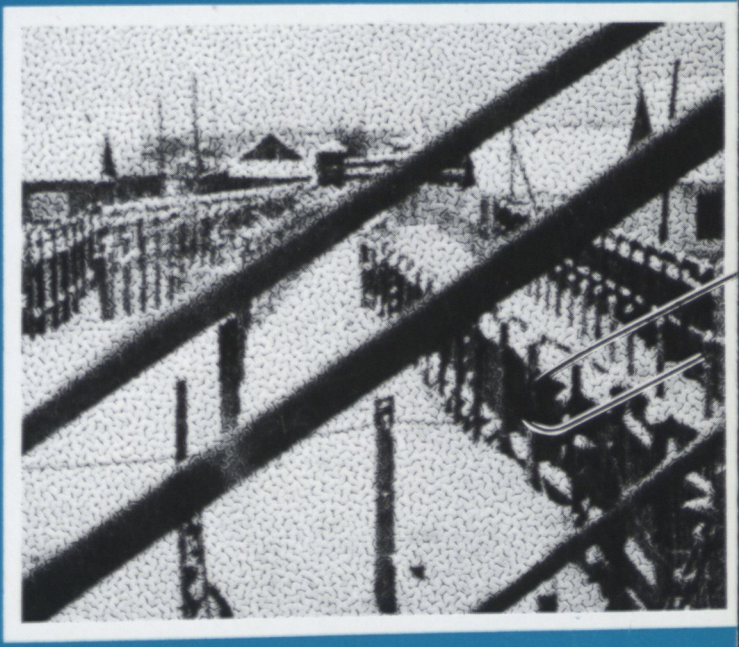
A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

Nr 53

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR



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—It opposes the *death penalty* and *torture* or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of *all prisoners* without reservation.

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A Chronicle of Current Events
Number 53

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Amnesty International Publications
10 Southampton Street London WC2E 7HF
1980

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Russian original ©Khronika Press 1980, New York
English translation copyright © Amnesty International, 1980
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Published 1980 by Amnesty International Publications
Designed and produced by *Index on Censorship*, London and New York
Printed in Great Britain by Billing & Sons, Ltd, London
ISBN 0 86210 008 9
AI index EUR 46/01/80
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Abbreviations

ASSR	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 and so named because it is the home of the Mordovian national minority.
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
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).
UVD	Administration for Internal Affairs.

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* 53, is, like previous ones, a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text (which reached London on 6 January 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 texts.

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 judge ments 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 March 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 53 **1 August 1979**

Contents

Political releases. Trials. Arrests, searches, interrogations. In the prisons and camps. In exile. In the psychiatric hospitals. Persecution of Crimean Tatars. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of believers. The right to leave. Defence of the rights of the disabled. Extrajudicial persecution. A labour conflict. Miscellaneous reports. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Addenda and corrigenda.

TWELFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Political Releases

Pardons

On 15 June 1970 a group of people who were planning to hijack an aeroplane and escape abroad in it were arrested in Leningrad. In December of the same year they were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and on two of them, **Mark Dymshits** and **Eduard Kuznetsov,** the death sentence was passed; it was then commuted, at an appeal hearing, to 15 years of camp (*Chronicle* 17). In mid-1971, in Leningrad, Riga and Kishinëv, people who were found to be involved, to a greater or lesser extent, in the 'aeroplane people's' plans were brought to trial — the so-called trials of the 'aeroplane people's circle' (*Chronicle* 20). The majority of the sentenced 'aeroplane people' and their 'circle' were Jews who had been trying, without success, to obtain permission to emigrate to Israel.

The severe sentences provoked a mass campaign of protests and focused the attention of the world community on the problem of emigration from the USSR. The protests were apparently one of the reasons why the Soviet authorities felt obliged to increase the opportunities for emigration to Israel, thus laying the foundations for mass emigration from the Soviet Union.

Attention to the 'aeroplane case' did not grow weaker with time. In 1974 **Silva Zalmanson,** who had been sentenced to ten years, was pardoned and left for Israel (*Chronicle* 33). On completion of their terms the people sentenced in these trials always received permission to emigrate. By April 1979 only nine 'aeroplane people' and one of their 'circle' remained in captivity.

On 20 April 'aeroplane men' **Anatoly Altman** (Perm Camp 35), **Vulf Zalmanson** (Perm Camp 36), **Boris Penson** (Mordovian Camp 19) and **Arie (Leib) Khnokh** (Mordovian Camp 19), and also, from the 'circle', **Gilel Butman** (Chistopol Prison), were released. All five had one year, one month and 25 days left to serve.

None of them knew of their imminent release. On 15 April they were taken for transit, but not even told where they were going. They were taken in ordinary carriage compartments (with a special escort). Butman was taken to Leningrad, the others to Riga. In prison, on 20 April, a Decree of Pardon was read to each of them. The Decrees were dated 16 April and signed by Brezhnev. They were also told to present themselves at OVIR by 12 o'clock for visas to emigrate to Israel.

The visas were valid until 30 April. The visa fee and the tax for 'renunciation of citizenship' which is normally levied on people leaving for Israel were not taken from them. Furthermore they were

handed train tickets for the route Riga-Brest-Vienna for 27 April.

The 'Riga men' said that they needed time to attend to their personal affairs. Zalmanson wanted a meeting with his brother (who was serving a sentence for an 'economic' case in a camp near Riga)[1] and one with his sister's husband Eduard Kuznetsov (Mordovian Camp 1). The KGB officials who were present told him that he could have a meeting with his brother but not with Kuznetsov. Khnokh said that he wanted to go and see his daughter (from his first marriage) in Kaliningrad. Altman wanted to visit his mother's grave in Chernovtsy — his mother had died while he was in camp. These requests were not formally refused, but permission was not given for the visas to be extended. Penson asked permission to take his paintings with him: when his mother left (*Chronicle* 39), she had not been allowed to take them with her. He was promised that permission would be given.

