all the witnesses have not turned up at the trial'. Without giving a precise date, he said that the court would need two or three days 'to take measures ensuring the presence of the witnesses'. After the hearing Lipatov promised the relatives that he would inform them when the trial was due to recommence.

In an appeal to the Chairman of the Tashkent City Court, S. S. Salimov, dated 18 September, R. Dzhemilev writes:

> After an interval of 20 days the court resumed its activity on 27 August, without any of my family or relatives being present in the courtroom, and investigated my complaint (sent back from the USSR Procuracy) describing the violation of legal and judicial norms throughout the pre-trial investigation by the investigation agencies. The court, calling this complaint of mine a 'request' to the court, 'decided' to send it off for further investigation by the Procuracy.
>
> Now, after this — ie after 27 August — any hopes I may have had of further moves in my 'case' have been put off for a fourth week. For a fourth week I find myself in an unresolved situation and I don't know how long this is likely to continue.

In the same appeal he reports that his chronic ill-health has become much worse, due to a post-operative rupture which gives him sharp pains in the stomach.

> I need examination and treatment by a doctor in hospital, but the prison doctor refuses to allow this and won't send me to a hospital, because he says my treatment depends on those who are in charge of me.

* * *

In September **Nariman Dzhemilev** and his friend **Reshat Ablayev** began to receive threats of prosecution under the same article 191-4 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code. They were told that they were under suspicion of collecting signatures for a protest against the sentencing of Mustafa Dzhemilev and of distributing leaflets for the 35th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars (*Chronicle* 53). A great many students at Tashkent University were questioned about the latter episode; they were shown photographs for the purpose of identification.

Events in Lithuania

The Trial of Ragaišis

Romualdas Ragaišis (born 1942) was arrested on 9 January 1979 (*Chronicle* 52).

The investigation went on for half a year. Ragaišis was under arrest all this time. Despite his mother's pleas, he was not allowed out to attend the funeral of his father, who died a month after Romualdas's arrest. (Afterwards Ragaišis's mother was told that the order permitting her son to attend the funeral had been 'delayed'.)

On 9 July the court, with Ivanauskas presiding, began to examine the case of Ragaišis, who was charged with speculation [see illustrations 27-31, 36]. Procurator Jakuičis acted as prosecutor at the trial, the defence counsel was the Moscow lawyer Viktorovich. The trial was open.

The charge against Ragaišis was that he had bought lenses for spectacles, framed them and sold the spectacles at speculative prices, and

also that he had re-sold lenses and frames at speculative prices (Ragaišis is a qualified optician). According to the indictment, Ragaišis had made a profit of 326 roubles 59 kopecks in this way over five years.

The witnesses questioned did not support the charges. Witness Vitkaukas denied that Ragaišis had bought 70 frames from him. The witness Kalk refused to confirm testimony he had given during the pre-trial investigation that Ragaišis had bought a large number of lenses from him.

Investigator Benetis put only one question to the expert witness: did the dioptrics of lenses confiscated from Ragaišis fit the standard dioptrics required for lenses which were on sale? In the courtroom expert witness Šimkuniene replied in the affirmative to this question. However, when Ragaišis asked her: 'What material are the lenses made of?', she replied that most of them were made of cinescopic glass (so that they could not have been on sale and the charge of speculation was invalidated).

On 10 July the court declared that elements of private enterprise were discernible in the activities of Ragaišis and ordered a new expert examination to take place (at the Procurator's request) and sent the case back for further investigation.

* * *

Rimaitis Matulis, a senior researcher at the Lithuanian S S R Museum of History and Ethnography, was reprimanded 'for infringing the disciplinary regulations' because he had attended the trial of Ragaišis. Matulis handed in a complaint and the reprimand was withdrawn. Some time later Matulis received another reprimand 'for neglecting his work'. He complained again and the trade union committee declared that the reprimand was unjust; but the Director of the Museum, A. Jankevičiene, refused to withdraw it (her husband is a K G B colonel; she herself searches the writing-desks of her colleagues).

On 9 July **Zita Vanagaite,** Senior Architect at the Institute for the Conservation of Monuments, was present at the trial of Ragaišis. On 10 July she was suddenly sent on an assignment out of town.

A senior researcher at the 'Thermoisolation' Institute, **Birute Burauskaite** was reprimanded 'for infringing the disciplinary regulations' because she had helped Ragaišis's wife to travel to Moscow to find a lawyer. Some time later she received a rebuke for being away from work for half an hour. Eight of her fellow-workers confirmed in writing that she had not been absent at the time indicated.

* * *

On 12 September the new hearing of the Ragaišis case began. The charge remained the same (although there were a few changes in it: for example, that he had bought 41 frames, not 70, with the intention of selling them).

As at the first hearing, the witnesses did not support the charges. Mrs Karoliene, manageress of the 'Optika' shop, stated that Ragaišis had bought only two frames from her, not 41. The judge found it necessary to comment on this testimony by saying: 'He could have bought more frames in another shop.' Kalk, who had confirmed his previous testimony about Ragaišis purchasing lenses during the new investigation, again repudiated it in court. Ragaišis's clients insisted that the prices for which they had bought spectacles from him could not be described as 'speculative'. Ragaišis himself refused to plead guilty, as he had refused in July. He explained that he had sometimes accepted private orders — this was normal practice among all qualified opticians, but though he had bought the frames in a shop, he had made the lenses himself.

Some of the lenses confiscated from Ragaišis were acknowledged certainly to be standard models by the experts. Ragaišis explained the existence of some standard lenses by saying that during the liquidation of the workshop where he had been employed, some lenses must have remained unclaimed.

The prosecutor asked that Ragaišis be sentenced to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment. The defence counsel said that there had been no proof that Ragaišis was guilty of speculation. His client had sometimes accepted private orders, for which he had received 81 roubles in four-and-a-half years. The defence counsel asked that Ragaišis be found not guilty.

On 14 September the verdict was announced. The court found Ragaišis guilty of speculation. The sum of money he had obtained was not mentioned in the verdict, but a summing-up of separate episodes made a total of 80 roubles' 'gain'. Ragaišis was sentenced to one-and-a-half years in camps.

The appeal hearing confirmed the sentence of the District Court.

* * *

In 1961-5 Ragaišis spent four years in the Mordovian camps for nationalist activity. For refusing to give evidence at the trial of Petkus (*Chronicle* 50) he was sentenced to corrective labour (*Chronicle* 52).

The Case of Ramanauskaite

On 20 July Angele Ramanauskaite, a 23-year-old laboratory assistant at Kaunas Training College for Economists, was detained by police in the village of Giry, Belorussian S S R. She had come there on 17 July, as she explained, to collect folklore and material for an academic dictionary of the Lithuanian language from the Lithuanians living in

these areas (there are many archaisms in the speech of Lithuanians living in Belorussia which have not survived in Lithuania itself).

The police, accompanied by District Procurator Abramovich, deputies and teachers, turned up at the house of the teacher Lukšas, where Ramanauskaite was staying. At the time, Angele was talking to the local children, going over Lithuanian songs with them, reading them stories and talking to them about religion, among other things.

The intruders asked her to produce her documents (Ramanauskaite did not have them with her), searched her belongings, confiscated religious literature and questioned the children. Then Angele was taken to Ostrovets (the district centre) to establish her identity.

Ramanauskaite was detained at the police station in Ostrovets until 26 July. On 24 July Procurator Abramovich made out a criminal case against her on a charge of organizing the religious teaching of children (article 139, part 1, of the Belorussian S S R Criminal Code, ie article 142, part 1, of the R S F S R Code). Ramanauskaite was interrogated: they were particularly interested in who had sent her to Belorussia and which students had travelled round the Lithuanian villages with her. The Procurator stated that Lithuanian was dying out in these places and was not needed by the inhabitants. 'Let the students collect their folklore in Lithuania itself', he said. 'On this pretext they're bringing bourgeois nationalism and religious prejudices here'.

From 26 July to 18 August Ramanauskaite was held in a special detention centre in the town of Lida. On 18 August Investigator Bobrov, having finally checked out Ramanauskaite's identity, released her after she had given a signed promise to attend the trial. He kept the things confiscated at the time of her arrest (including the folklore material she had collected). Bobrov also refused to confirm in writing the fact that she had been detained.

The Ramanauskaite case was heard on 18 September in Ostrovets Town Court. The Judge was Khalko, the prosecutor was Abramovich. Ramanauskaite refused the services of a defence counsel. The trial was conducted in Belorussian; an interpreter was provided for Angele.

The accused denied that she had intended to organize systematic classes in the Catholic religion for children in Girjos. She insisted that she had come to Belorussia to collect folklore.

The witnesses (the house-owner Lukšas and pupils from the local school) confirmed that on 18, 19 and 20 July Ramanauskaite had talked about religion and read out prayers. The 'material evidence' was presented: a catechism and a book entitled *Our Father*, which had been confiscated from Angele.

The prosecutor asked for the sentence to be limited to a fine of 50 roubles, taking into account a positive reference on Ramanauskaite's work and the fact that it was her first offence.

The court granted the prosecutor's request.

The Story of Kelmeliene's Illness

On 28 June in the town of Varena, a case was to be heard concerning the motor accident in which the allegedly guilty party was **Father Tamkevičius**, a member of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights.

Religious believers filled the courtroom; many gathered outside the court-house. However, they were told that the trial had been put off. (Later, in the autumn, the court found the other driver guilty of the accident.)

The police began to disperse the crowd. While this was going on, Dana Kelmeliene, who had come to the trial from Vilkaviškis, was detained and beaten up. After the beating, she was questioned about the reasons for her visit and put in the Preliminary Detention Cells for 15 days. Two days later, however, she was released — because of her grave state of health. When she returned to Vilkaviškis, Kelmeliene went to the town hospital. Dr Eliseyev diagnosed severe concussion of the brain, admitted that Kelmeliene should have hospital treatment, but refused to hospitalize her. Eliseyev explained that he could not write in her medical record the reason for her illness — the beating by the policemen and K G B officials.

Kelmeliene nevertheless managed to get a hospital place in the town of Kazlu Ruda, from which she was transferred to the sanatorium in Valkininkai. On 25 July an official from the Varena Procuracy came to question Kelmeliene. The doctors would not allow the patient to be interrogated because she was in a serious condition. Germaniškas, a doctor from Vilnius, who went to the sanatorium at the Procurator's request, supported Eliseyev's diagnosis. The next day a new commission, also from Vilnius, arrived at the sanatorium. This commission declared Kelmeliene to be healthy, after which she was quickly discharged.

After the Priests' Statement

As already reported (*Chronicle* 53), 554 Catholic priests in Lithuania signed a statement declaring their refusal to observe the 'Statute on Religious Associations', which contradicts the norms of church life and the canons of the Roman Catholic Church. In particular, the priests declared that they would run their own parishes (according to the Statute, religious congregations are run by a church committee — formally speaking elected — and its chairman). They also emphasized that they would ignore the ban on religious education of children and adolescents.

* * *

After the death of J. Tarulis, Chairman of the Daugailiai Church Committee, a meeting of Committee members on 6 May unanimously

elected **Father Petras Baltuška,** Rector of the church, as the new chairman. The local authorities declared that a 'servant of the cult' could not be chairman of the Committee. On 30 May Baltuška was summoned to the district centre (the town of Utena) by the Deputy Chairman of the District Soviet E C, J. Labanauskas; also present in his office were Talmantas, the Chairman of the E C, and District Procurator F. Levulis. Baltuška was asked to sign a statement warning him that he was subject to criminal prosecution for summoning a meeting of the Church Committee without the permission of the authorities, and for allowing a priest to be elected to an administrative post. The priest refused to sign the warning, basing this decision on the law separating Church and State.

Afterwards the E C tried on a number of occasions to call a meeting of the believers, but the attempts failed — nobody came to the meetings.

* * *

In the same district, the Chairman of the Church Committee of Kirdiaikiai parish, Kinduris, himself resigned from his post. On 9 May a meeting of Committee members accepted Kinduris's resignation and elected the Rector, Father Petras Kražauskas, as the new chairman. On 13 May the same Labanauskas called a meeting of believers and suggested they should elect a new church committee. Despite the fact that most of the parishioners left the hall after this, a new committee was then chosen, the choice being directed by Labanauskas, 267 parishioners of Kirdiaikiai sent a complaint about this to the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights.

* * *

On 15 June the church in Josvainiai was visited by S. Sereikis, Chairman of the District Soviet E C, headmaster V. Rakickas from the Josvainiai Middle School and A. Laurinavičius, Chairman of the 'Jaunaste' collective farm. They made a list of the children in the church and drew up a statement charging **Father L. Kalinauskas** with violating the laws on religious observance, Kalinauskas refused to sign the statement.

On 25 June A. Juškevičius, Chairman of the Kedainiai District Soviet E C, summoned Kalinauskas to see him and accused him of breaking the law on religious cults. Kalinauskas replied that the law was contrary to the commandments of God and the precepts of humanity, so he was refusing to observe it. He was threatened with a fine and even with administrative arrest.

On 17 July Kalinauskas was sent a summons by the Deputy Procurator of Kedainiai, R. Gorgas. 'On this occasion', Fr L. Kalinauskas wrote in a statement to Bishop L. Povilonis, 'the Soviet Procuracy

defended me from the unjust fury of the godless authorities. The case was closed'. The Procurator told him: 'Those times are gone, he (Juškevičius) has exceeded his authority'.

Tamkevičius and Svarinskas are Warned

On 29 August Fr Tamkevičius, a member of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights, was summoned to the Procuracy of the Lithuanian S S R. There Senior Assistant Procurator of the Lithuanian S S R J. Bakučionis (*Chronicles* 50, 51) officially warned Tamkevičius against violating article 68 of the Lithuanian S S R Criminal Code ('Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'). The accusations against Tamkevičius concerned his sermons which, according to the warning, included deliberately false fabrications slandering Soviet reality. In addition, Tamkevičius was accused of being one of the founders and members of the 'illegal' Catholic Committee (illegal as it was unregistered, explained Bakučionis). His third crime was inciting believers to break Soviet laws (this was a reference to their behaviour at the hearing of the traffic accident — see above). Tamkevičius wholly rejected the charges against him and refused to sign the text of the warning.

On 3 September A. Novikov, Deputy Procurator of the Lithuanian S S R, read a similar warning to another member of the Catholic Committee, Fr Svarinskas. Svarinskas also refused to sign the warning.

On 5 September the newspaper *Tiesa* (*Truth*) published a short report issued by the Lithuanian news agency E L T A, stating that Svarinskas and Tamkevičius had received official warnings. The report briefly repeated the basic accusations against the priests. On 6 September the report was reprinted in *Valstieciu Laikraštis* (*The Agricultural Workers' Gazette*) and in the Raseiniai district paper *Naujas Rytas* (*New Morning*).

On 6 September Tamkevičius sent an 'Open Letter' to the Procurator of the Lithuanian S S R, in which he categorically refused to admit that the actions of which he was accused were crimes and sharply attacked the 'atheists', accusing them of systematically infringing the rights of the Church and Catholic believers. On 1 October Svarinskas wrote and sent off a similar letter.

The parishioners of Tamkevičius and Svarinskas have come to the defence of their priests. Letters supporting them have been signed by Catholics from the parishes of Kybartai, Simnas and Prienai (2,150 signatures in all).

Arrests, Searches, Interrogations

On 5 August **Stase Baltrušaite** was detained in the town of Šilale, while she was collecting signatures in the local churchyard for an appeal to the Soviet government. The appeal asks for the return to

the believers of the Catholic Church of the Mother of God in Klaipeda, which was confiscated over 15 years ago.

Baltrušaite was interrogated by Ališauskas, Head of the local K G B. He threatened her and tried to persuade her to become an informer; three copies of the petition (with signatures) were confiscated from her. After nine hours Baltrušaite was released.

Baltrušaite sent a protest to the Procurator of the Lithuanian S S R; she sent a copy to the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights.

* * *

On 6 August there was a search at the home of **Virginija Vosiulaite,** an employee of the 'Thermoisolation' Institute in Vilnius. The material confiscated included a typewriter, some religious books, documents, articles and poems in the handwriting of the late Mindaugas Tamonis (*Chronicles* 38, 39).

After the search Vosiulaite was detained; for three days she was interrogated in a K G B Investigations Prison. The interrogation was carried out by Major J. Markevičius, a K G B Investigator for Specially Important Cases. Vosiulaite stated that the typewriter belonged to her; she refused to say who had given her the books and paper. The interrogation was conducted in an emphatically polite and correct manner. On 9 August a search was carried out at Vosiulaite's place of work. In the middle of August **Jonas Vosiulis,** Virginija's 75-year-old father, was summoned to Vilnius from Kaunas. He was questioned about his daughter.

In September, K G B officials carried out a search at the work-place of **Algis Patackas,** a scientific researcher at the Institute of Chemistry [*Chronicle* 43]. Patackas was a friend of M. Tamonis, After the search he and **Juozas Prapiestis,** a senior research worker at the 'Thermoisolation' Institute, were interrogated.

In all the above cases the K G B officials referred to 'Case No. 58'. As far as could be understood, this case concerns the dissemination of Lithuanian samizdat.

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On 8 August — also in connection with Case No. 58 — the K G B carried out two searches in Kaunas. Major Raudys, Captain Stankevičius and Senior Lieutenant Rainis searched the flat of **Liucija Kulvetite,** a laboratory assistant at the 'Inkaras' rubber manufacturing works. Objects confiscated included the journal *Aušrele* (*Chronicle* 49), Kulvetite's private memoirs and a large number of typewritten articles with editorial corrections on them.

The second search was at the home of **Vitalija Žvikaite,** engineer technologist at the same factory. The search was conducted by Senior

Lieutenant Matulevičius. The material confiscated included a typewriter, a number of books on Lithuanian history and culture, the journals *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* No. 30, *Rupintojelis* No. 6, *Perspektyvos, Aušrele,* and the memoirs of Lithuanian former exiles.

After the search both women were summoned to Vilnius three times, where they were further questioned by Markevičius. He threatened Kulvetite and Žvikaite with arrest. Other employees of the 'Inkaras' factory were also questioned.

* * *

On 3 October in Vilnius, **Julius Sasnauskas** (*Chronicles* 47, 52), Lithuanian Helsinki Group member **Algirdas Statkevičius, Vladas Šakalys** and **Antanas Terleckas** (*Chronicles* 47-50, 52) were searched in connection with Case No. 58. The next day a search was also carried out at the home of A. Statkevičius's neighbour (his name is not known to the *Chronicle*).

The following were confiscated from J. Sasnauskas: two typewriters, material on the history of the Second World War (documents and articles about the Soviet-German Pact of 1939), materials on the Ragaišis trial, numerous documents about the movements in Lithuania and the Soviet Union as a whole to defend the rule of law. In particular, these included the text of a collective letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Pact (see 'Letters and Statements'), a copy of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and documents by the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. In addition, two copies of the journal *Vytis* (*Chronicle* 53) were confiscated: one was an old issue, the other had only just been prepared for publication.

At the home of Terleckas, manuscripts of articles and a typewriter were confiscated. An insignia of the Lithuanian Freedom League (*Chronicle* 51) was discovered in the cellar of the house where Statkevičius lived. The searches were carried out on the orders of Petkevičius, Chairman of the republic's K G B.

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On 11 October the home of **A. Paškauskiene** (*Chronicle* 52) in Jurbarkas was searched.

The Arrest of Terleckas

The following declaration by the Lithuanian Helsinki Group (Document No. 18 dated 2 November 1979) is about the arrest of Terleckas:

At 12.30 on 30 October 1979 Antanas Terleckas, a well-known Lithuanian fighter for national and human rights, was arrested in Vilnius.

Two K G B men took A. Terleckas away from the film-studio

storehouse where he was working as a porter. The next day, K G B Colonel Kalakauskas told A. Terleckas's wife that her husband had been arrested, without revealing the charges against him, and advised her to apply to Lieutenant Colonel Markevičius if she had any inquiries. The latter also refused to give the reasons for his arrest.

We are convinced that the arrest of Antanas Terleckas is closely linked with the recently observed fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. This international agreement, directed against humanity, freedom and the independence of nations, was publicly condemned by people of good will in the Soviet Union and throughout the world. Antanas Terleckas was among the 45 Balts who dared to appeal to the governments of certain nations, asking them to nullify the results of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and give the Baltic nations the right to self-determination. The arrest of Antanas Terleckas and the recent searches and interrogations all over Lithuania are the only reaction so far to the above-mentioned Baltic Memorandum ...

Antanas Terleckas is an honest and decent man. He was not afraid to express his opinion courageously in public, he did not hide his convictions. His only weapon was the word, and he was enabled to use this weapon in the fight by the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference ...

Members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group — *Ona Lukauskaite-Poškiene, Eitan Finkelshtein, Fr Bronius Laurinavičius, Mečislovas Jurevičius* and *Algirdas Statkevičius.*

The statement by the Moscow Helsinki Group 'A Sharp Intensification of Persecution of the Movement to Defend the Rule of Law in the U S S R' (see '1 November') says:

Antanas Terleckas has actively participated in the Lithuanian cultural and human rights movement and is a deeply religious Catholic. He is well known for his numerous articles on historical, national and human rights themes, which have been published in samizdat, and also for his public statements in defence of people persecuted for ideological reasons, both in Lithuania and beyond its borders. The last statement signed by Terleckas (among other citizens of the Baltic republics) was about the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, which allowed the U S S R to occupy the Baltic states.

K G B officials have more than once told a number of people they interrogated, including Terleckas himself, that they are convinced that he contributes to several samizdat journals, for example to the currently appearing journal *Perspectives* (15 issues to date), which covers cultural and socio-political themes [*Chronicles* 51-53].

The authorities have been persecuting Terleckas since 1945 [*Chronicle* 40]. He was first arrested then at the age of 16 — on suspicion of participating in the partisan movement. He was beaten

up, subjected to a fake firing-squad, then released.

In 1957 he was sentenced to four years in camps on a charge of participation in the so-called 'Lithuanian National Front' (Terleckas did not even know his 'fellow-conspirators').

Terleckas was arrested for the third time in 1973 on a charge of theft fabricated by the K G B, and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

There have been a number of searches at Terleckas's home (the last was at the beginning of October this year), he has been subject to preventive detentions, the authorities have continually taken measures to isolate him, especially from young people (together with his friend V. Petkus, Terleckas was doing a lot of work in cultural education, teaching people about the history of Lithuania and its heritage).

Antanas Terleckas believes in the development of the national movement through peaceful means alone, and links this closely with the common task of defending human rights.

* * *

In 1954 Terleckas (born 1928) graduated from the Faculty of Economics at Vilnius University; in 1955 he began post-graduate studies but was unable to conclude them.

After his release in 1961 Terleckas worked as an economist. At the same time he was taking evening courses at the History Faculty of Vilnius University. He was not allowed to defend his thesis, 'Lithuania under Russian rule 1795-1915', which was even examined by the K G B.

After his third term of imprisonment Terleckas did not manage to obtain employment in his specialized field.

Persecution of Believers

Orthodox Christians

On 12 September the members of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R — G. Yakunin, V. Kapitanchuk, V. Fonchenkov, together with L. Regelson — issued an appeal 'To Russian Orthodox Christians in the Fatherland and in the Diaspora'.

The authors of the appeal welcome the decision of the Synodal [Russian Orthodox] Church in Exile to canonize the Russian martyrs and confessors who have suffered in the persecutions of the 20th century.

We feel a deep sense of gratitude to the Synodal Church for its initiative, and we hope at the same time that the temptation of

juridical isolationism will be abandoned and the Synodal Church will not remain alone in its great and holy task of preparing the canonization of the new Russian saints. We hope that in one way or another the Orthodox Christians of other jurisdictions will take part in this ... We bear witness to the fact that prayerful veneration of the martyrs and confessors is becoming more and more widespread in the Russian Land and we express our deep conviction that the act of canonization will be greeted with genuine religious enthusiasm by the Russian clergy and the people of the church.

The authors of the appeal also note that the question of canonization can be settled only by a new creative decision on the Church's part, as the persecution of believers in 20th-century Russia has differed in essence from the persecution of the first Christian centuries — this time it has not been Christianity itself that has been subjected to persecution, but the Church.

The Church was seen by the persecutors as a social organization inextricably linked with the 'old world' they intended to destroy. Church services, the defence of the Church's interests, finally even active Church life, were regarded as political opposition which, in the opinion of the authorities, demanded repressive measures ...

This war against the Church in Russia was won by the anti-ecclesiastical forces. They got an obedient Church hierarchy. However, the outward victory could not destroy the inner, spiritual basis of Church life, expressed in the moral feat of the martyrs and confessors, not in the example set by perfidious compromises.

The authors of the appeal then turn to the problem of canonizing the Emperor Nicholas II and his family. Pointing out that this is a debatable question, they express their own approval of such an act.

The tragedy of the Imperial family has lain like a curse on the Russian Land and has become a symbol, like a prologue to the impending Way of the Cross to be trodden by Russia, of the death of tens of millions of her sons and daughters. The canonization of the Imperial martyrs will mean that the sin of killing her Tsar will be lifted from Russia and she will finally be freed from evil enchantment.

* * *

T. Shchipkova (*Chronicles* 49, 51), a member of the Christian Seminar (*Chronicles* 41, 43, 46) is threatened with arrest. On 2 March a criminal case was made out against her on a charge of hooliganism. In March and April members of the Christian Seminar were questioned as witnesses in her case. She is accused of having hit a vigilante (*Chronicle* 52). Shchipkova has had to give a written undertaking not to leave Smolensk.

* * *

The church in the village of Znosychi, Sarny District, Rovno Region, which was built in 1910, used to serve the needs of believers from a number of villages. In spite of the fact that in recent years there had been no priest at the church, the parishioners met regularly for prayers and had redecorated and adorned the church themselves. A few years ago unknown persons vandalized the church at night, plundering and breaking the decorations and scraping the inside walls. The vandals were not found or punished by the authorities.

In 1977 the authorities tried to demolish the church. One night they began to tear down the church building with a powerful tractor. The believers, woken by the noise, ran up and drove the tractor-driver away. After that the parishioners set a twenty-four hour guard on the church.

In the spring of 1978 there was another attempt to demolish the church. One night a fire-engine drove up, the building was doused in fuel oil and there was an attempt to set it on fire. The parishioners surrounded the church, saying: 'Burn us together with the church'. Those who had assembled were dragged away and dispersed, but others ran up in their stead.

In autumn of the same year the district authorities called together the management of the collective farm and announced their decision to turn the church into a farm storehouse, 'as we have so few buildings that can be used as storehouses'. Grain was piled up in the church. In response to this the farm workers refused to go out to work and the children did not go to school. The grain was taken out of the church and it was once more left at the disposal of the believers.

On 25 April 1979, at Easter time, all the inhabitants of Znosychi were sent to work in another village. The children were shut in the school. Five buses full of policemen and two demolition trucks were driven up to the church building. The trucks, after ropes had been put around the church, began pulling the church down. The parishioners, hearing the roar of the motors, returned to Znosychi, gathered round the church and demanded that the demolition should stop. The police drove them away. Towards morning they burnt the ruins of the church. The operation was commanded by the Procurator of Sarny District.

Soon after, believers from the whole area began to gather for prayers in Znosychi, on the site of the demolished church. The news about the burning of the church had reached even the farthest villages. At times, 10-20 pilgrims were sleeping in almost all the houses in Znosychi.

On the orders of the District Procurator the local authorities constantly dispersed the worshippers. Travel to Znosychi was forbidden. Patrols were set up on the roads, stopping pedestrians and cars from

getting through to the village; so people started to go to Znosychi through the woods.

The pilgrims decorated the pine-trees around the demolished church with embroidered towels and coloured ribbons. On the orders of the authorities the age-old pines were chopped down. People began to decorate the stumps that remained — bulldozers rooted out the stumps and covered them with earth. However, the believers continue to meet in Znosychi for prayers on the site where the church used to be.

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In the village of Balashovka in Berezno District, Rovno Region, the church was closed at the beginning of the 1960s. The authorities justified the closure of the church by saying it had few worshippers and no working priest. The icons and church plate were preserved.

Ten years later the members of the old church 'committee of twenty' appealed to the authorities, asking them to re-open the church, but without success. After the adoption of the new Constitution, the believers renewed their campaign. In spite of the fact that the Balashovka church had served four villages (only one of which has more than 100 inhabitants), while the district centre of Berezno is far away and there is no regular bus route there, the believers of Balashovka were advised by the Regional Soviet E C to worship in Berezno. The believers also made a number of attempts to build a church. Finally they were directed to the Village Soviet and told that some papers on their case had been sent there.

Khunduchko, Secretary of the Village Soviet, threw them out of his office, calling them hooligans and followers of Bandera and threatening to send them to gaol. Among the petitioners was **Ekaterina Zubchik,** a deputy to the Village Soviet. Khunduchko said to her: 'If we had known you were going to write declarations, we wouldn't have chosen you as a deputy.' One of the petitioners, **Nikolai Sitnikov** (an invalid) was fined 50 roubles for disorderly conduct. Sitnikov complained to the District Soviet E C and the Procuracy but didn't get anywhere.

The believers sent complaints to Brezhnev, Kosygin and the Council for Religious Affairs. In reply they received notification that the letters had been sent to the regional authorities, and from there to the District Soviet E C. Mikhailyukov, Chairman of the E C, told them he would not discuss anything with them.

In the autumn of 1978 a representative of the Council for Religious Affairs visited the village. He assured the Balashovka residents that 'everything has already been agreed' and asked them to draw up another list of the 'committee of twenty' for the Party District Committee. After the representative's departure, Khunduchko declared that the church could not be opened as it was in a dangerous condition.

He promised to summon a commission to calculate the repairs required.

Meanwhile **Maria Prokopchuk, Ganna Prokopchuk** and **Adam Ivanov** were fined 10 roubles each for cleaning up the church. The believers wrote a complaint to Kuroyedov, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs.

Some time later, the Chairman of the Village Soviet, Cheberaka, asked his fellow-villagers to sign a paper saying they would not allow their pigs out of their plots. Later it turned out that the signatures collected on this pretext were being used with a declaration stating that nobody in the village of Balashovka needed the church. A new declaration by the 'committee of twenty' asking for the return of the church is not being accepted by the District Soviet E C.

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In the town of Rechitsa, Gomel Region, the Orthodox congregation used to meet for worship in an old and cramped building. On Sundays and feast-days it could not accommodate all the worshippers. The church committee received permission from the local authorities to redecorate it. The believers collected money and at the beginning of 1979 they began to redecorate. Before long the church redecoration was complete.

On 1 September the church building was sealed up by a fire commission 'for direct violation of the fire safety regulations'. The believers appealed to the local authorities for an explanation, but received none. Neither was the question solved by the Commissioner of the Belorussian Council for Religious Affairs in Minsk.

At the same time the local authorities are intimidating the members of the church committee. The police keep watch outside the church building. The authorities intend to make it into a storehouse. The believers assemble and pray outside the doors of the closed church.

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The philologist **Vyacheslav Ulitin** was working as a folklore expert in the Folk Art House in Vladimir. On 13 October he did not turn up for a voluntary Saturday work-day. One of his colleagues saw him that day, going to a service at the Uspenksy Cathedral. Ulitin was summoned for an interview by the Director and received a dismissal notice, as his religious views did not correspond to the principles of a propagandistic institution.

Adventists

Between 30 May to 28 June seven members of the All-Union Church of Seventh Day Adventists [SDAs] were arrested in Ukraine: **M. F.**

Kravchuk and **M. E. Podkalyuk** (detained in the village of Kalinovka, Vinnitsa Region, while distributing Open Letter No. 6 by the All-Union Church of SDAs, entitled 'Why are Believers being Tried in the USSR — for Crimes or for their Faith?'); **L. G. Melenko** and **A. A. Gulya** (detained while distributing Letter No. 6 in the town of Kivertsy, Volynskaya Region); **V. P. Rudnitsky** (detained while distributing Letter No. 6 in the town of Kazatin, Vinnitsa Region); **D. D. Dimov** (detained in Kherson while distributing the document 'A Short Refutation of the Latest Press Slanders' by the All-Union Church of SDAs; **N. A. Ovcharenko** (detained while distributing the 'Short Refutation' in the town of Georgievka, Voroshilovgrad Region).

Searches were carried out at the homes of the people arrested. During the same period, the homes of over 30 Adventists in the Ukraine and Stavropol Territory were also searched. The following were confiscated: Bibles, Gospels, religious and human rights literature from the 'True Witness' publishing house, exercise books containing notes on religion, notebooks, greetings cards, letters, envelopes with addresses on them, any bits of paper on which anything was written, photographs of relations and acquaintances, used railway tickets, typing paper and carbons, cassettte recordings, account-books, money savings.

Search records were not made out for all the searches. When **S. A. Gorchenko** (from the village of Shilovtsy, Khotin District, Chernovtsy Region) asked for a search record to be left, Petryuga (who led the search) replied: 'You don't need one'. **N. G. Rudaya** (from Shilovtsy), **A. A. Floreskul** (from the village of Novaya Zhadova, Storozhinets District, Chernovtsy Region), **A. P. Savchuk** (from the village of Nizhnye Stanovtsy, Kitsman District, Chernovtsy Region), **S. G. Fedorenko** (from the town of Razdelnaya, Odessa Region) and **F. G. Yashchenko** did not receive search records either.

I. I. Malyshko, who conducted the search in the home of N. G. Rudaya, insulted her daughter. He forcibly took from her a list of the names of those taking part in the search.

When **L. G. Kopchuk,** a work invalid of the First Group (from the village of Banilov-Podgorny, Storozhinets District, Chernovtsy Region) asked that witnesses be summoned from among her neighbours, she was told: 'We've got our own witnesses'; when she asked for the return of her Bible, the reply was: 'This is an American edition of the Bible'. Railyan, the man conducting the search, threatened her: 'We'll send you into exile for reading American Bibles'. When L. Kopchuk wanted to write on the search record her reasons for refusing to sign it, Railyan said: 'Don't mess up my search record'. After the owners of the house said they would complain about his arbitrary actions, he threatened them: 'We'll imprison you if you start complaining'.

During the search at the home of **S. Dimova** (wife of the arrested D. D. Dimov — see above), she was threatened with arrest and a prison term, and with loss of parental rights over her six-month-old son.

After the arrest of N. A. Ovcharenko (see above), **M. M. Zinets-Ovcharenko,** her adopted daughter, was also arrested. Both were charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). They were accused of disseminating literature published by 'True Witness', 'by leaving it in post-boxes' and also of making a list of addresses where the literature could be distributed. Ovcharenko and Zinets were sentenced to three years' imprisonment each.

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In June the trial of **Rikhard Spalin, Anatoly Ryskal** and **Yakov Dolgotër** (*Chronicle* 51) took place in Stavropol territory. Spalin and Ryskal were printers of the 'True Witness' publishing house. They were charged under article 190-1 and article 162, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Engaging in forbidden private enterprise'). It is not known what Dolgotër was charged with. Spalin and Ryskal were sentenced to four years' imprisonment each, Dolgotër to one year.

Pentecostalists

On 6 March the Muscovite **Anatoly Vlasov** was visited for the third time by KGB official Yury Polyukh, who promised to return to him 'next week' the tape-recorder, cassettes and three Bibles confiscated during a search (*Chronicle* 51). His promise was not fulfilled. During his visit Polyukh again tried to provoke Vlasov into discussing his ties with dissidents and demanded the surrender of a duplicating machine which arrested Pentecostalists from Sweden had mentioned in their testimony (*Chronicles* 47, 49).

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Grigory Udovenko (from the town of Shostka, Sumy Region) has been sent to a psychiatric hospital. His relatives, on learning that he had become a believer, first began to beat up their son, and then collaborated in having him hospitalized.