On the 22nd all five arrived in Moscow. A press conference was organized in the flat of A. Ya. Lerner, at which the released men talked about the conditions of a prisoner's life and answered the correspondents' numerous questions.

The following day Altman was approached in the street by a man whom he recognized as a KGB agent who had participated in the release procedure in Riga. The agent said: 'Leave at once, or you'll be in trouble'. Altman replied that if he was being threatened with camp, then he was ready for it. The 'aeroplane people' telephoned the KGB, protested against the threat and demanded an official explanation of their position. They were invited to the USSR KGB office (24 Kuznetsky Bridge). There they were told that they would not be obliged to leave earlier than the date specified on the visas, but that it was in their interests to use the tickets prepared for them. It would be hard for them to buy tickets themselves. Their request to be allowed to travel by plane to attend to private matters was refused. (Not possessing internal passports, they could not buy plane tickets.) Zalmanson was again refused a meeting with Kuznetsov.

Altman tried to go to Chernovtsy — he was taken off the train. Zalmanson was granted a two-hour meeting with his brother. Penson was not allowed to take his pictures with him.

On 27 April all five departed from Riga for Brest, and left the USSR.

* * *

It is known that the fate of the 'aeroplane people' was discussed during the visit of a group of American senators to the USSR in April this year.[2]

An Exchange

During the night of 27-28 April, at New York's Kennedy Airport, Soviet officials effected an exchange of five Soviet political prisoners for the Soviet citizens Chernyayev and Enger, former UNO employees, who had been given heavy sentences in the USA on charges of espionage. The following were subject to exchange:

— **Alexander Ginzburg,** administrator of the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners and one of the founders of the Moscow Helsinki Group (trial — *Chronicle* 50);

— **Georgy Vins,** Secretary of the Council of Evangelical Christian-Baptist Churches (trial — *Chronicle* 35);

— **Valentin Moroz,** a Ukrainian historian and publicist (trial — *Chronicle* 17);

— 'aeroplane men' **Mark Dymshits** and **Eduard Kuznetsov.**

On 1 June the prison and camp part of Moroz's sentence was due to end (six years in prison and three years in special-regime camp). He still had five years to come in exile. Vins's five years' deprivation of freedom had finished on 31 March, and he also had five years of exile to come. Dymshits's 15 years' strict-regime and Kuznetsov's 15 years' special-regime would have ended on 15 June 1985. Ginzburg was arrested on 3 February 1977 and sentenced to eight years' camp. Ginzburg, Moroz and Kuznetsov were serving their sentences in Mordovian Camp 1 (special-regime), Dymshits in Perm 35.

(Three 'aeroplane men' are still serving sentences: **Aleksei Murzhenko** and **Yury Fyodorov** in Mordovian Camp 1, and **Iosif Mendelevich** in Chistopol Prison. Mendelevich's term finishes on 15 June 1982, Murzhenko's on 15 June 1984 and Fyodorov's on 15 June 1985. At a press conference soon after his arrival in the USA, Kuznetsov drew the public's attention to the fate of Murzhenko and Fyodorov — the only non-Jews among the 'aeroplane men'.)

Not one of the five men knew about the exchange in advance; their agreement was not asked for, and the action took the form of depriving them of Soviet citizenship and expelling them from the country. A decree to this effect was read to each of them in Lefortovo Prison in Moscow.

On 3 June, 58 Baptists from Rostov-on-Don sent a protest to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet against the forced deprivation of citizenship and expulsion from the USSR of G. P. Vins. They demanded that his Soviet citizenship be restored and that he be allowed to return to his motherland. Baptists from Elabuga sent a similar statement.

There was not a word in the Soviet press about the exchange. The Western press reported that according to an agreement between the USSR and the USA, the families of those exchanged could also

leave the USSR.

E. Kuznetsov's mother and V. Moroz's wife left the USSR with no trouble. G. P. Vins's family, including **Pyotr Vins,** left only on 13 June. In May their house was made inaccessible to visitors. For a while they were not given permission to take Georgy Vins's niece with them, then permission was granted.

On the Departure of Ginzburg's Family

Ginzburg's family has not yet left the USSR, since the Soviet authorities are not allowing the family's ward **Sergei Shibayev** (*Chronicles* 45, 51) to leave. It is known that, before departure, each of the men exchanged was asked to make a list of the members of his family. Ginzburg included Shibayev.

On 7 May Shibayev sent a telegram to [Ginzburg's wife] I. Zholkovskaya from Yakutia, where he is doing his military service:

> I confirm I wish to leave for permanent settlement in the USA together with Ginzburg's family. I was born on 11 March 1960 ...

From Shibayev's letter dated 15 May:

> They've all had talks with me, beginning with the company political officer, ending with the unit political officer and including the deputy commanding officer for supplies. They've tried to persuade me to renounce all my friends and publish a statement; after that, they say, I'll be a full, equal and respected citizen. I refused, and the next day I sent you an express telegram giving my agreement and personal data. Did it arrive?
>
> The company political officer said to my face that he'd put me in prison, and from now on they'd throw the book at me. For the slightest misdemeanour, even an undone button, I'd be punished immediately. He said: 'You won't be able to bear it long. We'll drive you from pillar to post, and back again'.
>
> Then I said that I wanted to rejoin my family. And he answered, 'Scum, traitor!'

From Shibayev's letter dated 17 May:

> They're laying charges against me, just orally as yet, for divulging a military secret.

On 2 June I. Zholkovskaya sent a statement to Brezhnev:

> Sergei Shibayev, born 1960, has lived with our family since he was 14 years old. His father, Viktor Shibayev, left his family when the boy was a few months old. His mother, Antonina Ivanovna, soon remarried and paid scant attention to her son. The family situation was tense.
>
> In 1975, after finishing his eighth year at school, Sergei left his family, came to study in Moscow at a vocational technical college and moved in with our family. Until Ginzburg's arrest in February 1977, neither Shibayev's father nor his mother objected to this or showed any interest in their son's fate ...
>
> My husband and I consider ourselves to be responsible for the young man's future, since from the age of 14 he has been brought up by us. Therefore I cannot leave the USSR without him ...

On 8 June I. Zholkovskaya sent the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet some extracts from the Russian Code on Marriage and the Family, from which it is clear that the Law treats de facto wards as members of the family.

From Shibayev's letter dated 4 July:

> I'm being transferred to another unit: Tiksi, I'm told ... The transfer order came from someone high up, I don't know who. They told me on the side that they're transferring me so that I'm nearer to the Political Department ...

Zholkovskaya's telegram to the unit commander asking for information on Shibayev's state of health received the answer:

> You are not one of Shibayev's relatives. Kindly do not divert the command from dealing with its official duties. *Darchiev*

On 9 July I. Zholkovskaya was invited to Moscow OVIR. There a man calling himself 'representative of the USSR OVIR Gerasimov' informed her:

> I am authorized to inform you that the USSR OVIR, the KGB and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs have reached a decision: Sergei Shibayev will not be leaving — either now, or after his military service, or ever. We give you two weeks. By the 25th you must decide and inform us. If you do not do this, your case will be closed, and you'll have to leave the usual way — through Israel.

It is known that the American administration considers the detention of Shibayev to be a violation of the conditions of the exchange.

On 10 July the Moscow Helsinki Group published a statement in which it expressed the hope that

> International public attention ... will help bring the Ginzburg family together again.

On 12 July I. Zholkovskaya sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

> I wish to repeat once again that the extent of our moral responsibility for the fate of those close to us is not determined solely by blood ties. Both Ginzburg and I myself consider ourselves responsible for the fate of a child who has lived in our family since he was 14 ...[3]

Trials

The Trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev

As reported in *Chronicle* 52, Mustafa Dzhemilev was arrested on 8 February and charged with 'malicious violation of the rules of administrative surveillance' (article 199-3 of the Uzbek Criminal Code).

On 18 February, at the same time as declaring a hunger-strike, Mustafa Dzhemilev wrote a statement to the President of the People's Court of the October District of Tashkent, a copy of which he sent to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this statement he demonstrated that the case against him was brought illegally and demanded that he be

> released from custody, that the guilty parties be prosecuted, that my right to live in the Crimea be granted, or that the opportunity be given me to leave the USSR.

Dzhemilev asserted that his case had been inspired by the organs of State Security, to which in particular the following document, included in the statement, bore witness:

> To the Head of the October District OVD, Tashkent, Lt-Col R. Yu. Yuldashev
>
> *Report*
>
> I report that on 29.12.78 a statement was received from Mustafa Dzhemilev, a man under surveillance, who asked in a threatening tone for permission to leave for the Crimea, and at the same time demanded to know by what right we had placed him under administrative surveillance. Comrade Salomatov and I informed KGB official Grabovsky of this by telephone. At 6 pm Grabovsky himself arrived and asked to be given Dzhemilev's statement in return for a signed receipt. *He promised to reply to the statement in our name* (italics mine — M.D.).

> On the morning of 30 December Dzhemilev *was detained by KGB officials* at the airport as he was taking off for the Crimea. *I again telephoned Comrade Grabovsky and asked how to proceed,* and Comrade Grabovsky told me to proceed according to the law. We prepared the evidence and Dzhemilev was fined 30 roubles by the People's Court for violation of administrative surveillance, and then released.
>
> (*A. Akhmedov*) Deputy Head of October District OVD, 30.12.78

The prison administration did not send the statement to either of the addresses, and Dzhemilev was not informed of this. For the first two weeks he was kept in an ordinary cell, then he was transferred to a solitary confinement cell in the cellar. He was force-fed every other day.

On 26 February Judge E. A. Petrov informed Mustafa's brother Asan Dzhemilev that the trial was fixed for 1 March. Asan made a statement requesting that the date of the trial be postponed to 5 March, since the Moscow lawyer V. Ya. Shveisky, who had agreed to defend Mustafa Dzhemilev, was engaged on another case on the 1st (Shveisky defended Dzhemilev in his trial at Omsk — *Chronicle* 40). Petrov replied with a categorical refusal.

On 1 March relatives, friends and compatriots of M. Dzhemilev gathered outside the October District People's Court building; A. D. Sakharov, who had come for the trial, was among them. They waited for half a day, but the trial did not take place. Judge Petrov stated that the accused had not been brought from prison 'for an unknown reason' (the next day the lack of an escort was given as the reason), and therefore the trial would be postponed; it would not take place earlier than 11 March, as until then he, Petrov, would be extremely busy. He gave the same answer to the lawyer who phoned to say that he was prepared to come on 6-7 March, if the trial could take place then. As Shveisky was again occupied on 11 March, an agreement was concluded in Moscow on 4 March with the lawyer E. S. Shalman (*Chronicle* 50), and Petrov was informed of this by telegram. Those who gathered at the court on these days were subject to intensive surveillance.

During the evening of 5 March, prison officials confiscated from M. Dzhemilev all the notes and materials in his possession relating to the case. The trial took place on 6 March. Neither the lawyer, Shalman, nor the relatives of the accused were informed that the trial was beginning. Dzhemilev was taken to Judge Petrov's office, where two assessors, a secretary, some sort of lawyer and three policemen were waiting. Petrov announced that the court hearing had begun.

Dzhemilev refused the lawyer provided for him and submitted a number of petitions: that he be allowed to choose a lawyer at his own discretion, that the confiscated notes be returned to him, that they call supplementary witnesses (his relatives, who could confirm that on the evening of 19 January he had been at home, and thus refute one of the charges), and finally, that the hearing be open and take place in a courtroom, not an office. All the petitions were turned down; for this reason Dzhemilev refused to take part in the trial. However, he presented a written statement where he again testified to the groundlessness of the charge. Dzhemilev was taken from the room and locked up in a cell attached to the court. After about an hour he was informed that the case would be heard in his absence (The Code of Criminal Procedure expressly forbids this).