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Representatives of a number of congregations in West Ukraine have appealed to international charitable organizations in an Open Letter describing the position of Pentecostal families with many children in the USSR. They report that the children of Pentecostalists are not given the opportunity to learn peacefully at school and are subjected to all kinds of pressure to tear them away from their parents' religion. 'There is no room for religion,' they write, 'within socialism or communism.' The letter mentions in particular the material difficulties

suffered by families with many children; the families receive miserly wages and insignificant allowances. The authors of the letter ask the international charities for material aid. Attached to the letter is a list of those families with many children which are particularly in need of material assistance.

Jehovah's Witnesses

Four Jehovah's Witnesses from West Ukraine have been sentenced to three years in ordinary-regime camps for refusing to take the military oath. They are **Aleksei Polishchuk** (whose sentence runs from 11 January 1979), **Dmitry Prokop** (29 May 1978), **Mikhail Marich** (22 September 1978) and **Pëtr Bondar** (7 August 1978).

Polishchuk and Prokop are serving their sentences in: uchr. US-319/56, s.Perekrestovka, Romny District, Sumy Region.

Baptists

Largely based on material from the *Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives*, Nos. 67-70.

* * *

On 16 June a group of Baptists sent a complaint to the USSR Supreme Soviet. They point out that the appeal court — the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR — upheld the sentence passed by the Dzhambul Regional Court on **Ya. G. Skornyakov**, a pastor of the Council of Baptist Churches (trial in *Chronicle* 53), in spite of the fact that the court of first instance shamelessly violated a number of basic clauses of the Code of Criminal Procedure. This statement had been sent to the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR. Chairman Mynbayev had replied:

> ... Your reference to the violation of procedural norms is baseless, as the trial hearing in the case was carried out in accordance with legal requirements ...

* * *

The Baptists are organizing summer camps for children of prisoners and of pastors living in hiding because of persecution. The children live in tents, looked after by a number of adults, who prepare meals, organize games and pastimes for them, study the Bible, teach psalms and Christian morality.

In the spring of 1979 the authorities organized raids on two of the camps — in Belorussia and West Ukraine.

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In Belorussia the camp was on the bank of the Pripyat River, in Khoiniki District, Gomel Region. On 18 July, during the afternoon

activities, the camp was surrounded by policemen, soldiers and 'men in civilian clothes'. Some of them grabbed the children, others made for the tents. They took away Bibles and Gospels, beat those who resisted and twisted their arms. Some of the little girls tried to run away. They were chased on to a marshy bank and captured. The assailants rummaged through the beds and threw all the children's things out of their suitcases and bags. A female investigator and her assistants walked over the children's beds and belongings in their boots.

That night guard-posts were set up around the tents. In the morning, cars and buses were driven up to the camp. A helicopter circled above the camp. Local officials arrived. The children were told to give their names and places of residence. They refused. Those who had identity papers had them confiscated. The adults had their passports confiscated.

Then the health inspectors arrived. In a report on the sanitary condition of the camp they stated that the bedsheets had been trampled on, the children had no toothbrushes, soap or towels (the children had shown the inspectors that they had all these things), there were no vaccination certificates, the dishes were washed in cold water and the food cooked on a camp-fire. A girl who had mosquito bites was said to have 'a bad case of eczma'.

The children and the camp were photographed. Then the beds and tents were taken to the nearest village and the children were sent down the river to Kiev on the boat 'Rocket'.

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On 23 August Baptist children returning home after a holiday in the Trans-Carpathian region changed trains in Lvov. In the square outside the station they were surrounded by police. **Pavel Timofeyevich Rytikov**, a preacher of the Council of Churches, who was in charge of the children (in recent years he had been hiding from the authorities — *Chronicle* 51) was immediately arrested, together with his 20-year-old son **Vladimir** and **Galina Vilchinskaya**. The children scattered in all directions. The police picked them up all over town. The following were confiscated: a tape-recorder, a camera, a cine-camera, films, cassettes, religious literature and also money intended for the children — two-and-a-half thousand roubles.

* * *

On 29 July about 300 police officials and K G B agents tried to disperse Baptists who had assembled on the banks of the River Prut for a ceremony of baptism involving new members of the congregation. On 31 July the police forcibly summoned and interrogated the Baptists **P. V. Ursul, D. E. Gankevich, V. I. Kostenyuk** and **E. M. Bunkovsky** from Chernovtsy. They were asked to write explanations concerning

the baptism. A search was carried out at Kostenyuk's flat in the owner's absence.

On 1 August searches were carried out in the settlement of Bolshoi Kuchurov at the homes of **M. Kushnir, I. Nastashchuk** and **L. Onchulenko.** Religious literature was confiscated. On the same day Presbyter **Ivan Grigorevich Danilyuk** was arrested in Chernovtsy. His case is being dealt with by the Town Procurator of Storozhinets in Chernovtsy Region. The arrest took place at Danilyuk's flat after a search. The Deputy Procurator of Chernovtsy Region, M. K. Pashkovsky, in an official reply of 16 August to a complaint by believers, confirmed that Danilyuk was charged with violation of the laws on religious cults and would be brought to account for it.

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On 11 September **F. V. Gordienko,** Presbyter of the Gorlovka (Donetsk Region] congregation (*Chronicle* 53), was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code) and article 187-3 of the Ukrainian Code ('Organization or active participation in group activities which violate public order'). He was accused of having spoken about the violation of believers' rights in the USSR at prayer-meetings and of 'taking an active part in illegal meetings of Baptist schismatics who avoid registration'. Gordienko had not reacted to demands by the authorities that he should end these meetings and 'by his defiant attitude also influenced other members of the sect'. In October Gordienko was arrested.

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On 31 October **Mikhail Antonovich Prutyanu** (*Chronicle* 53) from Kishinëv was arrested.

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On 5 November **N. G. Baturin,** a member of the Council of Churches, was arrested in the town of Smela, Cherkassy Region. **Olga Pikalova**[10] was arrested at the same time.

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The *Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives* No. 68 has published an 'Open Letter' from **Sergei Popov** (son of the prisoner N. F. Popov — see *Chronicle* 53 and 'Addenda and Corrigenda' in this issue) and **Yury Misin,** both members of the Ryazan congregation.

S. Popov and Yu. Misin relate how, in the spring of 1977, they were engaged as informers by the KGB, for work within the congregation. The first interview with them, in the military enlistment office, was conducted by the official in charge, Senior Lieutenant Garynin. Later, the recruited informers worked with KGB Lieutenant-Colonel Savushkin and Colonel Fedyashov, Deputy Chief of the Ryazan KGB. They met them at the railway station a few times a month. Both received a few hundred roubles for their services.

The KGB officials were interested in the composition of the church committee, the duties of its members, character sketches of the congregation's leaders, the spiritual state of the church members, differences between members of the congregation, the reactions of believers to atheist articles in the papers and to house-searches. They asked about the household finances of believers' families: where they got the building materials for redecoration and construction of private houses, whether their animal fodder had been obtained legally, and so on. They were particularly interested in visits paid to the congregation by members of the Council of Churches. Popov and Misin were asked to identify people from photographs or verbal descriptions.

Above all, Fedyashov and Savushkin were interested in the supply and distribution of literature produced by the 'Christian' publishing house, the places where there were supposed to be printing-presses, and in links with Christians abroad.

For the long term Popov and Misin were supposed to gain authority among the young people in the congregation and then move into the leading circles among the brethren, until they could make direct contact with religious 'centres' abroad. In order to raise their prestige, it was planned to have one of them detained while transporting literature. Another plan was that Misin and Popov should found a new religious group among young people and become its leaders. The information Misin and Popov gave to the KGB was partly made use of in propagandist articles by the local press.

Misin and Popov write that they began to feel disgusted with themselves after the sentences passed on A. V. Nikitkov and N. F. Popov on 20 July and the publication of the article 'Out of the Quagmire' in *Priokskaya Pravda* on 4 August. They both repented publicly before their fellow-believers and asked believers who were working for the KGB to break their ties.

The date on the 'Open Letter' as printed in the *Bulletin* is 5 July (?).

* * *

On 21 September Garynin came to see **Sergei Popov** at work. He demanded that Popov and Misin should stop revealing 'official secrets'. He threatened that evidence formerly given by Popov would be used against leaders of the Ryazan congregation and Baptist church leaders, particularly the arrested Rytikov. He promised to play tape-recordings of Popov's talks with KGB officials to his fellow-believers. Popov was also threatened with imprisonment.

Popov, in an open letter to Andropov, stated:

... If in future anything should happen to me or to members of my family, the whole responsibility would rest with the officials of the Regional K G B subordinate to you.

* * *

Until 1977 the Presbyter of the Ryazan Baptist congregation was **Anatoly Sergeyevich Redin.** In 1977 he was chosen as a preacher by the Council of Churches.

In 1979 a criminal charge was brought against Redin (*Chronicle* 53). His case was separated from that of Nikitkov and Popov and individually investigated, because he was 'hiding from the investigation'.

On 16 August 1979 the Presbyter's son, **S. A. Redin,** was tried in Ryazan. He was charged under article 199, part 2, of the R S F S R Criminal Code, with 'unwarranted construction of a residence'. The house was confiscated and Redin was sentenced to eight months' corrective labour, with 15% confiscation of wages. Redin and his two children (one three years old, the other 11 months old), his pregnant wife and 90-year-old grandmother were left without a home.

In a declaration to the highest authorities, members of the congregation demanded that Redin's confiscated house be returned or that he be given alternative accommodation.

* * *

On 5 August a meeting of believers in the town of Dedovsk (Moscow Region) was broken up. The attack was led by the Secretary of the Dedovsk District Soviet E C and carried out by police and vigilantes, many of whom were drunk. They pushed the believers into a bus, twisting their arms, and took them to the police station. One of them, **V. V. Smirnov,** was fined 30 roubles.

On the same day, a prayer-meeting in the town of Zheleznodorozhny (Moscow Region), at the home of Pshenitsyn (*Chronicle* 51), was also broken up. Deputy police chief Savelev and Lieutenant Kharin brought a record typed out in advance. It stated that the believers had refused to obey when asked to disperse and had refused to sign the record. Pshenitsyn wrote a complaint against the police officials because of this.

* * *

At the beginning of August **Valery Nazaruk** (*Chronicle* 46), a member of the Zdolbonov congregation (Rovno Region) was released at the end of his sentence. He had been imprisoned for refusing to take the military oath. The local authorities forbade him to attend a youth meeting fixed for 12 August, or to talk about his imprisonment. Valery said he would go to the service. The authorities promised to obstruct the meeting.

On 12 August workers from neighbouring factories, policemen in plain clothes and 'members of the public' surrounded the prayer-meeting, which was taking place in the woods. Without asking anyone to disperse, without any warning, they began to grab hold of the believers, twist their arms and take from them religious literature, musical instruments, tape-recorders and cameras.

The attack was led by Roshchenko, Chairman of the Town Soviet, Netiksha, Secretary of the District Soviet E C, and Police Major Makarenko. Some members of the congregation are being threatened with criminal charges.

* * *

On 19 August (the Feast of the Transfiguration) a festive service held by the Stepanovka congregation (Voroshilovgrad Region) was broken up. The believers were led out of the house and driven to police stations in various parts of the town. All were interrogated and had to give their names. Some visitors from Voroshilovgrad were imprisoned — **Balatsky, Kulishev** and **Sazhnëv** for 10 days, **Andryushchenko** for 15 days, while the local residents **Vinogradov** and **Tyagun** got 10 days each. In one of the police stations young girls were subjected to a body-search. While the believers were being questioned at police stations, at the house where the service was held all religious literature and notebooks were confiscated.

The raid was conducted by Commissioner Babushkin of the Council of Religious Affairs, his deputy Mikhailovsky and Verëvkin, Secretary of the Town Soviet E C.

* * *

On 3 August a prayer-meeting held by the Rostov-on-Don congregation was broken up. The believers **Kolbantsev** and **Zakharov** were sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment, and **Goncharov** to 10 days'.

* * *

On 5 and 7 October prayer-meetings in the town of Khartsyzsk (Donetsk Region) were broken up. On 5 October the believers were loaded into lorries and sent out of the town.

* * *

On 21 October the authorities of Bryansk forbade believers to meet for a Harvest Festival. Under the leadership of the Regional Procurator and Samotesov, Chairman of the District Soviet E C, a round-up was organized. Believers were seized in trams, railway stations and in their homes; then they were taken to police stations and detained for 15 days. Old people, invalids and children were not exempted. According to incomplete data, 125 people were detained.

* * *

Reserve Major D. F. Sukharev flew jet aeroplanes for 16 years; he then became a history lecturer at the Vasilevka Higher College of Aviation-Technology in Ukraine. Afterwards, when Sukharev's wife became a Baptist, he was asked to change his subject — instead of lecturing on the history of the C P S U, he taught courses on military history.

At the beginning of 1979 Sukharev himself became a believer. On 27 March he was sent to the psychiatric section of the local military hospital, but 17 days later he was released, because of his wife's protests. On 2 June Sukharev was dismissed as being unsuitable for his job. On 11 September Sukharev completed 25 years of service on a high-grade salary. He was nevertheless refused a pension. Sukharev has five child dependants.

* * *

After graduating from the Primalkino Middle School, Prokhladny Dis-District, Kabardino-Balkar A S S R, **Lidia Gofman** was given a report which stated that she regularly attended Baptist sectarian meetings and had not joined the Komsomol because of her religious convictions. The report also mentioned her good results, her diligence, her conscientious attitude to socially useful work and her love of sport. Using this report, Lidia applied to Polytechnic College No. 102 in Kommunarsk, Voroshilovgrad Region. Her application was returned to her and she was told that the college had no need of believers as students.

* * *

According to data supplied by the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, 39 Baptists (including five women) were in captivity in September 1979.

The Right to Leave

In place of the 'Initiative Committee to Fight for the Right of Free Exit from the U S S R' (*Chronicle* 53) which produced three bulletins before September 1979, a 'Public Group for the Right to Emigrate' has been formed; its members are: **Lyudmila Agapova, Ivan Lupachev, Mark Novikov, Vyacheslav Repnikov** and **Vladimir Shepelev.** On 4 November the group issued a document entitled 'Our Position Regarding Emigration', which sets out their proposals for legal guarantees on the right to emigrate. The document is available for signatures until the end of the year.

* * *

In October, 12 Muscovites wishing to emigrate sent a statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet in which they demanded that the letter from parents certifying that there are no material obligations affecting their attitude towards the emigration of their children be excluded from the list of documents required by O V I R.

The authors assert that the consent or lack of consent of parents to their mature children's intention to emigrate to Israel cannot have any legal force and should not figure in official documents, since no law currently in force in the U S S R demands their opinion on where their children choose to live. Further on, the authors write:

> According to article 20 of the Basic Principles of Legislation in the U S S R ... and also the relevant articles concerning marriage and the family in the Codes of the Union Republics, mature children are obliged to render material help to their parents when they are no longer able to work and are in need. But this obligation cannot be abjured simply by signing a certificate ... In the same way the document referred to above does not create, does not change and does not cancel anyone's personal or material obligations. Consequently, to demand that it be submitted is by its very essence illegal ... The obligation of one person to pay something (whether it is a debt or alimony) must be proved by the person who claims the payment.

The statement also refers to illegal actions by O V I R officials, notaries and the courts. In accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet dated 12 April 1968, 'On the Procedure for Examining Proposals, Statements and Complaints Submitted by Citizens', officials (of O V I R) are obliged personally to demand necessary documents to which private persons have been refused access. However, O V I R officials refuse to make the appropriate enquiries. In accordance with the law 'On State Notaries', notary offices are obliged to pass on statements containing, for example, enquiries about the presence or absence of material claims of parents towards their children. However, the notaries refer to a secret instruction and refuse to accept such statements, and the courts do nothing about complaints against the notary offices.

* * *

On 18 April **Olga Matusevich (Geiko** in previous issues) received an invitation to take up permanent residence in the U S A.

The following day she was detained as she attempted to enter the U S Consulate in Kiev. At the police station she was told that if she was seen in the vicinity of the Consulate again she would be arrested and sentenced — for robbery or prostitution, for example. K G B officials also threatened her parents. However, after she had addressed a complaint to Andropov, the threats to her parents ceased; but she

herself was not left alone. In mid-July she was beaten up near her home by two unknown men; a month and a half later the same two men came to see her at work and 'explained' in gestures that they would first rape and then kill her.

Her husband Nikolai Matusevich, who is in a camp, was not allowed to sign Olga's permission to emigrate, since, he was told, 'official documents are not entrusted to private persons'.

By complaining to the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, to the U S S R Procurator-General and to Brezhnev, O. Matusevich managed to obtain a reply from the camp administration. It stated that her husband's consent would be transmitted to O V I R if O V I R officials enquired after it.

On 6 September Lysenko, an inspector at the district O V I R office, refused to accept her documents, saying that until Olga got a divorce they would not even talk to her. In September she also saw Siforov, Head of the City O V I R, who told her that he had no right to separate a man and wife. Nevertheless, he promised to seek advice and to invite Olga to come and see him in three days. After waiting three weeks, Olga Matusevich sent a complaint to Brezhnev, enclosing all the documents required by O V I R. She asks for permission to leave the U S S R without having to divorce her husband and states that if permission is refused she will be forced to renounce her Soviet citizenship and to ask the U S government for political asylum.

* * *

On 21 September **Sergei Belov** (*Chronicle* 51) submitted a statement to the 'Initiative Committee to Fight for the Right of Free Exit from the U S S R', asking for help in obtaining an invitation to take up permanent residence in the U S A.

S. P. Belov (b. 1937) graduated from the All-Union Institute for Law by Correspondence in 1972. From 1973-1975 he worked as an investigator in the Privolzhsk Police Department (Ivanovo Region). He was dismissed from his job and has since worked as a loader and despatching clerk in a catering organization. In the summer of 1976 he wrote a work entitled *The Biosociology of Heredity* (*Polygenesis*) in which he examined the reasons for the progressive increase in the U S S R in the number of people suffering from serious congenital mental deficiencies. He sent the manuscript to the publishing house 'Nauka' and six months after it had been returned, he sent it to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. Soon afterwards, officials of the Privolzhsk police brought charges of 'petty hooliganism' against him. On 5 October 1976 he was sentenced to a month of compulsory labour. In January 1977 Belov sent his work to the U S S R Committee for Inventions and Discoveries. On 25 August 1977 he was summoned to the Ivanovo Regional Psychoneurological Clinic, where

it was proposed that he should be admitted to a psychiatric hospital for examination. He categorically refused. He was threatened that if he continued writing he would be put in a psychiatric hospital by force. On 1 November 1977 Belov sent a telegram to Academician Sakharov (with a copy to Brezhnev) stating that he was joining the appeal to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet for an amnesty for prisoners of conscience to mark the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. He handed in another telegram, addressed to A. Ginzburg, at Lefortovo Prison, in which he offered his services as a defence lawyer. On 2 November 1977 Belov was forcibly interned in the 'Bogorodskoye' Regional Psychoneurological Hospital, where he was detained until 10 December.