The Judge telephoned Mustafa's brother Anafi Dzhemilev at work, and told him to find Asan Dzhemilev for a court appearance. 'It so happened' that Asan was away on business. In this manner the beginning of the trial became known. Several of Mustafa's relatives and friends managed to push their way in to where the case was being heard.

The Judge announced that the accused had refused to take part in the trial, and that therefore the hearing would take place in his absence. Those relatives and friends who were present left the premises in protest. Only policemen and K G B officials stayed. Four hours later the court came to the cell where Dzhemilev was waiting and the Judge pronounced sentence.

In the judgment it was said that Dzhemilev, 'in violation of the administrative surveillance placed on him ... led an antisocial life, maliciously declined to obtain employment or register an address', and did not respond to prophylactic talks and warnings regarding employment, in connection with which surveillances had been twice extended. The judgment referred to the evidence of four witnesses: policemen Sidikaliev, Atashkulov (*Chronicle* 49), Salomatov and Akhunov. (The witnesses who had signed the report that Dzhemilev was not at home on 19 January were not questioned in court.)

In conclusion it states:

> Dzhemilev's allegations about the groundlessness of the charges brought against him are fabrications by which he hopes to escape criminal responsibility. The allegations are disproved by the evidence of the case.
>
> In determining a punishment for Dzhemilev, the court has taken into account his character and the fact that he has a dependent daughter who is a minor, and the court also takes notice of the humane character of Soviet law in relation to citizens.

The court sentenced him to

> 1 (one) year and 6 months' deprivation of liberty.
>
> However, applying to Dzhemilev articles 24 and 42 of the Uzbek Criminal Code, a lighter punishment is fixed for him, penalizing Dzhemilev with exile for a period of 4 (four) years.

They dragged Mustafa into a Black Maria — it was the seventeenth day of his hunger-strike. On 8 March Dzhemilev sent a statement to the court requesting to be shown a record of the trial. He did not receive an answer.

On 11 March relatives eventually managed to arrange the meeting which was due after the trial. Mustafa was very weak and complained of pains in the heart. He had not yet received a copy of the judgment (which by law should be handed to the convicted person not later than 72 hours after its pronouncement). The meeting was terminated after half an hour, as Mustafa and his relatives, out of habit, had spoken a few words in Tatar and they had been ordered to speak only Russian. That day Mustafa ended his hunger-strike. On 10 March Mustafa's sister Dilyara Seitvelieva, who was then still living in the Crimea (see 'Persecution of Crimean Tatars'), declared a three-day hunger-strike in protest.

On 18 March M. Dzhemilev submitted an appeal to Tashkent City Court, to which he attached his statement of 18 February. On 19 March the appeal was forwarded by the prison administration to the October District People's Court, but with no attachment. Thus the statement never reached the court. On 20 March Judge Petrov transmitted Dzhemilev's case to the City Court.

On 21 March Judge Petrov informed lawyer E. S. Shalman that the hearing was fixed for the 22nd. Shalman immediately sent a telegram saying that since he had only been informed half a day before the trial was due to begin, he could not be there at the designated time. Therefore he requested that the hearing be postponed until any day after 1 April, and that he be informed of the new date in good time.

On the same day, 21 March, Asan Dzhemilev tried to find out from the District Court where Mustafa's case file was. The District Court had sent it to the City Court, but here he was informed that they had not yet received the case, and that therefore the date for the trial was not known.

All the same, by 9 am on 22 March more than 50 of Mustafa's friends and relatives had gathered outside the City Court building. At 10 am the list of that day's hearings appeared on the notice-board. The hearing of the Dzhemilev case was fixed for 14.30, with B. B. Oks presiding. Relatives asked Oks to accept their statement asking for the hearing to be transferred to 1 April. Oks refused and informed them that the petition could be accepted only at the actual

trial. They could not find out, either from Oks or from the Court Secretary, in which of the rooms the hearing would take place. Eventually, at 14.30, Oks informed the relatives that 'the materials of the court of first instance relating to the case of the convicted Mustafa Dzhemilev had been reviewed at 10 am' and that the sentence remained the same.

* * *

At the beginning of April relatives were informed that Mustafa was in transit to his place of exile in Ust-Maisky District, Yakut A S S R (Southern Yakutia). However on 31 May Dzhemilev was taken to Kolyma [NE Siberia] — Zyryanka Settlement, Verkhne-Kolymsky District, Yakut A S S R. In view of the 'severe housing shortage' in the settlement he was put at first in the foyer of a local hotel. Soon afterwards Dzhemilev found employment and a place in a hostel.

On 5 June Dzhemilev sent a statement to the Procurator-General of the U S S R (and a copy to the head of the District O V D, Major V. F. Masalov). He asked (and this same petition had been included in his appeal) for his four years of exile to be changed back to one-and-a-half years' deprivation of freedom. One of the reasons for such a request was that his chances of finding his sick 82-year-old father still alive at the end of his term would be greatly increased. As a last resort, Dzhemilev asked to be transferred to another district where the housing problem was not so severe, and he could live with someone close to him.

* * *

On 4 May the newspaper *Evening Tashkent* published an article entitled 'Profession: Sponger' by Yu. Kruzhilin on the trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev. Kruzhilin discusses the 'impressions' of Mustafa made on him after attending the trial and chatting to the District Procurator, the District O V D Head of the District O V D Social Prophylaxis Service, witnesses and relatives.

Mustafa was expelled from college for a disciplinary offence, was soon afterwards convicted for evading call-up for military service, then convicted a second time for not appearing for military training. In camp he refused to work, 'behaved provocatively and committed violations of discipline. This was his third crime, and it brought a new trial'. Regaining his freedom in 1977 after four convictions and eight years of camp 'in total', Dzhemilev was totally indifferent to the numerous warnings he received to register his address and find employment. And after all,

> in accordance with the law, housing is allocated to such people (sic! — *Chronicle*) and they are placed under administrative surveillance. The task is to help them on to the right tracks. And so, in the hope that Mustafa would come to his senses, the District Procuracy extended the surveillance for another six months.
>
> And then one more time, but nothing had an effect on Mustafa, who unceasingly continued to violate the rules of administrative surveillance, did not work and lived without registering an address.

Dzhemilev had submitted a statement to the court, in which

> he writes that they are not dealing with him ... legally! The Judges carefully considered even these laughable arguments. They painstakingly tested the soundness of every word spoken by the witnesses, every letter in the documents of the case. And they fixed 'a punishment lower than the lowest limit'.

But Mustafa was not content with this and sent in 'an appeal: he said that this exceptionally light sentence was too hard for him'. Kruzhilin then criticizes the court:

> He was again not brought to justice for parasitism and breaking the residence regulations. The Judges did not concern themselves with the source of Mustafa Dzhemilev's money, which he obviously came by dishonestly.

* * *

A letter from Asan Dzhemilev to the editor of the newspaper (a reply to this article) was circulated in samizdat (10 pages).

A. Dzhemilev discusses his brother's participation in the Crimean Tatar movement and presents the real reasons for his four convictions. For example, Kruzhilin was silent on the subject of Mustafa's conviction to three years' camp for 'the circulation of deliberate fabrications ... ' in 1969, and he called the trial in 1976 on the same charge (*Chronicle* 40) a trial for violating camp discipline. A. Dzhemilev discusses in detail the course of events regarding the most recent conviction and the fact that the court took no note of the evidence of Mustafa's innocence. Kruzhilin lied in saying that he had talked to relatives.

Trials of Adventists

The Trial of Shelkov, Lepshin, Spalin, Furlet and Maslov

On 12 March the Tashkent Regional Court, after a break of one-and-a-half months (*Chronicle* 52), resumed hearing the case of V. A. Shelkov (born 1895), head of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists (A C T F S D A) and his fellow-believers A. A. Spalin (born 1935), I. S. Lepshin (1933), S. I. Maslov

(1920) and S. P. Furlet (1924). The judge was N. S. Artemov, the prosecutor was V. I. Baimeyev, and the defence counsels were V. G. Spodik, E. D. Trach and V. A. Popik.

In answer to a question from the presiding judge as to whether he had confidence in the court, Shelkov replied that he trusted the court provisionally, but that if the court showed atheist bias, he would challenge it. Artemov demanded a yes or no answer and objected to Shelkov's words being placed on the record. However, defence counsel Spodik, referring to the appropriate article of the Code of Criminal Procedure, declared that everything that happened in the courtroom should be set down in the record, word for word and in full, and that any actions contradicting this statute would be regarded by the defence as a gross violation of the law. He added that the defence was making its own record and that any distortions or omissions in the court record would be documented and appealed against. Both the defence counsel's statement and Shelkov's reply were included in the record.

At the start of the court hearing Spalin and Lepshin reiterated their refusal to have defence counsels, but Spalin asked the court to allow him to receive legal aid from lawyer Trach. The judge replied 'There is no provision in law for such a half-way decision'. Trach then explained that according to the Code of Criminal Procedure, the defendant had the right to legal consultation, which did not bind him to engage a defence counsel. Spalin's request, supported by Trach, was upheld.

The indictment was then read out. According to this document, Shelkov faced the following charges:

> that, being a Seventh-Day Adventist, after the schism in the 1920s he joined the reactionary Adventist trend, which did not recognize the law on religious cults, calling itself the 'reformist' or 'true remnant' of the All-Union Church of Seventh-Day Adventists (A C T F S D A).
>
> Under the guise of preaching the religious doctrines of the Adventists, he incited citizens to refuse to participate in public life and fulfil their civic duties. He has three times been brought to trial and sentenced for his illegal activities. In the post-war period, from 1954 onwards, after he had served one sentence, Shelkov in fact became one of the leaders of the illegal 'Reformed Adventist' sect, giving himself the title of Chairman of the All-Union Church of T F S D A, and unlawfully founded in this country a far-flung, highly conspiratorial organization with its own press, the 'True Witness'. The literature issued by this publishing house was produced on printing-presses, duplicators and typewriters. On 22 August 1978 a printing-press, together with a large quantity of type, was discovered in the town of Pyatigorsk: it had been used to print literature confiscated during searches in the present case. The sect is living on the means of the believers, from whom two-tenths, ie 20%, of each member's salary is collected.
>
> Shelkov set up the structure of this illegal organization, the lowest level of which (according to Part 3 of *The Basis of Church Order*) is the congregation, led by a presbyter. A number of united congregations make up an association. The association is headed by a chairman. The associations combine to make up Unions, which, taken together, constitute the All-Union Church headed by Chairman V. A. Shelkov.
>
> From the materials taken during a search at the home of his closest colleague, Sergei Ivanovich Maslov, it is obvious that the territory of the U S S R had been roughly divided into the Western, Central and Caucasian Unions. The Western Union is made up of the Kiev, Vinnitsa, Bukovina, Odessa and Baltic associations. The Central Union includes the Voronezh, East-Ukrainian, Donbass and Urals associations. The Caucasian Union is made up of the West-Caucasian, North-Caucasian and Kuban associations.
>
> As the head of this far-flung and deeply conspiratorial organization, Shelkov came to a criminal agreement with his associates A. A. Spalin, I. S. Lepshin, Maslov and other sect leaders whom the investigation did not discover; together with them, over the last ten years and especially actively in recent years, he prepared, reproduced and disseminated works which contained deliberately false fabrications slandering the Soviet political and social system.
>
> These fabrications were mainly concerned with baselessly asserting that in the U S S R there is no freedom of conscience, no religious liberty for believers, that the state organs repress people for 'purely religious convictions'. In the course of their illegal activities, Shelkov and his associates joined with the illegal Baptist sect and the so-called 'dissenters', people such as Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, Orlov, Ginzburg, Khodorovich, Grigorenko and others. The works of the above-mentioned persons were widely used by Shelkov for slanderous ends. Such works by Solzhenitsyn as *The Gulag Archipelago, The Calf Butted the Oak*, and *Labour Camps of Death* (part of the *Gulag Archipelago*), Krasnov's 'Light in the Little Window', Khodorovich's 'I Support you', the *Chronicle of Current Events* (published in samizdat form), the *Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives*, and letters by Orlov, Ginzburg, Grigorenko and others, which contained fabrications slandering the Soviet political and social system, were reproduced in typewritten form and disseminated on the territory of the U S S R ...
>
> Making use of all connections and possibilities, Shelkov systema-