After his release he began insistently trying to obtain permission to emigrate. To this effect, he sent several telegrams to Brezhnev and Shchelokov, the U S S R Minister of Internal Affairs, and went in person to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet and to the reception office of the U S S R M V D. At the M V D he was advised to approach the relevant embassy and request an invitation. On 3 September 1978 Belov posted a statement to the U S Embassy containing a request for political asylum and for an invitation to take up permanent residence in the U S A. A month later he demanded a notification of delivery from the postal authorities and wrote a complaint.

On 25 October 1978 Belov was taken, under guard and in handcuffs, to the Bogorodskoye Hospital, from he was discharged on 30 January 1979. At home he found a note from the post-office stating that his letter to the U S Embassy had been lost. On 5 February he wrote to the U S Embassy for the second time. At the end of March the letter was returned to him. On 30 March Belov wrote to the U S Embassy for the third time. He has still not received notification of delivery, although he has made several enquiries.

On 17 July S. Belov was again seized and taken to Bogorodskoye. He was released on 13 August.

* * *

On 30 September **Justas Gimbutas** (*Chronicle* 53) was detained outside the American Embassy, where he was going to clear up several questions connected with adopting American citizenship. He was taken to Police Station No. 11. He was then examined by a psychiatrist who particularly asked him whether he was actively anti-Soviet. The conclusion was: 'normal'.

The following day Gimbutas was advised to 'come to his senses' and sent home to Klaipeda.

* * *

On 5 November the family of the well-known Estonian composer **Arvo Pärt** applied for permission to emigrate to Israel, where the parents of Nora Pärt, Arvo's wife, live.

On 15 November Pärt was expelled from the Union of Composers of the Estonian S S R. This measure was apparently taken so swiftly because Pärt had been chosen as Estonian delegate to the Congress of Soviet Composers, which was to take place in Moscow on 20 November. A concert scheduled for 25 November was to include some of Pärt's works, but they were not played.

Pärt was constantly refused visas for foreign travel, for which he applied in order to be present at Western performances of his works. The exception was his trip to London in August of this year for the première of his *Cantata in Memory of Benjamin Britten*. The first performance of the *Cantata* was to have taken place in December 1978, but it was postponed because Pärt was refused permission to travel on that occasion.

Jews

In November 1978 **Ya. Groberman, A. Milner** and **A. Feldman,** all citizens of the town of Beltsy (Moldavia) were sitting in a café when they were attacked by seven hooligans. A fight was provoked. Feldman (who already had a visa for Israel) and Milner (who was waiting for permission) were arrested. Their trial took place in April 1979. Groberman, who had been trying to leave the U S S R since 1973, was present as a witness. He was arrested in the courtroom and, like Milner and Feldman, charged with 'malicious hooliganism'. Groberman and Feldman were sentenced to four years' imprisonment each, and Milner to six years.

* * *

On his return to Moscow (see 'In the Prisons and Camps') **Mark Nashpits** was refused a residence permit, although his certificate of release stated that he was bound for Moscow. O V I R refused to accept Nashpits' documents on the grounds that he did not have a residence permit (a less official, but more significant reason may be that Nashpits is the son of a 'non-returner').

Nashpits's co-defendant **Boris Tsitlënok** handed in his documents at O V I R before obtaining a residence permit. He left at the beginning of November (without having had a residence permit).

* * *

On 4 August **Grigory Goldshtein** (*Chronicle* 53) was refused permission to emigrate.

* * *

On 10 August **Vladimir Knokh** from Leningrad (*Chronicle* 47), who has been trying to emigrate since 1974, sent a statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. He is being refused permission to leave because of work he did ten years ago.

Knokh writes that he is being discriminated against because he is a Jew and — furthermore — one who wants to leave the U S S R. In 1976 he was unable to find any work for eight months and was threatened with prosecution for parasitism. Finally he was given a low-paid, unskilled job (Knokh is an engineer).

In 1979 Knokh completed a programming course. However, he was also turned down for several computing jobs, despite the fact that he had a recommendation from the District Soviet E C. Rubtsova, head of the computing centre at the Leningrad Machine Tool Construction Association, who said on the telephone that she needed qualified programmers, told Knokh when he saw her that there were no vacancies and that she could not foresee any.

Knokh wrote to the Leningrad Regional Party Committee requesting help in finding a job in his speciality. Kokov, an official of the Kalinin District Party Committee, invited Knokh to come and see him; he explained to Knokh that as he had 'betrayed the Motherland' (ie applied for permission to emigrate to Israel) he would not be able to work as an engineer. When Knokh referred to his right, as a citizen of the U S S R, to work, Kokov replied that Knokh was not a citizen, but a subject of the U S S R. In this connection Knokh asked the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet to deprive him of his citizenship:

> not only *de facto* but also formally, in accordance with the law 'On Citizenship' of 1 July 1979.

* * *

On 6 August **Viktor Elistratov** (*Chronicles* 46, 47, 53) was detained and searched at Khabarovsk Airport. One of the policemen who detained him tried to stage a struggle, as though Elistratov was resisting, and showed his shoulder-strap, which had been torn off in advance, to those who had gathered round. Elistratov was taken to an office where a Procurator was waiting for him. To Elistratov's protests about the staged incidents the Procurator replied: 'And supposing witnesses are found who say that you resisted?' In the search warrant presented to Elistratov there was no indication of what case the search was being conducted in connection with.

On 9 August a search of Elistratov's flat was carried out. Elistratov wrote a complaint to the Khabarovsk City Procurator about the incident at the airport. On 11 August 40 people signed a statement addressed to the U S S R Procurator-General, demanding an end to the persecution of Elistratov.

* * *

Late on the evening of 20 September, in Leningrad, when the guests were dispersing after the wedding of refuseniks Yuly and Elena Karolin, a passer-by struck **Viktor Elistratov,** shouting: 'What are you pushing for?' When Elistratov and some friends were walking away from a bus-stop because the bus had not arrived, the same passer-by approached him again; he was 'covered' by several men and women who had previously been sitting in a Volga car parked outside the Karolins' house. At that time they had been carrying on conversations on the car radio. Elistratov was struck a few times by his attacker and then he and his friends went back to the Volga. All this took place about 300 metres from a police station.

Leningrad refuseniks sent a statement to the Procurator demanding that charges be brought against the organizers and perpetrators of the attack on Elistratov.

* * *

In September a search was carried out in the Odessa flat rented by Moscow refusenik **G. Khasin** (*Chronicle* 48), who was on holiday. Books in modern Hebrew and a tape-recorder were confiscated. Khasin was fined for living in Odessa without a residence permit, imprisoned for 10 days, then taken back to Moscow.

* * *

In September Kiev refusenik **Elena Oleinik** (*Chronicle* 53) and her husband Ivan were on holiday in Yalta. On 18 September they noticed that they were being followed and on the 19th, ten days before the anniversary of the first mass execution at Baby Yar, the following incident took place. As they were returning from the beach an unknown woman ran towards them, threw a jar of tomato sauce at their feet and began to shout for help. A police car immediately appeared and all three were taken to the police station. One of the police-officers dictated the 'plaintiff's' testimony to her. Elena was detained and the following day sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment. She declared a hunger-strike in the courtroom. (The warders at the special detention centre where she served her sentence refused to accept a food parcel from I. Oleinik, saying that his wife was not eating in any case.)

On 25 September a group of women refuseniks appealed to Jewish women's organizations in the West to join them in their protest, and on 25 September they handed in a statement, demanding the immediate release of E. Oleinik, at the reception office of the C P S U Central Committee. They stated that they would stage a two-day hunger-strike to mark their solidarity with E. Oleinik. These statements were signed by 33 women refuseniks from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and Tbilisi.

* * *

In May the Kiev refusenik **V. Kislik** (*Chronicles* 45, 53) was taken to K G B headquarters, where he had an interview with a deputy head. He was informed that criminal charges had been prepared against him and that it depended entirely on the K G B as to whether they would be taken further. Kislik was presented with a written warning that criminal charges were being brought against him for having published a scientific article in a foreign journal (*Chronicle* 47) and for organizing collective actions by refuseniks. Kislik refused to sign the warning. On 30 June *Evening Kiev* published an article about Kislik, which contained threats against him.

On the evening of 20 August Kislik was expecting guests — members of the Israeli delegation to the Political Science Congress. K G B officials who arrived at his home asked him to come with them for questioning. He refused and was taken to the K G B office in his shorts and T-shirt. Investigator Petrov questioned him about the way in which his article had been transmitted abroad. Kislik replied that he had given an explanation in 1977 and could add nothing more. He was given a certificate absenting him from work the following day but he did not turn up for interrogation. On 25 August, under threat of being taken there by force, Kislik went for questioning. He was asked the same questions and he wrote a statement addressed to the K G B Head informing him that he had nothing to add to the testimony he had given in 1977.

From 20 August to mid-September Kislik was constantly followed. On 21 September a search was carried out in Kislik's flat from 9 am to 10.30 pm. Investigator Ignatiev refused to explain which case the search was connected with (only its number was mentioned in the protocol), who the defendant was, or what they were looking for. Besides the investigator and the witnesses, two other persons, who refused to show any identification, were present during the search. (One of them had followed Kislik during August-September). These two carried out the search. All books in modern Hebrew (grammars, dictionaries, religious literature) and in English were confiscated, also reprints of articles, private correspondence and correspondence with official bodies concerning work and emigration. Even articles used in prayer (beads, skull-caps) belonging to Kislik and his father were taken.

During the interrogation on 24 September, Ignatiev informed Kislik that proceedings with regard to violation of author's rights had been instigated, in which Kislik would be a witness and then the defendant. On 29 September he was again interrogated.

* * *

On 12 October in Kiev the following activists of the emigration movement were sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment for refusing to leave the

reception area of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party: **S. Rotshtein, V. Rotshtein, E. Oleinik, N. Naumova, P. Chernyak, A. Rozenman, A. Brodskaya, I. Chernyavskaya, S. Chernyavsky, E. Gelfeld, L. Sisko, A. Sukholutsky.**

On 14 October a telegram of protest (40 signatures) was sent to Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

* * *

On 11 Janaury **I. A. Kushnirenko** (b. 1953) from Kiev applied to O V I R for permission to emigrate to Israel with his wife and child.

In 1970 and 1975 medical commissions at the Military Registration Office had declared Kushnirenko unfit for military service in peacetime, because he still suffered from the effects of a former serious head injury and his name had been removed from the call-up list. Kushnirenko's father, who had abandoned his family 19 years before, wrote to the Minister of Defence claiming that Kushnirenko was simulating his head injury and that he was trying to emigrate to Israel in order to evade military service. After he had submitted his application to emigrate, Kushnirenko was summoned to the Military Registration Office and sent for a medical examination; he was then sent as an inpatient to the district hospital, then to the psychoneurological clinic. At each place it was concluded that there was no question of drafting him into the Army. He was next sent for examination to Military Hospital No. 408, where he was pronounced fit for guard duty and told that he was being saved from going to Israel, for which he ought to be grateful. His summons to the district Military Registration Office was issued for 4 June — the last day for conscription. On 3 June he fell ill and on 4 June he was given a sick leave certificate. On the same day, however, he was detained at the clinic by police and officials from the Registration Office, where he was taken and issued with travel papers for the journey to his military unit. He refused to go and on 19 June the Registration Office referred the matter to the Procuracy. The investigators working on criminal charges against Kushnirenko established that the sick-leave certificate of 4 June was genuine and a forensic medical commission decided that he was suffering from the disease which had provided the basis for his exemption from military service. The case was closed 'for lack of concrete evidence of a crime'.

On 17 September Kushnirenko's family received permission to emigrate. However, the Registration Office refused to remove Kushnirenko's name from the list of those eligible for military service and managed to obtain a review of the charges against him, which went on for a month. The verdict was that the case had been closed legally.

* * *

On 11 June **B. M. Shain** (*Chronicles* 51, 52), an associate professor at

Saratov University, applied for permission to emigrate to Israel. On 1 August, when Shain was on holiday, the University Rector ordered that a commission be formed to examine Shain's professional competence. On 27 August the commission concluded that Shain was unsuited to his present position. It was suggested that he leave 'of his own free will'. Shain refused. On 29 August he was summoned to a meeting of the Faculty Appointments Commission, where he was accused of intending to emigrate to Israel — which was contrary to communist morality — and refusing to do community work. The commission also concluded that Shain could no longer occupy the post of assistant professor in the Geometry Faculty of Saratov University.

Shain protested against the decision of the Appointments Commission in statements to the Department of Higher Education Establishments of the C P S U Central Committee:

> The persecution of citizens who express the wish to be united with families living abroad is an obvious, undisguised violation of the Helsinki Final Act, and the University officials must be aware that by acting in this way they accept responsibility for the possible consequences.
>
> I ask you to exercise your wisdom and, guided by the voice of reason and not emotion, to stop — while there is still time — the unworthy anti-Semitic persecution which has developed around me at the University of Saratov ...

At the end of October Shain received permission to emigrate.

* * *

V. A. Godyak, a senior research officer in the Electronics Department of the Faculty of Physics at Moscow University, asked in September for a reference from work to present to O V I R. In response to this request the Dean of the Faculty, Professor V. S. Fursov, appointed a commission to check the safety measures used by the group headed by Godyak. As a result Godyak was transferred to work in the library. Soon afterwards he was relieved of laboratory work with PhD candidates, professional colleagues and students, and of heading his group.

Three closed party meetings (each lasting several hours) took place in the department. The following decisions, in particular, were taken: 1) to boycott Godyak; 2) not to leave him alone in the laboratory; 3) not to permit anti-Semitic excesses. Staff and graduate students of the department who were seen talking to Godyak were summoned for interviews with the party organizer.

On 30 October there was a faculty trade union meeting at which Godyak was expelled from the union

> for violating the political clause of the union statute, as shown by his anti-civic and anti-social action, contrary to the ideology of a Soviet scientist, of applying to emigrate to Israel ...

Of the 63 members present at the meeting, one voted against the resolution and three abstained. The latter were summoned to the union office for a 'going over' and one of the PhD students had the defence of his thesis postponed. The woman staff member who voted against Godyak's expulsion from the union is constantly summoned for interviews with the union committee, and her husband, who also works at the Physics Faculty, has had the defence of his thesis postponed.

Godyak was given a work reference only after he had written many times to the Rector of Moscow University and to the Lenin District Party Committee.

Germans

Artur Marsal and his wife **Nina,** who live in Dushanbe, have been trying for three years to obtain permission to emigrate to West Germany. On 7 April they sent a statement to Shchelokov complaining about the O V I R office of the Tadzhikistan M V D and remarking that

> the number of permits to leave the U S S R issued to persons of German nationality, at any rate in the past two-and-a-half years, comprises no more than one per cent of the total number of applications made ...

* * *

In August **G. G. Tilman** (*Chronicle* 51) received his latest refusal in his prolonged attempts to obtain an exit visa for himself, his wife and four children. His mother and brother live in West Germany. Tilman's request was refused on the grounds that his family were no longer together, since his fifth child was currently serving in the Army.

* * *

In early September **G. D. Reimer** [see illustration 4] was refused permission to leave by the O V I R office of the Kazakhstan M V D (*Chronicle* 44).

* * *

G. G. Shpenst (Frunze) was refused permission to emigrate to West Germany. He was told that, since he had divided his family by letting his son leave with his wife after an invitation from her mother, he could not now claim that he wished to be reunited with them.

The Trials of Noi and Repp

In June, 18 Germans from Kirgizia staged a demonstration in Red Square, Moscow.

The demonstrators held banners stating: 'We request a free exit to join our relatives in W. Germany!' Almost immediately they were dispersed and taken to different police stations, where they were each given sentences ranging from 10 to 15 days. One of them was **Nikolai Repp.**

On returning to Kirgizia from Moscow on 12 July, Repp, together with other refuseniks, tried to make an appointment at the Kirgizia Republican O V I R office. From the O V I R office they went to the Central Committee of the Kirgizia Communist Party. There they were told that someone would come to talk with them. Instead, a police patrol arrived which forced all 26 of them into a bus, which took them to the Pervomaisky District O V D. There **Yakov Noi** was arrested and charged with malicious hooliganism, three women were sentenced to 10 days, and one woman to 15 days. The women staged a 10-day hunger-strike in protest, and were not given beds throughout their 10-day sentence.

Two days later N. Repp came into town on business. He was detained in the street by a police patrol and arrested on a charge of malicious hooliganism, alleged to have occurred on 12 July. It was not until several days later that Erna Repp learnt of her husband's arrest.

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The trial of Noi took place on 2 August. He was accused of running about, shouting and swearing in front of the Central Committee building, and kicking a policeman in the stomach.

Noi pleaded guilty. When asked by the judge whether his disorderly behaviour would continue, and whether he would persist in trying to obtain an appointment with the central committee, Noi replied that he would not go to the central committee again, but would not stop petitioning for permission to emigrate. Noi was given a suspended sentence and released from the courtroom.

* * *

N. Repp was tried on 7 August. Before the trial he changed defence lawyers twice. He was charged with hindering the work of a government establishment on 12 July by swearing loudly and without restraint in the square outside. When approached by the police he not only continued his hooligan behaviour, but increased it. It was then proposed that he get into the police bus and accompany them to the police station. He refused to comply with this request willingly and, on being put into the bus, he struck a police-officer, Ismailov, with his fist. A medical examination of Ismailov revealed two yellow bruises and abrasions on his chest.