tically sent abroad information containing deliberately false fabrications which slandered the Soviet political and social system, and by means of this knowingly false information he intended to mislead world opinion about the true position of believers in the USSR.

For example, on 18 February 1977 a letter from Shelkov addressed to J. Carter, President of the USA, was produced in printed form in large numbers. In this letter, which was distributed in the USSR as well as abroad, Shelkov — calling himself the Chairman of the All-Union Church of TFSDA and including his own photograph and a list of works which he wrote or contributed to — called on the US President to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR by using economic, political and diplomatic pressure to defend the rights of believers against the 'persecution by state atheism' allegedly going on in the USSR.

On 23 February 1977 Shelkov published a second letter addressed to President Carter of the USA, asking the President to use his influence and authority decisively to defend A. I. Ginzburg, Yu. F. Orlov and 'other fighters for universal human rights and freedoms'.

In June 1977 Shelkov and Spalin drew up and reproduced in typewritten form a document entitled 'An Appeal to the Representatives of States Participating in the Belgrade Conference', which includes a call to the participants in the conference to interefere in the internal affairs of the USSR on the pretext of the alleged absence of freedom of conscience in the Soviet Union. This document was distributed within the country as well as abroad.

By interpreting the Decree on the Separation of Church and State in a manner favourable to himself, and declaring the decree to mean that the State had no right to interfere with any religious denomination, Shelkov was trying to show that his activities should be subject to no state controls. He and his accomplices were doing all they could to blacken the existing system in the USSR, alleging it was anti-Leninist. These ideas permeate all the so-called works of Shelkov.

It is stated in the Indictment that 110 works by Shelkov were confiscated during the search.

The knowingly false fabrications were disseminated not only by passing round literature, but by means of tape-recordings. With this aim, the sect used its income to buy a great deal of portable recording and playing equipment; Soviet 'Vesna 306' tape-recorders, Japanese tape-decks, and standard cassettes. With the help of this equipment, recordings were made of foreign radio broadcasts to

the Soviet Union in Russian. The radio broadcasts included false fabrications concerning the internal and foreign policy of the USSR.

In all, during the searches at the homes of Shelkov, Maslov, Furlet, [Alexander] Onishchenko and others in Tashkent, 12 tape-recorders and 605 cassettes with various recordings of the abovementioned kind were confiscated.

Shelkov and other leaders of the sect systematically collected facts about citizens being brought to justice, allegedly for their religious convictions, and deliberately depicted them in a false light, with the aim of misleading public opinion within the country and abroad. Reports concerning the alleged repression of religious citizens were sent abroad by Shelkov without the knowledge of these citizens and against their wishes ...

Under Shelkov's leadership, with the aim of creating favourable conditions for the illegal activities of the sect and making its rapid exposure impossible, active members of the sect bought houses in the names of other people in various towns, where carefully concealed hiding-places were constructed and stores of paper, recording tapes, typewriter ribbons and so on were established.

As leader of the illegal 'reformist Seventh-Day Adventist' sect, Shelkov systematically incited citizens not to fulfil their civic obligations. From 1967 to the day of his arrest, 14 March 1978, he forbade both adults and children to take part in public life, telling them to ignore and disobey the laws of the USSR concerning religious associations.

For example, in the articles which make up his book *Legislation on Religious Cults*, Shelkov peremptorily asserts that this legislation is reactionary and anti-Leninist. He states the same in the abovementioned appeal to President J. Carter. In refusing to register his sect with the state authorities, Shelkov refers to the fact that the state authorities do not have the right to interfere in the affairs of believers, as the Church in this country is separated from the State. This demagogic declaration was put into practice by Shelkov in all his activities.

In the pamphlet *Defence of the Fourth Commandment* (Remember the Sabbath Day), Shelkov calls on believers not to go to work on Saturdays; pupils are told not to visit educational establishments on that day.

In his book *The Childhood of Jesus* (in the series 'Biblical Talks') Shelkov insistently advises parents to check upon their children and 'to expel all that has been sown in their hearts and consciousnessness by the school and to neutralize in good time the whole negative, amoral influence of the state school.'

In his book *Pure and Impure Religion*, on page 122, he refers

to the allegedly forced enrolment of believers' children into the Pioneers, to forced wearing of the Pioneer necktie, forced visits to atheist films and plays, and so on, ie Shelkov asserts in the two above-mentioned books that the aim of the state — the education of young people in the spirit of communist morality — should not apply to children of believers. He calls on parents not to allow their children to enrol in the Octobrist, Pioneer and Young Communist organizations.