At the very beginning of the trial the defence lawyer presented the court with a statement from 13 Germans referring to Repp's innocence, and demanding permission to give evidence as witnesses. Judge

Chernoknizhnaya stated that this statement could not be considered an official document, but witnesses could be chosen from the list of signatories. Four were immediately chosen from those present in the hall. (None of the Germans, not even Erna, had been allowed into to the courtroom. However, several people had managed to force their way in. The rest remained outside the doorway, but they were soon pushed out into the street. The courtroom was completely full, mainly of policemen.)

Several policemen were called as witnesses. Ismailov and two others corroborated the charge in full. The other policemen gave less precise evidence, and one of them even said that Repp had not behaved like a hooligan.

The Germans called as witnesses testified that Repp had not behaved in a disorderly fashion, and that he could not possibly have struck Ismailov, since the latter was sitting in the bus all the time. They also said that they were forced to try to obtain an appointment at the central committee by the constant hardship which they were undergoing because of their attempts to obtain exit visas. They were frequently interrupted and prevented from speaking, especially on matters connected with emigration. The court considered that the sole purpose of the evidence given by these witnesses was to protect Repp. The accused pleaded not guilty.

The sentence was two years in ordinary-regime camps. A tattered typewritten copy of the judgment was delivered to Erna Repp three weeks after the trial. The names of the assessors and the part of the sentence concerning the evidence given by witnesses proved to have been typed on to the original text later, with a different typewriter.

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Shortly before Repp's departure for the camp, one of his cell-mates told another that he had seen this other cell-mate drop some tablets into Repp's tea and then persuade him to drink it.

* * *

In the camp near Frunze where he was sent to serve his sentence, Repp had two meetings with his wife: a short one of one (!) hour, and a long one of twenty (!) hours. The length of these meetings was explained by the authorities as being due to the lack of rooms; according to the *Commentary on the Criminal Code*, short visits must last at least two hours, and long visits at least twenty-four hours. The camp has 17 rooms for a total of 3,500 prisoners. This camp also possesses the following 'official' rule: all relatives arriving independently (ie not on a summons from the [K G B's] 'special section') are granted a long meeting of a maxium of twenty-four hours.

During one of the meetings, Repp told his wife that during the investigation he had contracted a strange illness. From about the second week of the investigation he had begun to feel lethargic; later he had developed headaches, he felt shivery all over and broke into sweats. These attacks began after lunch and continued until supper. At these times he was called for questioning and was persuaded on a number of occasions to sign papers. (Throughout the entire investigation Repp had signed nothing.) Once or twice the warder entering his cell to call him for questioning had been accompanied by an Assistant Republican Procurator, who had been taking part in the questioning. He looked closely at Repp and his bed, then left the cell without speaking.

During his most recent attack, Repp had suffered from a particularly bad headache, and had even screamed from the pain. He demanded to see a doctor. Instead of taking him to a doctor, the warder locked him in a small, dark, stuffy cell. There Repp felt really ill. He screamed again, and only then did the warder take him to the doctor. The doctor gave him an injection of some drug and four sleeping tablets. But even so Repp continued to suffer from insomnia for two days. After this the illness disappeared, and a few days later he was taken to court for trial.

Pentecostalists

The Preparatory Committee for the 12th World Pentecostal Conference in Vancouver, Canada, sent minister **N. P. Goretoi** (*Chronicles* 47-49) an invitation to take part in the Conference. On 5 June Goretoi filed an official request with all the documents necessary for his journey to attend the conference. On 4 July, in the passport office at Temryuk, the reply from the head of the Krasnodar O V I R Office, Lieutenant-Colonel M. Ya. Mikhailov, was read to Goretoi:

> We wish to inform Nikolai Petrovich Goretoi that there is no possibility of his request being granted, since there are no grounds for it.

After this refusal Goretoi sent a letter to the Conference. Thanking them for the invitation, Goretoi explained to the delegates why he could not come to Vancouver. He briefly described the history of relations between the Pentecostalists and the Soviet authorities since the period immediately after the Revolution. He dwelt on the history of persecutions which he and his fellow-believers had suffered since deciding to apply for emigration. Goretoi warned Christians from Western countries about the distorted picture of the situation which would be given by the Soviet delegates to the Conference — representatives of the Council on Religious Affairs — and proposed that they rely on the testimony of Georgy Vins and other believers whose views were not based on official sources.

* * *

V. S. Bilyk (*Chronicle* 48), minister of the Sukhodolsk community in Voroshilovgrad Region, is a Group 2 invalid; fourteen years ago, while working in a mine, he suffered a leg injury. Every year he attends a medical commission to have his invalidity certified. For the past two years, since he applied for an exit visa, Bilyk has been required to attend a psychiatric examination instead of the surgical one. Consequently, in summer 1976 he was forcibly interned in a psychiatric hospital in Krasnodon, where he was detained for 26 days.

Bilyk was placed in a ward with patients who were seriously ill and was forced to drink some medicines. Several times he was given intravenous injections, which induced a state of shock. The crowded ward lacked ventilation and was locked, and the patients were stifled by the bad smell. They were not allowed out for walks. For 26 days he went without a change of underwear. After complaining to the head hospital doctor, Volgina, Bilyk received the answer that the doctors were acting on orders.

In April and May 1979 Bilyk was again placed in the same hospital for examination. Volgina explained that the reason was the lack of room in the casualty department.

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Pëtr Namonyuk, resident of the village of Roznichi in the Manevichi district of the Volynskaya Region, is one of the people who renounced their Soviet citizenship when requestting permission to leave the Soviet Union. (On 27 March he sent a statement to this effect to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R.)

In spring of this year Namonyuk did not work voluntarily one Saturday and also refused to work on Easter Sunday, after first writing to the head doctor at the hospital where he works about his intentions. On 21 May the trade union committee of the hospital dismissed him from work for absenteeism, even though he is the only wage-earner in his family. He has a sick mother, a father who is an invalid, and a sixteen-year-old brother. He was receiving wages of 70 roubles a month.

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On 15 July **Victor Vasilev** (*Chronicle* 53), a resident of Vilnius, went to the American Consulate in Leningrad. As soon as he left the building he was detained by the police. Vasilev was sentenced to fifteen days on a charge of 'abusive language'.

Soon after Vasilev's release he was again detained. A policeman and two plain-clothes officers asked him to produce his papers. They took his passport, court order, and a certificate about his 15-day prison sentence. Vasilev was then taken to a police station, where he was informed by the policeman that on their way to the station he had

lost Vasilev's documents. Vasilev asked him to go and help him look for them. Once in the street, the policeman disappeared. Vasilev wrote to the C P S U Central Committee and the Lithuanian M V D about this incident.

On 12 September the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights appealed to the Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, N. K. Dybenko, to allow Vasilev's family to emigrate.

* * *

In July 1977 Pentecostalists of the Narva community sent a statement to the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R about their wish to emigrate to the U S A. In September 1977 all those who had submitted the declaration were allowed to complete application forms in the O V I R office. The application process stopped there. The believers were told that their religious reasons did not constitute groundse for emigration. They were required to obtain an invitation from the U S government and its agreement to grant them permanent resident status. On 30 December 1977 the U S Embassy sent the necessary guarantees from its government to Narva. These letters have still not reached their addressees. The Pentecostalists believe that they are being withheld by the Estonian K G B.

Eight of the families have again sent statements to the Supreme Soviet. These have all met with oral refusals. At the same time the Estonian authorities are doing their utmost to dissuade the Pentecostalists from emigrating.

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Together with the other Pentecostalists, **S. A. Matveyuk,** the minister of the Narva community, is trying to obtain an invitation for himself and his family. In the spring Matveyuk's son **Victor** was called to the Military Recruitment Commission. He requested deferment of his military service until the question of his emigration had been settled. Krutilov, Deputy Chairman of the Town Soviet E C and member of the Commission, said that the Commission had decided to grant Matveyuk a deferment until autumn 1979.

On 10 May Victor was taken to the police. Sokolov, head of the town Military Recruitment Office, tried to issue Victor with his call-up papers in the presence of a K G B officer, Dmitriev. Matveyuk refused to accept the papers, and referred to the deferment he had been granted.

Dmitriev then summoned S. A. Matveyuk to discuss the matter and proposed that he register the Pentecostal community and refuse the invitation to emigrate. In return he promised that Victor would not be brought to trial and would be exempted from military service. Matveyuk refused.

On 8 June the case of Victor Matveyuk was transferred to the Procuracy. During the investigation, attempts were made to persuade the Matveyuks to cooperate with the K G B.

The trial took place on 20 August. It was asserted at the trial that the father had persuaded Victor to refuse military service and to emigrate. Witnesses Krutilov and Sokolov categorically denied that Victor had been granted a deferment of his military service. The court sentenced V. Matveyuk to two years in ordinary-regime camps. Victor is serving his sentence at the following address:
Tallin, ul.Tisleri, uchr. YuM-422/5.[11]

The K G B is making every effort to win over the Matveyuks. Dmitriev visited Victor in camp, and threatened him with another sentence if he did not cooperate with the authorities. He also threatened him with forcible psychiatric treatment. S. A. Matveyuk was threatened that the same fate awaited his other son Evgeny.

* * *

Timofei and **Natalya Shishikin,** who live with their children in Maikop, have a floor space of 25 square metres. The town authorities refuse to improve their living conditions on the grounds that there is no sense in giving flats to Pentecostalists who have decided to emigrate, since they will only leave them.

On 25 May Natalya Shishikina was summoned by the secretary of the Town Soviet E C, Pshegonov. Pshegonov and the K G B officers present offered her a deal: renounce her intention to emigrate, if only orally — and she would be given a flat immediately. Shishikina did not accept their offer. Meanwhile, the Shishikin family have still not received exit visas. They have sent several written appeals to Brezhnev, but not obtained any decision on their case.

* * *

On 16 October **Fëdor Sidenko** (*Chronicles* 44, 47), a resident of Starotitarovskaya Station, was arrested. He has been charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

F. Sidenko has already served a sentence for his religious beliefs, and has been trying to obtain permission to leave the U S S R for 15 years.

* * *

Children of Pentecostalists who have declared their wish to leave the Soviet Union have recently, on reaching the age of 16, been refusing to accept passports and become Soviet citizens. The local authorities refuse to grant them the status of stateless persons, and as a result these young people have not been able to find work. One person in this situation is **Vladimir Pishchenko** from Starotitarovskaya Station.

Other Pentecostalists have requested their registration office to issue birth certificates for their children without any reference to Soviet citizenship, since the parents themselves have renounced Soviet citizenship. **Elizaveta** and **Stanislav Babichenko** in particular have been trying to achieve this.

The Death of Boris Evdokimov

On 24 April, as a result of a serious cancer illness, Boris Evdokimov was released from psychiatric hospital (*Chronicle* 53). He began making attempts to obtain an exit visa to go abroad for treatment, since he had received invitations from individuals and clinics in many European countries. However, the Leningrad O V I R office refused to accept Evdokimov's application documents, and requested a medical report from the U S S R Ministry of Health. In reply to a statement sent by his son Rostislav to the Ministry of Health, M. I. Glebova, Chief Specialist, wrote:

> ... The modern methods of treating oncological illnesses used in the Soviet Union are no different from those used abroad. In view of this we do not see the value of sending the patient abroad for treatment. Should it prove necessary, you may take your father for consultation to the N. N. Petrov Oncology Research Institute of the U S S R Ministry of Health ... This letter constitutes an authorization for consultation.

In reply to this, R. Evdokimov wrote:

> ... Thank you, but we no longer need consultations. All consultations were conducted long ago, and now only special emergency treatment will have any effect.
>
> In view of the above, it is becoming clear that before the eyes of the whole world my father is being made the victim of a routine medical murder ...

In August the Leningrad O V I R office accepted Evdokimov's documents. On 4 October, still awaiting an exit visa, he died.

Have Left

In September **Vladlen Pavlenkov** (*Chronicles* 10, 42, 47), a former political prisoner, left the U S S R with his wife **Svetlana Pavlenkova** (*Chronicles* 42, 47, 48) and their son **Victor** (*Chronicles* 51, 53). They received exit visas one week after applying for them.

On 14 September **Anna Kotelnikova** (*Chronicle* 53), the adopted daughter of N. A. Budulak-Sharygin [Scharegin], left for England. The official obstacle to her departure — the fact that the father of her 10-year-old daughter had not given his permission — suddenly disappeared. They were given permission to leave one week before the time limit set for her departure.

In early November **Yury Belov** (*Chronicles* 48, 53), who had spent many years in psychiatric hospitals, left the U S S R.

Tamara Los (*Chronicle* 53) has emigrated from the U S S R.

See above for information on the departure of **B. Tsitlënok.**

More About the 'Metropol' Almanac

In March the newspaper of the Moscow Writers' Organization *Moscow Litterateur* contained a short news item stating that the Secretariat of the R S F S R Writers' Union had 'suspended' their previous decision to admit **V. Erofeyev** and **E. Popov** to the U S S R Writers' Union owing to 'behaviour unworthy of the calling of a Soviet writer' (no details were given of this behaviour, and *Metropol* was not mentioned). Erofeyev and Popov received no official notification of this 'suspension', and therefore wrote to the Secretary of the U S S R Writers' Union, stating that they considered it illegal and they were as before members of the Union, since they had not violated its Constitution. The other compilers of *Metropol*, **V. Aksënov, A. Bitov** and **F. Iskander,** and its contributors **S. Lipkin** and **I. Lisnyanskaya,** stated in an open letter to the Union Secretariat that they would leave the Union if the decision not to admit Erofeyev and Popov was not reversed and they were denied union cards. At the same time **B. Akhmadulina** wrote a similar letter to the Union. Shortly afterwards they all received letters of roughly the same content from the Union Secretariat: it was suggested that they should concentrate on their literary activities and 'cease their politicking'. At a number of 'chats' in the Union Secretariat Erofeyev and Popov were told the conditions of their readmittance to the Union: 'to dissociate themselves from the Almanac, which was pursuing purely political aims which had no connection with literature'. (The role of persuaders was taken by Yu. Verchenko and S. Mikhalkov.) Erofeyev and Popov insisted that *Metropol* was a purely literary venture, and that its publication could not be considered a violation of the Constitution of the Writers' Union. When the Union Secretaries claimed that 'they did not want confrontation', Erofeyev and Popov replied that in no way could confrontation be considered their aim either.

In May it became known that all five compilers of *Metropol* had been admitted to the European organization 'C I E L' (Comité des Intellectuels pour l'Europe des Libertés). This provided the Secretaries with reason to remark, during a routine 'chat', that the compilers had contradicted their allegedly purely literary aims, since CICE was not a literary but, on the contrary, a political organization; it was moreover, of anti-Soviet tendency. (The Committee includes several recent émigrés, eg V. Maksimov and L. Plyushch.) The compilers of *Metropol* informed C I E L that as their interests were literary, and not political, they found it necessary to decline the invitation to join the organization.

The question of the readmittance of Erofeyev and Popov to the Writers' Union, so the Union administration has promised, is due to be decided on 20 December.

Meanwhile the 'repressive sanctions' against the Almanac's contritors have somewhat diminished. In particular, the 'Sovietsky Pisatel' publishing house has published a collection of short stories by F. Iskander (in a severely limited edition); also, a number of public appearances have been authorized, although not as many as had previously been arranged. Popov has been promised the previously delayed publication of his short stories through a Krasnoyarsk publishing house; V. Aksënov has been promised a long (two-year) foreign tour. In an interview with the *New York Times* Aksënov stated that if the harassment he was suffering as a result of the publication of *Metropol* did not cease, he would be forced to remain outside the U S S R.

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The U S publishers Ardis, who had previously published a number of facsimile copies of *Metropol*, have now published the Almanac in a typeset edition. The French publishers Gallimard have prepared a French translation of the Almanac.

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In August five American writers, **Edward Albee, Arthur Miller, William Styron, John Updike** and **Kurt Vonnegut** sent a telegram to the Moscow Writers' Organization in protest at the banning of the Almanac and at the official action taken against its compilers.

On 22 August F. Kuznetsov, First Secretary of the Moscow Section of the R S F S R Writers' Union, sent them a reply. On 19 September this reply (with an editor's foreword and an afterward by its writer) appeared in the *Literary Gazette* [*Literaturnaya Gazeta*] under the title 'Why All the Noise?'.

Miscellaneous Reports

The Trial of Tsurkova

On 4 April **Irina Lopatukhina,** who was called as a witness in the trial of **Tsurkov** (*Chronicle* 53), refused to give evidence. On 6 April the Leningrad City Court passed sentence on Tsurkov and at the same time made a ruling to institute criminal proceedings against Lopatu-

khina under article 182 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Refusal or disinclination of a witness ... to give evidence'). After reviewing Tsurkov's case on appeal, the Supreme Court of the R S F S R upheld both the sentence and the ruling.

On 11 September Selin, a Procuracy investigator of the Dzerzhinsky District of Leningrad, charged Irina Tsurkova (on 23 May the marriage of I. Lopatukhina to A. Tsurkov was registered in the investigations prison of the Leningrad K G B — *Chronicle* 53) under article 182 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, and made her sign an undertaking not to leave the city.

On 27 September Selin signed the indictment stating that:

> ... She committed a crime under article 182 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, for which she pleaded entirely guilty, but did not repent of her crime, since she considered that out of affection for her husband she had no right to give evidence against him.

On 8 October the Dzerzhinsky District People's Court, presided over by V. I. Poludnyakov, sentenced I. Tsurkova to three months' corrective labour at her work-place, with a 20% withholding of earnings.

* * *

Tartu. Teet Papson was sentenced on 24 August and **Annes Enchielm** on 20 September under Article 78 part 1 of the Estonian Criminal Code ('Evasion of a regular call to active military service') to one-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps each, after they had refused to serve in the Army because of their pacifist beliefs.

* * *

Erevan-Moscow. E. Arutyunyan (for his arrest see *Chronicle* 53) has undergone psychiatric examination at the Serbsky Institute. In September he was sent to Erevan. He does not know the results of his examination. Before the examination he had not once been interrogated. He does not know what he is charged with.