Insisting that the Sixth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill', be strictly obeyed, Shelkov firmly instructs members of the sect to serve only in the Army's construction battalions, and not to take the military oath or take up arms in defence of the Motherland. In every concrete case where conscripts, not only from the Adventists but also from any other illegal sect, refuse to take the military oath or serve in the armed forces, and are therefore brought to justice, Shelkov distorts the facts and brings them to the notice of large numbers of citizens, organizations and institutions in this country, and also sends these falsifications abroad. For example, he depicted in such a false light the so-called case of Miller, who refused to serve in the Army and was sentenced in 1977 by the People's Court of Dzhambul under article 66, part 1 of the Kazakh SSR Criminal Code ...

Obviously aware of the illegality of his actions, Shelkov asked not to have to give evidence to the investigation authorities. His book *The Foundations of the Truth of the TFSDA Faith* includes a call not to answer questions from officials, and, if they insist, he advocates 'holy silence'. The same proposals are included in the article 'How to Behave before the Ill-intentioned', discovered in the house where Shelkov had been hiding, No. 56 ul. Soyuznaya. Not content with his own instructions to sect members, Shelkov armed himself with a pamphlet by somebody called Volpin-Esenin, entitled *To those Faced with Interrogation*, which put forward the same theses as Shelkov, in more detail, and was distributed by Shelkov.

The entire activity of Shelkov, Spalin, Lepshin and the others was in open violation of the 'Legislation on Religious Cults'. For example, they organized children's meetings, which were often recorded on tape for later dissemination. Altogether nine tape-recordings of children's meetings were confiscated ...

Spalin and Lepshin were charged with participating in the activities of the 'True Witness' publishing house, writing (together with Shelkov), editing and publishing the letters to Carter and other works listed in the indictment in the section on Shelkov (about 100 titles). In particular, it is asserted that

In 1977, at the time when the whole people was considering the proposed new Constitution of the USSR, Shelkov, Spalin and Lepshin took the lead in composing letters disguised as suggestions to the Constitution Commission, entitled 'The Rights of Man: Myth and Reality', 'Amendment and Correction are Needed', 'Our Opinion of the Proposed New Constitution', 'Some Observations on the Proposed New Constitution', 'On the Tendentious Article 52 Concerning Freedom of Conscience', 'A Discussion of Article 52, on Freedom of Conscience, in the Draft Constitution', 'On Articles 50 and 51', 'Suggestions Concerning Articles 34 and 36', Concerning Article 39, on the Use of Rights and Freedoms', 'Notes on Article 59, Concerning Rights and Obligations', and others — 13 texts in all.

The above-mentioned letters, most of which were written by Spalin, contain knowingly false fabrications slandering the Soviet political and social system. In particular, it is stated that the legislation on religious cults and on national education, as well as the proposed new Constitution, are discriminatory and repressive towards believers, that the equality of citizens is not declared in the Constitution, and that the draft Constitution does not guarantee freedom of speech, of the press or of association.

These letters, allegedly written by religious citizens, were sent in the name of non-existent persons, in large numbers, to various organizations and institutions of the USSR, although they were addressed to the Constitution Commission. The texts of the letters were disseminated among citizens and later published in separate collections.

The indictment states that Spalin and Lepshin

> demand that members of the sect should not carry out Soviet laws, and should refuse to give evidence to investigation authorities.

They also incite them

> not to fulfil their civic duties, forbidding adults and children to take part in public life and activity, and to ignore and disobey Soviet legislation on military service and religious associations.

Spalin, for example, had worked out

> a model declaration to the military conscription board containing reasons for refusal to take the military oath and serve in the Army 'bearing arms'.

On the basis of the above evidence, Shelkov, Spalin and Lepshin were charged under articles 191-4 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) and article 147-1,

part 1, of the Uzbek S S R Criminal Code ('Violating the person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites').

Lepshin, in addition, was charged with 'avoiding a routine call-up for active military service'. According to the indictment, in 1972, when he was undergoing a medical examination at the Tersky Military Call-up Board in the Kabardino-Balkar A S S R, he simulated an eye infection.

Maslov and Furlet were charged under article 191-4 of the Uzbek S S R Criminal Code.

> In the house which Maslov owned as a private individual — number 8, Elektrotekhnicheskaya ulitsa — in Tashkent, hiding-places had been constructed with the special aim of storing literature of the above-mentioned kind, so that it could later be distributed; also, sect members who were living outside the law could hide there ...
>
> Also, in the house that Furlet owned as a private individual — number 6, Kyzyl-Arbatskaya ulitsa, alley 2 — in Tashkent, hiding-places had been constructed with the special aim of storing literature of the above-mentioned kind so that it could later be distributed. In addition, in Furlet's house a portable 'Erika' typewriter was discovered and confiscated: it had been used to type out a series of works which contained knowingly false fabrications which slander the Soviet political and social system.

Maslov admitted his guilt in part; the other defendants pleaded not guilty. Shelkov and Spalin declared that in accordance with article 259 of the Uzbek S S R Criminal Procedural Code (= article 278 of the R S F S R Code), they wished to give reasons for their plea of not guilty. They achieved this only after lengthy disputes with the Judge, and with the active support of defence counsel. Nevertheless, neither Shelkov nor Spalin was allowed to finish his explanations.

The questioning of the accused began on 13 March. S. P. Furlet declared that the charges against her were false. She stated that she did not know how the objects discovered during the search got into her house and added that she had refused to sign the search record, as she had not been permitted to watch the proceedings.

Maslov admitted his guilt only concerning the storage of literature and a typewriter.

Shelkov and Spalin asked Maslov questions on this point, but they were all disallowed by the court.

Spalin said that Maslov denied the literature confiscated from him was libellous, but admitted that he was guilty of storing it. The prosecutor was formulating his questions to make it sound as if, in admitting that he was guilty of storing literature, he had admitted it was necessarily libellous.