* * *

Gorky Region. In September an officer of the Gorky Region K G B visited **A. F. Shutkin.** He was interested in how Shutkin had sent his article 'How I Became a Dissident' to the West (see *Chronicle* 52; in September the article was broadcast by Radio Liberty). He questioned Shutkin about his acquaintance with dissidents, in particular with L. Boitsova and V. Nekipelov, and asked him to give a character reference for the latter. He also gave Shutkin to believe that he knew that he had signed Document No. 69 of the Moscow Helsinki Group (*Chronicle* 52). The K G B officer tried to blackmail Shutkin, telling him that when in camp (1975-77), together with another prisoner, Smirnov, he had planned to commit acts of arson and terrorism after release. The officer hinted that the K G B had a statement from Smirnov. (After 'conditional release with compulsory work' Smirnov died in mysterious circumstances.) Shutkin refused to be blackmailed or to answer questions.

Soon afterwards an attempt was made to have Shutkin dismissed from work (only in August he had been appointed director of a rural house of culture). In late September the Department of Culture of the Gorky Region Soviet E C received an anonymous letter stating that they had employed an 'anti-Soviet'. The head of the Department of Culture of the Krasnobakovsky District Soviet E C proposed that Shutkin resign. In reply, he wrote the following statement:

> To the Chairman, Chashchikhino Village Soviet, Krasnobakovsky District, Gorky Region;
> To the Krasnobakovsky District Department of Culture.
> Copy to: A. D. Sakharov, ul.Chkalova, d.49, Moscow.
> From: citizen A. F. Shutkin.
>
> *Statement*
>
> As a citizen of the Soviet Union I am not granted by my government the elementary political freedoms which might enable me to defend my civil and human dignity and oppose the lies and lack of human rights confronting everyone in our country who dares to tell the truth!
>
> I am therefore prepared to be dismissed from work and become unemployed and without rights.
>
> This statement is written under pressure.
>
> *A. Shutkin*, 28 September 1979

On 17 October a sitting of the Chashchikhino Village Soviet examined the question of Shutkin's employment. At the meeting Shutkin was asked why he wrote to Sakharov, who had 'sold himself to the Americans'. Shutkin explained his views on Sakharov to the meeting. Most of the deputies voted that Shutkin continue in his post.

* * *

Tartu. For the past 12 years **Mart Niklus** (*Chronicles* 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 51) has taught evening courses of foreign languages and has won great popularity in the city as an outstanding teacher of English, French and German. Recently his relations with the course administrators have deteriorated, and the amount of work given to him has been greatly reduced. When, at his pupils' request, he agreed to continue the courses unpaid, three rebukes were issued to him: 'violation of work discipline', 'disorganization of studies' and 'taking things into his own hands'. These rebukes were the formal grounds on which Niklus was dismissed on 13 November.

* * *

Zheleznovodsk (Stavropol Territory). In July **Oleg Solovëv** (*Chronicle* 52) was called to a psychiatric clinic. Doctor Feksa questioned Solovëv about his dispute at work. Solovëv, a stoker, had started a campaign against the administration concerning the working conditions in the boiler-rooms. The doctor advised him to behave more sensibly: 'Many people think like you, but they keep quiet about it'. He suggested that Solovëv come for a second talk in December. Solovëv's mother was invited to the K G B to discuss her son's article 'Mentally Ill? No, Socially Dangerous!' which was published in *Kontinent*.

A Conversation with Bakhmin

In the evening of 17 October **V. Bakhmin** received a telephone call from B. B. Karatayev (*Chronicles* 45, 47, 51), who invited him to the K G B the following morning for a talk with 'the management'. When Bakhmin asked for an official summons, Karatayev hinted that if he did not appear, he would be summoned through his personnel department. Bakhmin agreed to attend. On 18 October Bakhmin was received by S. I. Sokolov, who had bid farewell to him and **I. Kaplun** just before they were released from Lefortovo after their pardon in 1970 (*Chronicle* 16).

Sokolov said that he was interested in Bakhmin's activities as a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes. He 'advised' Bakhmin to cease his activities and began pointing out the mistakes which had supposedly been made in the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission. Bakhmin replied that Sokolov should inform the Commission regularly of any inaccuracies he might find, and promised to correct them if checking proved the information to be accurate. Sokolov rejected the offer, and in return suggested that if Bakhmin came across any instances of the misuse of psychiatry, he should refer them to Bulat Bazerbayevich Karatayev, who would investigate the matter and help in any way he could.

During the talk Sokolov repeated the allegation circulated by the K G B that Ginzburg and Orlov had lived at the expense of the 'dissident fund', from which Bakhmin also was receiving contributions. Sokolov said that émigrés who had been treated in psychiatric hospitals in the Soviet Union regularly ended up in similar institutions in the West. For example **Fainberg**, according to Sokolov, had already been in hospital several times since leaving the Soviet Union, and the British Communist newspaper would be returned the money it paid as compensation for libel after Fainberg had taken out a lawsuit against them for reprinting an article about him which had previously appeared in the *Literary Gazette* (*Chronicle* 39).

When the time came to leave, Sokolov warned Bakhmin that his activities were illegal, and that he was distributing defamatory information which was being used by organizations hostile to the Soviet Union. After the talk, Bakhmin asked Karatayev about Sokolov's rank. Karatayev replied that he did not know.

A Conversation with Meiman

On 14 September **Naum Meiman**, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, was called for a talk with Sablin, Chairman of the Moskvoretsky District Soviet E C. Two others were also present at the talk, one of whom introduced himself as a secretary of the District Party Committee, and the other as a professor of Philosophy.

Sablin told Meiman that he had been called to the talk because the district authorities were concerned that Meiman was engaging in activities harmful to the country. The party secretary began to read from a dossier which he said had been sent by the Novosti Press Agency, which listed mentions of Meiman on Western radio-stations. He said that Meiman's activities were aimed at spreading anti-Soviet slander.

Meiman stated that he thought he had been summoned in connection with his wish to emigrate to Israel. However, they replied that the dossier was directly connected with that question. They then began trying to demonstrate to him that the Helsinki Group's activities were contrary to the Helsinki Agreement.

Meiman, however, insisted that they discuss the question of his emigration. He was told that he would not succeed in leaving the country, since his skills could be used against the U S S R. The fact that he had not been engaged in secret work for more than 24 years made secrecy a matter of no relevance. But his present involvement in the Helsinki Group was an obstacle to his obtaining an exit visa.

Helsinki Group Document No. 101 (see 'Letters and Statements') states:

> ... The real significance of the talk lies in the fact that Meiman's interrogators several times gave him what they called 'insistent' advice to cease his 'harmful activities', and in particular to leave the Group. This is most certainly both a warning and a threat, firstly to Meiman, but at the same time to the entire Helsinki Group.

A Conversation with Ostrovskaya

On 27 July **N. Ostrovskaya**, a resident of Ust-Nera (Yakut A S S R), was called to the town Military Recruitment Office. There she was met by a K G B officer, who took her to the District K G B Office for a talk which lasted one-and-a-half hours. No record was taken of the talk.

Gerasimov, Head of the District K G B, accused Ostrovskaya of discussing the trial and exile of Ust-Nera of **A. Podrabinek** (*Chronicle* 50; Podrabinek lives with his wife in Ostrovskaya's house). Ostrovs-

kaya was invited to write an explanatory statement about her spreading of 'deliberate fabrications'. When she refused, Gerasimov began to threaten her with criminal proceedings under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Ostrovskaya was also blackmailed about some sort of details of her personal life which the K G B claimed to know.

In a statement to the Oimyakon District Procurator, which she wrote the same day, she protested about the threats and blackmailing and demanded that the illegal actions of the K G B be stopped.

A. Podrabinek sent a similar statement to the U S S R Procuracy and sent an appeal to Soviet and foreign organizations campaigning for human rights.

* * *

Kameshkovo (Vladimir Region). In August, on returning from holiday, **V. Nekipelov** discovered that the hatches leading to his attic had been fitted with locks. Several days later the attic windows were boarded up, considerably increasing the fire risk. Nekipelov asked for the attic keys at the house-manager's office, but was refused. He was told that the windows had been boarded up by the police, and that the locks had been fitted personally by Major M. V. Ganzha ,the Chief of the local State Fire Inspectorate. Nekipelov suspected that bugging apparatus had been set up in the attic. On 10 October he sent a statement to Ganzha and the Vladimir Regional Procurator. On 20 October he received a reply, informing him that the attic had been sealed in accordance with the 'Standard Fire Safety Regulations', and that he should go to the house-manager's office for the keys. However, he was again refused the keys.

On 24 October Captain Kalmykov, Acting Chief of the State Fire Inspectorate, and the house-manager, Dmitriev, visited Nekipelov in person and gave him the keys.

* * *

Yurev-Polsky (Vladimir Region). On 20 June **V. Fefelov** (*Chronicle* 53) was detailed by officers of the Motor-Vehicle Inspectorate, who claimed that he was driving his car in a drunken state, and took him to the Kolchugino Hospital for a medical examination. The doctor who examined him said that Fefelov was absolutely sober. However, when pressured by the police, he signed a statement that Fefelov was 'slightly intoxicated'.

On 15 July Fefelov was driven in his own car to the District Police Office, where the number-plates were removed. Fefelov then told them that he would remain in the car on hunger-strike until the number-plates were returned. He spent one night outside the police station, and the following morning Chernov, the Head of the Motor-

Vehicle Inspectorate (*Chronicles* 51, 53) told him that on the basis of the record drawn up on 20 June the suspension of his driving licence was to be extended by five years. This suspension had previously been due to expire in October 1982 (*Chronicle* 51). Fefelov was fined 30 roubles and his number-plates were returned.

Fefelov was several times led to believe that if he ceased his activities in the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the U S S R, the suspension would be waived.

On 25 September he received a further visit from local authority representatives (*Chronicles* 52, 53). Fefelov demanded that these visits stop, and stated that he would continue his activities for the Initiative Group, as the state did not take care of invalids.

* * *

Moscow. Returning from a birthday party, **V. Kuvakin, Yu. Grimm, V. Repnikov** and **V. Grigorenko** dropped into a Metro station entranceway. There policemen surrounded them and took them to the station's police-room. Captain Birman explained that they had been detained on suspicion of assaulting a policeman. All of them were subjected to body-searches, and a record was drawn up for each individually. An hour to an hour-and-a-half later Birman said that the suspicion regarding assault of a policeman had not been confirmed, and asked them to sign the records to confirm the return of the articles and documents confiscated from them during the searches.

When signing his record, Kuvakin wrote in: 'Was in a mild state of intoxication, did not commit any infringements of the law'. On 13 September the accountant's office at Kuvakin's place of work received an order imposing a fine. It turned out that a fine of ten roubles had been imposed for appearing in a public place in an unsober condition. On 19 September Kuvakin wrote a complaint demonstrating the lack of grounds for a fine.

* * *

Moscow. On 4 March, the date of the elections to the U S S R Supreme Soviet, **Natalya** and **Oleg Popov** were visited by an official canvasser, who asked why they had not voted. The Popovs replied that they refused to take part in the elections. Two hours later they were visited by the chairman of the electoral committee and the officer responsible for the election campaign in their polling district. They asked why the Popovs had refused to vote, to which they replied that the right to elect and to be elected, guaranteed under the Constitution, was not an obligation, but a right. At first they tried to persuade the Popovs, and then to frighten them with the consequences of their refusal. Finally the visitors left. At 6.00 pm they had another visitor — N. P. Surovtsev, Deputy Head of the Ideological

Department of the Voroshilov District Party Committee. When he failed to persuade the Popovs to participate in the elections, he threatened that they would have unpleasantness at work. Towards 8.00 pm the Popovs were visited by a delegation from the Institute of Biophysics, who were responsible for the election campaign. The Popovs were urged to go to the polling-station and cross out the names of candidates if they did not wish them to be elected. The Popovs refused. They did not yield even when the secretary of the District Party Committee tried to persuade them by telephone. Ten minutes before the voting closed they were visited by the entire electoral committee, but it too failed to persuade them to vote.

The following day Natalya Popova was called to the administrative office of the R S F S R State Construction Organization's State Institute to Plan Research Institutes for Agricultural Construction, where she works, and was asked to explain her abstention from voting. She referred to her constitutional rights, and in reply to threats said that if any sanctions were imposed on her, she would appeal to the highest authorities. She was assured that no reprisals would ensue, but that in future she would not be allowed to carry out political information work.

* * *

The Department of Biochemistry, Biophysics and Organic Chemistry of the U S S R Academy of Sciences has worked out a 'scientific and technical requirement' for all scientists in academic institutions who travel abroad to symposiums and seminars. This 'requirement', drawn up by the Department Secretary, Academician A. A. Bayev, includes the following in particular:

2) In talks with foreign scientists, to spread propaganda about the achievements of Soviet science, advances in socialist construction in the U S S R, the peace-loving policy of our state, and the decisions of the 25th Congress of the C P S U.

3) To explain and popularize the ideas behind the new Constitution of the U S S R; when the question of 'human rights' arises, to base one's views on the standpoint of the central press.

* * *

The 2 November 1979 edition of the newspaper *Review of Books* [*Knizhnoye Obozreniye*] published a list of books included in the series 'Ardent Revolutionaries' by the Politizdat publishing house since 1968. At least seven books are missing from the list, those by writers who have emigrated being: *The Gospel According to Robespierre* and *Dreams of the Schlisselburg Fortress* by **Anatoly Gladilin** (*Chronicle* 40); *Time of Defeat* by **Mark Popovsky** (*Chronicle* 47); and *Overthrow Any Yoke* by **Igor Efimov** (whose works have been published in samizdat under the name of 'Moskovit' — (*Chronicles* 38, 53); the others are *A Degree of Trust* by **Vladimir Voinovich** (*Chronicles* 30, 32, 36, 38, 42, 43); *I Don't Want to Say* by **Vladimir Kornilov** (*Chronicles* 32, 38, 45); and *He Raised the Sword* by **Raisa Orlova** (the wife of **Lev Kopelev:** *Chronicles* 36, 38, 40, 45).

* * *

According to numerous orders issued by the Chief Administration for the Prevention of State Secrets Appearing in the Press attached to the U S S R Council of Ministers (Glavlit), all books written by the following émigré authors are to be removed from libraries and sent to Glavlit: **R. L. Baumvol** (*Chronicle* 35); **A. Belinkov** (*Chronicle* 35); **A. A. Galich** (*Chronicle* 32); **A. Gladilin** (*Chronicle* 40); **A. Kuznetsov** (*Chronicle* 35); **I. Kerler** (*Chronicle* 35); **V. Maksimov** (*Chronicle* 32); **V. Nekrasov** (*Chronicle* 32); **A. M. Nekrich** (*Chronicle* 41); **A. Sinyavsky** (*Chronicle* 30); **A. I. Solzhenitsyn** (*Chronicle* 32); **Z. L. Telesin** (*Chronicle* 35); and **E. Etkind** (*Chronicle* 34); also all books by **N. Rudenko** (*Chronicle* 46), who is in prison, and **A. Berdnik** (*Chronicle* 53), whose case is at present under investigation; the books *The National Liberation Movement in Czechoslovakia* (published in 1938), *The Birth of the Czechoslovak People's Army* (Voyenizdat, 1959), and *A History of the Czechoslovak Community Party* (Moscow *Politizdat*, 1962); a book by **V. Kopecky** entitled *Memoirs: A History of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Struggle of the Czechoslovak Communist Party for the Victory of Socialism* (published by Voyenizdat, 1962); a book by **E. Evseyev,** *Zionism: Ideology and Policies* (published by Moskovsky Rabochy, 1971); and books by **R. Garaudy** and **O. Šik.**

At the International Book Fair held in Moscow the Soviet customs refused to admit biographies of **M. Baryshnikov** (the former Soviet Ballet soloist who remained abroad) and **N. I. Bukharin,** and the autobiography of **M. Begin** (which contains recollections of the period he spent in Soviet camps).

Letters and Statements

O. Lukauskaite-Poškiene: 'To The Secretary-General of the U N, the 34th session of the U N, the Special Committee on Progress in the Application of the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples' (22 August 1979)

23 August 1979 was the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Agreement of Non-Aggression between Germany and the U S S R. Annexed to this agreement were secret protocols containing plans for

the occupation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In 1940 the occupation took place.

The author, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, requests on behalf of the Group that

> the necessary measures be taken without delay to eliminate colonialism once and for all in Lithuania and in other enslaved Baltic countries ...
>
> We also ask that all member States of the U N be called on to lend us moral, political and material support in our just struggle.
>
> In addition, we ask that all States, specialized agencies and international organizations refrain from giving any kind of assistance to the government of the U S S R, until it renounces its policy of colonial rule in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

48 Signatures: 'To the Governments of the U S S R, West Germany, and East Germany. To the Governments of countries signatory to the North Atlantic Charter. To the Secretary-General of the U N (23 August 1979)

48 Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians appeal to the governments of the U S S R, West Germany and East Germany, requesting that they publish the full text of the Soviet-German Agreement of Non-Aggression and the secret protocols attached to it, and declare them inoperative as from the time of their signing; they appeal to the governments of countries signatory to the North Atlantic Charter, requesting that they condemn the agreement and its consequences. They appeal to the Secretary-General of the U N, requesting that he raise this question at the U N General Assembly.

The appeal is supported by **A. Sakharov,** by the following members of the Helsinki Group: **E. Bonner, S. Kalistratova, M. Landa, V. Nekipelov, T. Osipova,** and also by **I. Kovalyov, L. Ternovsky, I. Zholkovskaya, T. Velikanova, A. Lavut** and **Yu. Belov.**

'The International Year of the Child' (Document No. 17 of the **Lithuanian Helsinki Group**) (15 October 1979)

> We consider that the child's greatest enemy in our Lithuanian Republic is alcoholism, which is increasing as the level of culture among the people decreases ...
>
> Despite this, the present Lithuanian authorities try to sell as much alcohol as possible to the people.
>
> And on the whole ... the anti-alcohol campaign is regarded as anti-Soviet in Lithuania.
>
> This is why, under the weight of a foreign yoke since 15 July 1940, the Lithuanian people have been unable to raise their general level of culture or even to stop its decay.
>
> Children's rights are violated in many respects. The educational system is built on atheist foundations.

> Lately, the Russian language has begun to be imposed to an even greater extent in secondary, middle and even nursery schools.
>
> In middle schools in Lithuania several subjects are given only superficial treatment. In textbooks the history of Lithuania is distorted and the number of Lithuanian language classes is constantly being reduced.
>
> Two months ago 50 Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, together with a group of Muscovites ... appealed to the U S S R Government to condemn the shameful Stalin-Hitler Pact. But, as yet, the U S S R Government has made no reply. Instead of meeting their lawful demands, it has begun persecuting those who signed the appeal.
>
> Therefore ... we ask you to spare no effort to obtain by the end of this year the basic pre-condition for the development of our peoples and, hence, their children ... the granting of full independence to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

The document was signed by four people: **Ona Lukauskaite-Poškiene, Bronius Laurinavičius, Algirdas Statkevičius** and **Mečislovas Jurevičius.**

The Social Self-Defence Committee (Poland), 21 signatures (U S S R): 'Appeal' (31 July 1979)

> ... We appeal for support in defending the Czech and Slovak campaigners for the rule of law who signed Charter-77 and have been illegally arrested by the Czechoslovak authorities.

A. Sakharov: 'Open Appeal' (24 October 1979)

The author calls on the Czechoslovak leadership to review the sentences imposed on Czech campaigners for the rule of law (see *Pravda,* 25 October). He also writes:

> I appeal for an open society, for international trust and security. I call for the review of unjust sentences in Czechoslovakia, the U S S R, China and throughout the world. I call for an amnesty for prisoners of conscience in all countries ...

The editors of the free Moscow journal *Searches*: 'Open Letter to the editors of the independent Chinese journal *Explorations*' (16 October 1979)

> All the editors and contributors to the unofficial Moscow journal *Searches* have today been deeply shocked by the extraordinary sentences of 15 years' imprisonment imposed by a Peking court on your editor-in-chief **Wei Jingsheng** ...
>
> In his defence of democracy against the one-party system, Wei Jingsheng pointed out the deep-rooted evil of a political system shared by both China and the U S S R ...

According to information received, Wei was sentenced for publishing the number of victims of the China-Vietnam conflict ... [12]

A. Sakharov: 'To the Premier of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic, Hua Guofeng' (17 October 1979)

... I ask you to use your influence to obtain a review of the sentence imposed on Wei Jingseng ...

A. Sakharov: 'To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev' (13 November 1979)

... Now that each new day of delay means death from starvation and illness for thousands of people, I appeal to you to use your personal authority and that of the U S S R to influence the position of the governments of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to provide conditions for effective international aid to the starving. Saving the lives of starving people must take absolute priority over all political and military problems.

A. Sakharov: 'To the Sakharov Hearings of 1979' (5 September 1979)[13]

... One of the basic contradictions of this epoch is that between society's tendency to develop towards pluralism (economic, cultural and ideological) and its development in the opposite direction towards totalitarianism, dictatorship and the use of violence. The expansion of totalitarianism is one of the basic dangers of the modern era ... I consider two principles to be particularly important: first, political and ideological impartiality, that is, the application of equal criteria for all regions of the world, all countries, all people of all races, nationalities, convictions and creeds; and second, the use of non-violent methods, such as publicity, as a fundamental constraint and the chief instrument in the defence of human rights.

The author touches briefly on a number of questions included in the programme for the Sakharov hearings.

A. Sakharov: 'Speech for the New York Academy of Sciences Assembly'[14]

Text prepared for delivery at the Assembly to award the New York Academy of Sciences Prize to A. D. Sakharov. The meeting is planned for December.

A. Sakharov: 'On the questions set by the Moscow University Faculty of Applied Mathematics for Jewish final-year students' (12 July 1979)

Concerning the pamphlet 'Selected Questions from the Oral Examination in Mathematics, Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty, Moscow State University, 1978' (*Chronicle* 51), the author writes:

... In my view, to set these questions for examination purposes is totally inadmissible.

If we compare these questions with those set for students who have not been singled out in advance for failure in their final exams, the examiners' discriminatory intentions become clear.

It should be added, in conclusion, that planned discrimination is applied at exams with respect not only to Jewish final year students, but also to other categories of examinee, dissidents' children in particular.

A. Sakharov: 'To the Tolstoy Fund, New York, USA' (27 September 1979

The death of Alexandra Lvovna Tolstoy is a grave loss for us all. Her compatriots throughout the world, together with many other people, are acquainted with her wise, humanitarian work and her inexhaustible, active goodness, which eased the lot of so many. People will not forget Alexandra Lvovna.

V. Nekipelov: 'To the Procurator of Vladimir Region' (28 September 1979)

The author requests that a criminal case under Article 170, part 2, of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Misuse of Authority or official position') be opened against P. Evseyev, an officer of the Vladimir K G B, and A. A. Fokin, a staff member of the Serbsky Institute.

In 1970 Major Evseyev, a Senior Investigator of the Vladimir K G B, proposed to **M. Kukobaka,** who was at the time under arrest, that in exchange for his release he sign a false testimony stating that he had met an official of the West German Embassy. Kukobaka refused. 'Ah, so!' exclaimed Evseyev, 'You do not agree? Well, here's what I'll do for you. You won't forget this as long as you live!' Evseyev sent Kukobaka for psychiatric examination to the Serbsky Institute, where 'paranoid schizophrenia' was diagnosed, and he was ruled not responsible. The reporting doctor at the examination commission was A. A. Fokin. In April 1979 a Serbsky Institute examination ruled Kukobaka responsible.

All this is set out in the document 'Who Will Answer for the Crime?' and in Kukobaka's 'Testimony', both attached to Nekipelov's statement.

Yu. Daniel: 'To the Administrators of the Political Prisoners' Aid Fund' (12 November 1979)

The author replies to a letter signed 'Tverdov' (a pseudonym), containing accusations against the Fund's administrators. One of the charges was that the Fund did not help Yu. Daniel. The author writes that he did not require aid from social organizations.

I did not, do not and cannot have any claims on the Fund.

I do not know the name of the person or persons who wrote the

letters under the pseudonym of Tverdov, but I assume that their sole aim is to make us all quarrel with one another.

A large number of dissidents received a copy of Tverdov's letter through the post. Yu. Daniel did not receive one.

I. Zholkovskaya: 'To Marshal Ustinov, Minister of Defence of the U S S R' (10 September 1979)

In connection with the blunt refusal of the commander of the military unit in which **Sergei Shibayev** is serving to reply to I. Zholkovskaya's enquiries about Shibayev's state of health, she requests that the inadmissibility of this behaviour be pointed out to the unit command and demands information of Shibayev's whereabouts and state of health.

A. Podrabinek, A. Khromova, N. Ostrovskaya, L. Ostrovsky: 'To Mrs Margaret Smith' (9 June 1979)

Western correspondents visited the settlement of Ust-Nera, the Oimyakon District Centre in the Yakut A S S R. Two months later the local newspaper *Northern Dawn* [*Severnaya zarya*] published a translation of an article by Margaret Smith entitled 'Everyone Calls it the Cold Pole'.[15]

Alexander Podrabinek, currently serving a period of exile in Ust-Nera (Chronicle 53), his wife Alla Khromova and the couple who own the house where they live, Natalya and Leonid Ostrovsky (see also 'Miscellaneous Reports') explain to Mrs Smith that her article does not give an accurate picture of the situation in Ust-Nera and that the authorities deliberately led her astray. The authors state that, for instance, 'for each working citizen in Ust-Nera, 4kgs of meat and 400 grams of butter per month are sold in the shops in return for ration vouchers'.

V. Romanyuk: 'To the National Council of Churches of the U S A'

While in exile, Father Vasily Romanyuk (*Chronicle* 52) confirms his statement of 1 July 1976 renouncing Soviet citizenship and requesting American citizenship (*Chronicle* 42). He asks Christians in the U S A to help him obtain the latter.

M. Romanyuk-Antonyuk: 'To the Secretary-General of the World Council of Churches; to the Pope of Rome' (August 1979)

The wife of Vasily Romanyuk asks for help in obtaining the release of her sick husband from exile.

V. Konovalikhin: 'To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R, L. I. Brezhnev' (1 May 1979)

In connection with the pre-May 'political amnesties' (*Chronicle* 53), the exiled Vadim Konovalikhin (*Chronicle* 52) appeals for the 'release of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union'.

V. Konovalikhin: 'To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R, L. I. Brezhnev' (5 September 1979)

... Today ... on the Day of Remembrance for the victims of the Red Terror, I am sending the executioners an angry message: 'Damn you Red Executioners!' I also declare that I do not wish to remain a citizen of the U S S R, as the title 'Citizen of the U S S R' obliges one to be party to the misdeeds committted by the C P S U against freedom-loving citizens of our country.

* * *

Reply to a complaint lodged by the exiled **E. Pashnin:**

The Procuracy of the town of Vorkuta has examined your complaint about the incorrect action of police-officer Lebedev in checking your documents early in the morning at your place of residence. Under the regulations in force, town O V D officials are authorized to check exiles from 6.00 am to 10 pm. Lebedev is not, therefore, considered to have acted in violation of the regulations. The fact that his behaviour was tactless has been taken up by the town O V D administration, and Lebedev has been told in strong terms that such behaviour is inadmissible.

A. V. Moiseyev, Deputy Procurator of Vorkuta and Junior Legal Counsellor

('Tactless behaviour' — this refers to the use of the familiar form of address.)

L. Gendin, I. Zhiv: 'Joint Press Statement' (15 August 1979)

... We have been questioned on a number of occasions at the Lefortovo K G B Prison in connection with the **Morozov** case (*Chronicles* 51, 52). We have been subjected to criminal threats and blackmail from the investigation brigade headed by K G B Major N. N. Belyayev, and asked to give evidence which could be used to have us arrested. Moreover, Lev Gendin was told that refusal to cooperate with the K G B constituted 'an insurmountable obstacle to his obtaining permission to join his family in Israel'. (L. Gendin has been separated from his wife, who lives in Israel, for over seven years.)

Many different forms of extrajudicial persecution have been used to put pressure on us. These include an abortive attempt to press false charges of attempted murder against Igor Zhiv and telephone calls from K G B officers at work which created an unbearable atmosphere and led to his dismissal. Throughout a long period a campaign of psychological pressure was conducted, including, among

many other harassments, large-scale open shadowing not only of us, but also of our relatives and friends.

In addition, K G B Major Belyayev openly told Igor Zhiv that a special investigations brigade had been set up to fabricate a criminal case against him.

Lastly, in August 1979 an attempt was made to have us arrested in the settlement of Nebolchi, Novgorod Region (about 550 kilometres from Moscow). Typically, in order to divert attention away from what was happening to us, and at the same time as the attempted arrest, the K G B in Moscow started rumours that Lev Gendin was being given an exit visa for Israel.

By tremendous efforts, we have managed to evade arrest in the Novgorod Region and get to Moscow. Hungry and exhausted in the pouring rain, we have made our way through 100 kilometres of swampy, almost impenetrable forest, with the sole aim of bringing the acts of lawlessness and tyranny perpetrated against us by the K G B and the police to the attention of the media and world public opinion ... [16]

O. Meshko: 'To V. V. Fedorchuk, Chairman of the Ukrainian K G B' (31 August 1979)

On 30 August Oksana Yakovlevna Meshko was summoned for questioning by the Kiev K G B. In her statement she writes that she refuses (translation from Ukrainian)

to take part in K G B pre-trial investigations and closed trials of people brought to trial for their views, beliefs, or faith, or of members of the Ukrainian Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements.

V. Sysoyev: 'To the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes' (August 1979)

The artist Vyacheslav Sysoyev (*Chronicle* 53) writes:

... The authorities do not like my drawings.[17] Through cartoons and satirical drawings — which I consider to have social, but not anti-Soviet content — I try to prove to people that one cannot live in the world with lies and baseness ... I refuse to appear for questioning. E. S. Bode was forcibly taken for questioning, and they have not forgotten to 'visit' my 70-year-old mother.

In June this year the authorities sent some of my drawings for examination, as far as I know, to the Grabar All-Union Arts Restoration Centre. After examining their artistic content, the investigation decided to bring psychiatrists from the Gannushkin hospital in to the 'Sysoyev case'.

It is my view that this development in the investigation means that I am threatened with internment in a psychiatric hospital.

But can a creative person cease his work or change it, merely because this is required by those who want everyone to 'sit quietly and talk quietly'?

V. Fefelov, O. Zaitseva: 'To the editors of [émigré newspapers] *Russkaya Mysl* and *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*' (September 1979)

Valery Fefelov, member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the U S S R, and his wife Olga Zaitseva describe the destitution and lack of rights of the disabled in the U S S R.

Documents of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights

No. 19 (15 August 1979): Concerns the assault on **D. Kelmeliene** and the detention of **A. Ramanauskaite** (see 'Events in Lithuania'). Concerns the situation of Catholics in Moldavia (*Chronicles* 47, 48, 53).

No. 20 (15 August 1979): Appeal in connection with the forthcoming 600th anniversary of the conversion of Lithuania to Christianity and the 500th anniversary of the death of St Kazimir.

No. 21 (12 September 1979): On the interference by the authorities in the election of church committees (see 'Events in Lithuania').

No. 22 (12 September 1979): On the fate of Pentecostal believer **Victor Vasilev** (see 'The Right to Leave').

No. 23 (23 September 1979): On the right of believers to give their children religious education. On the trial of **A. Ramanauskaite** (see 'Events in Lithuanaia').

No. 24 (13 November 1979): On the publication of catechisms.

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group[18]

No. 99 (25 August 1979): On the persecution of Baptists in Ryazan Region (see 'Persecution of Believers').

No. 100 (30 August 1979): 'Repressions on Ideological Grounds (August 1978 — August 1979)'. Sub-headings: the Ukraine; Armenia; the Baltic Republics; the Moscow Helsinki Group; the Inter-Trade Association of Working People; the Uncensored Journal *Searches* (Moscow); a Youth Group of Social-Communist Tendency; the Journal *Perspektives* (Leningrad); the Christian Seminar; Baptists, Pentecostalists and Adventists; the Emigration of Germans; Emigration (irrespective of reasons); the Crimean Tatars; Return to the Homeland (see *Chronicles* 50-53 and present edition); Appendix No. 1 — List of 113 arrested people, giving brief details of their cases. There are six further appendices.

No. 101 (17 September 1979): 'Threats against the Moscow Helsinki

Group' (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations', and 'Miscellaneous Reports').

No. 102 (7 October 1979): 'On events in the Ukraine; Criminal Terror against the movement for the rule of law' (see *Chronicle* 53 and present edition).

No. 103 (7 October 1979): 'The arrest of **Eduard Arutyunyan**' (see *Chronicle* 53).

No. 104 (13 October 1979): 'Fresh attempts to suppress publicity and charity' (on the 11 October searches conducted at the homes of **T. Velikanova** and **T. Osipova** — see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

No. 105 (29 October 1979): Reports that **Ivan Kovalyov** (the son of Sergei Kovalyov) has joined the Moscow Helsinki Group.

No. 106 (30 October 1979): 'On an amnesty of political prisoners'.

No. 107 (30 October 1979): 'On the trial of six Czechoslovak campaigners for the rule of law'.

No. 108 (30 October 1979): 'Chistopol Prison' (see *Chronicle* 53 and the present edition).

No. 109 (30 October 1979): 'On the imprisonment of people serving 25-year terms, invalids, old people and women.'

No. 110 (30 October 1979): 'The amnesty for women, declared in connection with the International Year of the Child, does not extend to prisoners of conscience'.

No. 111 (3 November 1979): 'A sharp increase in the persecution of the movement for the rule of law in the U S S R' (on the arrest of **T. Velikanova, G. Yakunin** and **A. Terleckas** — see present edition).

Samizdat News

S. Soldatov: '10 years of the Democratic Movement (1969-1979)' (1979, 33 pages)

There is a subtitle, 'A jubilee collection', on the title page, together with a dedication 'To democrats and people with moral standards'. The 'Editor's Preface' points out that all seven works included in the volume were written by Soldatov in captivity.

The contents: 'Towards a moral renaissance in society!', 'Twelve principles of the Russian cause (a letter to Russian patriots)', dated March 1978: 'Six propositions for a nationally free Russia' (open letter to a Russian economist); '*Russian Thought* (Paris)'; 'In defence of the family and hearth (against the socially aggressive policies of the authorities): a complaint to the Soviet government'; 'To Academician Sakharov and the U N Commission on Human Rights' (1979); 'To the government of the U S S R' (30 September 1979); 'Foundations of a policy for the future (a political perspective)'. From the letter 'To the government of the U S S R':

As one of the leading activists of the Democratic Movement and a member of its Coordinating Council, I ask the Soviet government:

1) To legalize the activities of the Democratic Movement and its republican branches ...

2) To allow the publication of an uncensored newspaper by the Democratic Movement ...

I am prepared to enter into discussions of these questions with representatives of the Soviet government.

V. Nekipelov, K. Velikanova: 'Tribute and tribute-collectors (the Soviet customs posts which guard the achievements of October)', October 1979, 11 pages

The authors examine various aspects of the Soviet customs system. The high customs duty on articles sent to Soviet citizens by their friends and relations abroad does not correspond either to the price of these things (either abroad or in the U S S R) or to the income of the addressee; in addition, the amount of tax is always changing, depending on the number of identical articles in the parcel, the place it was sent from (the further it is, the higher the tax) and sometimes on quite arbitrary factors. Because of these customs extortions, the good intentions of the sender — to cheer up people close to him in the U S S R and give them some material help — are distorted into the opposite.

The new regulations for transfer of money from abroad, introduced in 1976, also made these transfers so crushingly disadvantageous to the sender that most of them have given up this method of postal 'service'. Parcels (if not sent through the Foreign Parcels Trading Organization [Vneshposyltorg] are subjected to a barbarous search, during which many articles are damaged. Very often books disappear from parcels, all the more easily as the vaguely formulated instructions allow customs officials to do what they like with books.

The customs authorities are even less scrupulous in examining and despatching the property of citizens who are leaving the U S S R. Constantly changing, vaguely formulated and illogical regulations for the transport of luggage, and the procedures for its customs examination and for body-searches turn a departure into a series of humiliations. After the luggage has been examined and is about to be sent off, it is deliberately and barbarously damaged — but none of the people in charge bears any responsibility for this.

The state of affairs outlined in the article is backed up by statistics and concrete examples. The authors conclude that the legal regulations, as well as the practical application, of the Soviet customs system are directed against the lawful property and rights of citizens and are intended to cause them material and moral harm. ('Myt' — tribute — is the ancient term for customs duty.)

V. Nekipelov, F. Serebrov: 'A Democracy Faculty (on foreign radio broadcasts in Russian: advice and suggestions)', November 1979, 7 pages

N. Tolmachev: 'What are we Feeding to our Young People?' (September 1979, 8 pages)

A pamphlet about Soviet schools, written by teacher Nikolai Tolmachev (born 1949). His stories 'Live in hope' and 'Buy our souls' (1978) have also been circulating in samizdat.

S. Cheremukhin: 'On Technical Grounds' (January 1979, 2 pages); 'Love with Time off' (January 1979, 2 pages); 'Hopes for the Olympics' (September 1979, 2 pages); 'The Potato that Feeds us' (October 1979, 4 pages)

The first essay is about the massive cancellations and delays on the railways in January 1979, the fact that even in such an insignificant matter the authorities fear to tell the truth. The second is on the system of compensatory leave (in return for speaking at a meeting, or taking part in meeting a foreign guest, etc). A quotation from the third essay: 'But the greatest hopes of ordinary Soviet citizens about the Olympics are linked, of course, with the question of food supplies'. The fourth essay is a commentary on figures given in the *Literary Gazette* [*Literaturnaya Gazeta*]: small private allotments take up 1% of all arable land used for potato production, yet produce 60% of the potato harvest.

A. Kamensky: 'There will be no Second Coming' (a composition in Stalin's memory), 1979, 12 pages

The epigraph: 'To the evil memory of Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin'. The concluding sentences read:

> Stalin lies in the Kremlin wall, still awaiting the day of his second coming, but the cause of human rights, stronger than curses, defends us from the blind monster. There will be no Second Coming! Resign yourself to that, comrade Stalin — you will not wake again.

L. Larina: 'Agriculture in the U S S R' (1979, 30 pages); 'Children in the U S S R' (1979, 25 pages)

Both works are subtitled 'Facts from the official Soviet press' and are collections of quotations from newspapers and journals, with short commentaries by the author.

The first anthology is divided into the following sections: Cultivation, Cattle-breeding and Chicken-farming, Animal feed, The Gifts of Forestry, Fertilizers, Science, Agricultural Engineering, Losses, Private Farming, Construction.

Sub-divisions in the second anthology: Nurseries and kindergartens, Toys and Games, School, The School of Life, Health.

'A Legal Commentary for Soviet Citizens Emigrating to Israel' (January 1979, 30 pages) Editor — **I. Tsitovsky.**

Emigration to Israel — Legal Theory and Practice, No. 2 (March 1979, 54 pages) Compilers: **M. Ryabkina** and **I. Tsitovsky.**

Emigration to Israel — Legal Theory and Practice No. 3 (June 1979, 57 pages) Compiler — **M. Berenfeld.**

The issue covers the case of **Amner Zavurov** (*Chronicle* 44) and the situation regarding legal registration of Hebrew language teachers.

In Defence of Economic Freedoms No. 8 (1979, 119 pages) Compiler — **V. Grin.**

This issue includes: an article by V. Brutskus on 'Problems of National Economy under a Socialist System', articles by V. Grin on 'How to Survive in Conditions of Economic Bondage' and 'The Legal Foundations of Economic Coercion in the U S S R' (part 2), V. Kuvakin's article 'On the Right to Work in the U S S R', and a letter from K. Lyubarsky on life in the West.

Lithuanian Samizdat

The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church No. 40 (19 October 1979)

Aušra [The Dawn] No. 17 (57), August 1979

Most of the journal is taken up by a document headed 'A Moral Ultimatum to the Government of the U S S R', signed by the League for the Freedom of Lithuania (*Chronicle* 51). The League for the Freedom of Lithuania (L F L), in the name of the Baltic peoples, demands the liberation of Lithuania, the publication of all secret documents relating to the agreement with Hitler's Germany and a publicly-expressed apology for the 40 years of occupation. After that, declares the L F L, talks could start between the Soviet Union and Lithuania, on the basis of the peaceful treaty of 12 July 1920 between the R S F S R and Lithuania. The document also includes a call for the dissolution of the Soviet 'empire'. The L F L calls on all governments and peoples of the world to boycott the U S S R if the Soviet government does not carry out its demands. Documentation of the agreement between Stalin and Hitler is published in a supplement.

The next item is an appeal by the 'National Council of the L F L' to all Russians living on Lithuanian territory. The L F L asks them to leave the country 'to avoid useless bloodshed'.

The issue also prints an article on the case of **R. Ragaišis** (see 'Events in Lithuania') and an essay on the fate of the artist **Jurate Masiuliene-Bičiunaite's** family (her father V. Bičiunas, a well-known cultural figure in Lithuania, and almost all his family perished in camps and exile in the 1940s).

Aušra No. 18 (58), October 1979

An appeal by the L F L to the United Nations Organization, asking for help from the U N O Special Committee on Decolonialization in 'freeing the Baltic peoples from colonial dependence'.

A collective letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Pact (see 'Letters and Statements') and an appeal by **Mart Niklus** on the same subject.

In addition, the issue includes: material on the difficulties encountered by former political prisoners registering for residence in Lithuania, and brief reports on political, cultural and public life in the republic. These include a report entitled 'Česiunas in Vilnius'. According to *Aušra* [Vladislavas] Česiunas — the Soviet sportsman and Olympic rowing champion who asked for political asylum in West Germany and then unexpectedly turned up back in the U S S R — was forcibly taken out of West Germany with the aid of K G B agents. He is allegedly seriously injured and under guard in the M V D Hospital in Vilnius. The official version of Česiunas's fate differs considerably from this [*Literary Gazette*, 17 & 31 October 1979].

Aušra No. 19 (59), November 1979

This issue includes:

— an appeal to K. Waldheim, the states which signed the Helsinki Final Act, Amnesty International and Helsinki Groups in Europe and America to help Antanas Terleckas;

— articles, pamphlets, essays; in particular, an essay on 'Our Leader Kalpokas', about one of the leaders of the partisan movement in Lithuania in the years 1944-58;

— a collection of material attacking alcoholism.

Rupintojelis [The Mourner] No. 10 (September 1979, 66 pages)

Perspektyvos [Perspectives], No. 17 (1979, 25 pages)

The issue contains an article by M. Baskas, 'The Triumph of Peace' (an editorial comment states that this article was received from the 'Union of Lithuanian Communists for Lithuania's Secession from the U S S R') and a supplement to this entitled 'Practical Realities are still not respected'.

Estonian Samizdat

Additional Material on the Free Circulation of Ideas and Information in Estonia, Nos. 3 and 5 (in Estonian)

Nos. 1 and 2 were summarized in *Chronicle* 52 (although the title was inaccurately translated).

Issue No. 3 includes: a report on the incident in Kirkveküla on 25 February 1979, when the national flag of independent Estonia was hoisted on a school building; the exile of 80,000 Estonians to Siberia in 1949 as part of 'the campaign against the kulaks'; biographical details on former political prisoner **Taivo Praks** (*Chronicle* 51); a translation of 'Charter 77' from Czech; and letters about violation of secrecy of correspondence and Russification in Estonia.

Issue No. 5 has a subtitle: 'Special issue — Today and 40 years ago'. The first page bears photographs of Stalin, Hitler, Molotov and Ribbentrop. It includes the collective letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Pact (see 'Letters and Statements'); a report on the interrogation and persecution of some Estonians who signed this letter; a letter protesting against the arrest of Velikanova, Yakunin and Terleckas (see '1 November'); and texts of the secret protocols to the treaties between Germany and the U S S R in 1939-41.

Addenda and Corrigenda

V. A. Orekhov was arrested on 30 October 1978 (*Chronicle* 53, 'The Trial of Morozov').

A. Imnadze was sentenced in December 1978 for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' to five years in strict-regime camps and four years' exile.

V. Sichko was expelled from the university not in 1973 (*Chronicle* 53), but in 1977. He was expelled because his father P. Sichko had refused to work for the K G B (so writes Vasily's mother S. Petrash). The Sichkos, father and son, spoke at the grave of Ivasyuk not on 12 June (*Chronicle* 53), but on 10 June.

At the beginning of June, Captain Rak (of Perm Camp 35) seized the draft manuscript of a statement from **K. Ismagilov.** As a result of the incident, an order was issued condemning him to 10 days in a punishment cell, but this was done only on 15 June, the day **S. Kovalyov** began his hunger-strike (*Chronicle* 53). On 28 June, ending his own hunger-strike, Ismagilov informed the camp administration that he intended to strike from 10 July if Kovalyov's demands had not been met by then. On 2 July **A. Yuskevich** began a three-day hunger-strike in support of Kovalyov. **N. Grigoryan** (*Chronicle* 53) declared a three-day hunger-strike on 4 July — also in support of Kovalyov.

A. V. Nikitkov, Presbyter of the Ryazan Baptist congregation, and **N. F. Popov** were sentenced only under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (*Chronicle* 53). The charge under article 142 was dropped in both cases during the pre-trial investigation.

The Case of Lubman

The *Chronicle* has been able to obtain fuller and more precise information on the case of Lubman (*Chronicle* 51).

Leonid Yakovlevich Lubman is a graduate of the Faculty of Radiotechnology at Leningrad Polytechnic. He worked for some time in a secret institution. On deciding to emigrate from the U S S R, he left this job. For the past five years Lubman was working as Head of the Labour Organization Department at an electrical fittings factory.

Two months before his arrest, while he was preparing his application to O V I R, he did not want to make trouble for the management of the factory, and transferred to a job as an engineer in the department of finance and wages at a factory manufacturing electrical goods. Lubman has written a number of articles on production organization, which were published in Soviet scientific journals.[19] He also wrote a dissertation on this theme, but was unable to defend it publicly.

Lubman was arrested on 20 August 1977. The same day searches were carried out at the flat he shared with his former wife (they were divorced shortly before his arrest) and at his parents' flat. During the search at Lubman's flat, his completed application for emigration to Israel was discovered.

Until January 1978 Lubman was facing a charge under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. In January 1978 a Deputy Procurator of the R S F S R visited Leningrad. From that time the charge against Lubman was changed: he was now charged under article 64 of the Code. The investigation of Lubman's case was conducted by Ryabchuk, Deputy Head of the Leningrad K G B Investigations Department ('All you Jews are alike, you should all be shot', he once said to Lubman), and A. P. Tsygankov.

The Leningrad City Court, presided over by Karlov, examined Lubman's case from 15 to 18 March 1978. Counsel S. A. Kheifets defended Lubman. On the first day of the trial, the court superintendent refused to allow Lubman's parents into the courtroom: 'You haven't received permission — this is a closed trial'. They were allowed in to hear the judgment.

It was stated in the judgment that in 1976-7 Lubman had sent documents to the C I A (U S A) which contained state secrets; he had offered advice about subversive activity in the U S S R, such as terrorism, espionage, diversion and radio-propaganda; he had also sent out material on the Soviet Union written from an anti-Soviet viewpoint. On 26 July 1977 Lubman had contacted citizen Lora Bush, living in

Copenhagen, to agree on the time when his foreign contact would visit him. (Lubman had indeed rung a friend in Copenhagen — a former Soviet citizen who had married a Dane — *Chronicle*.) In August 1977 he had tried to send abroad 248 pages of manuscripts and documents of hostile content. Lubman had criticized about 30 party and state officials and heads of a secret institution from a hostile viewpoint (defence counsel Kheifets submitted to the court an article from *Leningrad Pravda* which criticized the work of the same institution and also mentioned certain individuals by name); he had given the car number of one of the party and state leaders and had written about measures to safeguard his security (this referred to the cortège of cars, well-known to every Leningrader, of Romanov, the First Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Party Committee); he had given information to the C I A about a military secret, the manufacture of the 'Argument', produced by a certain state enterprise (defence counsel pointed out to the court that Lubman's manuscript mentions only the name 'Argument', nothing else), and had revealed classified fact concerning the work of another secret enterprise. Lubman's guilt was borne out by his own partial confession that he had written these documents, and by the customs search carried out on 10 August 1977 on Italian citizen Nicoletta Gabrielli, during which articles by Lubman on production organization, which she had intended to pass on to L. Bush, were confiscated. Lubman had met the Italian philologist N. Gabrielli, who was spending a 10-day study period in the U S S R, twice at his flat (at the trial Lubman denied meeting N. Gabrielli; during the search at customs N. Gabrielli stated that she had been given the manuscript by an unknown man on Nevsky Prospekt; N. Gabrielli was not at the trial). The judgment also stated that as Lubman was a Party member, had graduated from a Marxist-Leninist university and had earned expressions of gratitude and good character references, his actions had been premeditated. The court sentenced Lubman to 13 years in strict-regime camps.

On 10 April 1978 TASS put out a report for distribution abroad on Lubman's conviction for 'treason to the Motherland'. On 12 April 1978 the executive bureau of N T S put out a declaration, 'Invention of a typical case of treason to the Motherland':[20]

> ... The K G B has thought up a case of 'espionage' to cover up its own unlawful activities against all kinds of dissent. Lubman is the author of a book, unpublished in the U S S R, on Soviet economic problems. Lubman asked friends who were leaving for the West to investigate the possibilities of publishing his book. The N T S asked the Italian Slavonic scholar N. Gabrielli to visit the author and offer to take out his work for publication abroad. Lubman transmitted to N. Gabrielli the manuscript and his instructions for its publication. However, when N. Gabrielli was leaving the U S S R, the thick

manuscript (several hundred pages long and signed by the author) was discovered during a customs search and confiscated.

Mrs Gabrielli was not detained, although according to the TASS report, she was taking out 'a series of documents' in which Lubman allegedly gave secret information ... It is clear that the K G B decided to whip up a typical 'case' of spying only much later. The N T S draws attention to the fact that the authorities are again resorting to methods they loved to use in the Stalin years ...

The journal *Zvezda*, in issue No. 6, 1979, published an article by V. Volodin, 'A Story of Degradation and Treason', about Lubman and the N T S.

Endnotes

1 Khronika Press (New York) publishes the *Chronicles* as booklets in Russian on receipt of a typescript copy from Moscow. See the Bibliographical Note below.
2 Slightly misquoted. See V. I. Lenin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, 5th edition, vol. 53, p. 149.
3 More accurately: compiled by Lubarsky in Munich and published (fortnightly) in Brussels. See details in the Bibliographical Note below.
4 Ie P. Iitvinov et al., eds., *Samosoznanie*, Khronika Press, New York, 1976.
5 Shakirov was thus not granted the early release forehadowed in *Chronicle* 51.
6 Corrected here from the mis-typing 'Yakutskaya A S S R'.
7 Corrected here from the mis-typing YuCh-311/74.
8 This date indicates the inclusion in this *Chronicle* of some material of later date than is suggested by the date of 15 November 1979 on the title page.
9 Changed from '51', as the report in *Chronicle* 51 concerns a different Pashala family.
10 Changed from 'Nikalova' in accordance with another source.
11 Changed from 'UOM422-25' to what is more likely to be correct.
12 On this case see the special issue on China of *Index on Censorship*, London, 1980, No. 1, pp. 21-26.
13 See full text in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R*, New York, 1979, No. 35, pp. 49-52. The 3rd Sakharov Hearings took place in Washington D.C. on 26-29 September 1979.
14 See full text in *ibid.*, 1979, No. 36, pp. 25-26.
15 Place of publication in English unknown. But see an account by Kevin Klose of the 10-day visit by a group of American journalists in *The Washington Post*, 8 April 1979.
16 Zhiv was eventually allowed to emigrate in April 1980.
17 Many of these have appeared in *L'Alternative: Pour les Droits et les Libertés Démocratiques en Europe de l'Est* (1, Place Paul-Painlevé, 75006 Paris), 1980, Nos. 3 and 4-5.
18 These have been published in full in Russian in (to date) six volumes entitled *Sbornik dokumentov Obshchestvennoi gruppy*

sodeistviya vypolneniyu khelsinkskikh soglashenii, Khronika Press, New York, 1977-79. Vol. 6 (pp. 134-42) contains the lengthy document No. 100 described below, but labels it No. 99.

19 Eg an article on increasing labour productivity in the ship-building industry, in *Sudostroenie* (*Ship Construction*), 1974, No. 10.

20 See full text in *Possev*, 1978, No. 5, p. 14. The N T S (Popular Labour Alliance) is based in Paris and Frankfurt.

Bibliographical Note

The original Russian text of *Chronicle* 54, 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 16-53 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. At present this appears only in English and Russians editions, but it is due soon to be published also in French and German editions. (Dr Lubarsky has featured in many issues of the *Chronicle* since 1972, where his name is spelled Kronid Lyubarsky. He emigrated in 1977.)

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

Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan, Italy, bimonthly; and in Dutch: *Rusland Bulletin*, Fijnje van Salverdastraat 4, Amsterdam-W, Netherlands, bimonthly.

For many religious texts, see *Religion in Communist Lands*, Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent BR2 6BA, England, quarterly. For Jewish texts see *Jews in the USSR*, 31 Percy Street, 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*, 29 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019, 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.

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This index lists all illustrations published in the *Chronicle* since the Amnesty International edition became illustrated (ie since Nos. 28-31), and also the illustrations published with *Chronicles* Nos. 1-11 in P. Reddaway, ed, *Uncensored Russia.* Over 700 photos are listed.

Where more than a single issue of the *Chronicle* has been published in one volume, only the number of the first issue is given. Thus issues 28-31, published in one volume, are referred to simply as 28. *Uncensored Russia* is referred to as UR. If more than one photo of a given individual appears in any volume, the number of photos is given in brackets after the volume number.

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