Lepshin declared that the charges against him were unproven, that

not one real violation of the law by himself, Lepshin, had been demonstrated. He remarked that during the pre-trial investigation he had been questioned only once, about the believers' letter to the Constitution Commission. He had rewritten this text with his own hand and had sent it to the addressee, but he was not the author. In any case, Lepshin added, such a letter could not be regarded as libellous. Referring to the charge of avoiding military service, Lepshin described his illness and stated that in 1953 he had been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for refusing to bear arms. (The court had not known of Lepshin's previous conviction. Lepshin explained that no one had asked him about it.) In 1972 Lepshin was already much over the age of military conscription (he was then 39), so he could not in any way be sentenced under this article.

Both Lepshin and Spalin insisted that the literature published by 'True Witness', which figured in the charges against them, did not contain any knowingly false fabrications. It was of a purely religious nature or was in defence of people's rights. Spalin defended the position of the All-Union Church of T F S D A concerning registration of communities and observance of the commandments 'Remember the Sabbath Day' and 'Thou shalt not kill'. He stated that the legislation of 1929 was unlawful, as it did not follow from the Leninist Decree of 1918, but contradicted it.

Shelkov gave evidence to the court on 15 March. Quoting excerpts from the indictment, he tried to reply to them in succession. However, the Judge constantly interrupted him, forbidding him to go into the history of Adventism (described in the indictment as a sect which in the first years of Soviet power was hostile to the Soviet government; Shelkov could not agree with this), and finally telling Shelkov to end his explanations and start answering questions put by the prosecutor. Shelkov stated that the Judge was biased and asked that his challenge be placed on the record. He managed to achieve this with the aid of defence counsel Spodik. The court, after considering Shelkov's challenge, turned it down. In protest, Shelkov refused to answer the questions of the Judge and prosecutor.

The indictment mentioned 18 witnesses who were to be summoned by the court. Among them were a number of people who had been interrogated at the pre-trial investigation (in order to refute the Appeal to the Belgrade Conference) in the following way: those who had lost their jobs were asked if they had been deprived of their parental rights, while those who had been deprived of parental rights were asked if they had lost their jobs. In court none of them was questioned.

(Over 80 Adventists — all mentioned in the Appeal — sent written reports about the repressions they had suffered to Judge Artemov and the Defence Lawyers' Association. All of them wrote that they

were prepared to present their reports personally in court. None of them was allowed in. Their evidence was not taken into account).

On 6 March, Fyodor Stotsky from the town of Elsk, Gomel Region, was shown a summons to the Tashkent Court by two officials from the Procuracy. He was not given a copy, but was asked to write that he had no time to attend the trial. He refused. He was still not given a copy of the summons.

Polina Trofimovna Neverova, a resident of Krivoi Rog, was informed on 8 March by K G B official Chernyayev, who came to her house, that she had been summoned to the court as a witness. Not letting the summons out of his hands, he told her to write that she could not attend the trial for family reasons. Neverova said that she wanted to go to the trial and give evidence in favour of Shelkov. Chernyayev began to threaten her. He did not give her the summons. At work Neverova was refused time off, either as holiday or at her own expense. A watch was set up to see that she went to work every day. Nevertheless Neverova tried to fly to Tashkent — but at the airport they refused to sell her a ticket. At the trial, Chernyayev's report that Neverova had refused to attend was read out.

Four witnesses were questioned in court. The witness Nedogreyeva, who had attended meetings of the sect, stated that the sect leaders kept telling believers that the government of the U S S R was persecuting them. She also supported the charges against Furlet.

Nedogreyeva's 15-year-old son Volodya Vorontsov testified that he had attended prayer-meetings of the sect where both adults and children were present. Special trips out of town were organized for the children.

The chief prosecution witness was V. V. Illarionov. Illarionov is a non-believer, but as the son of active sect member [Mikhail] Murkin,[4] he knows his father's fellow-believers well. In 1976 Illarionov was sentenced to 11 years in strict-regime labour camps for stealing state property by means of fraud and forging documents.

Illarionov repeated those accusations against the accused and the sect as a whole which were the least substantiated by the evidence. In particular, he stated that Spalin and Lepshin were close aides of Shelkov and that they had helped to prepare libellous literature. Spalin was accepted as a member of the sect by Shelkov and sent to the Northern Caucasus, where he led a youth wing of the All-Union Church of T S D A; later he began to edit and revise Shelkov's works. Illarionov described Furlet as 'a junior Bible worker' who played an active role in the sect, transporting libellous literature all over the country. He declared that the sect had bought houses and registered them in the names of people especially dedicated to Shelkov. He also stated that the children of believing Adventists could join the Pioneers or the Komsomol only against the wishes of their parents, and that if a conscript from among the Adventists wanted to join the Army, he would not be physically prevented from doing so, but would be condemned by everyone.

A declaration by 155 members of the All-Union Church of T F S D A was sent to the court, stating that Shelkov's activities had never been accompanied by violation of believers' rights, and that he had supported those who had suffered from persecution by the authorities. In this declaration the Adventists also state that the events mentioned in Shelkov's letter to the Belgrade Conference did indeed take place. The declaration ends with a plea that it be read out during the court proceedings. It was not read, nor were any of the signatories summoned as witnesses.

The prosecutor upheld the charges in full in his speech. The defence position was as follows: at the time when he was disseminating his works Shelkov did not know they contained false information. He was sure that the persecution of believers was really a fact. The actions with which he was charged under article 147-1 of the Uzbek S S R Criminal Code were directed only at believers, so there was no basis for a criminal charge.

Referring to the evidence of Illarionov, defence counsel Spodik said that it was subjective and emotional, full of allegories and images, but did not prove anything with regard to the charges. He then added that all the expressions used by the state prosecutor directly contradicted the law and the logic of the evidence. How could a person be charged with forcing others to do something, if there was no one who had been forced to do anything? How could a person's guilt be talked of if there was no proof of his guilt? And the lack of proof involved certain legal consequences — the case must be abandoned for lack of evidence.

All the defence counsels asked that the cases against their clients be abandoned for lack of evidence. The accused, in their final statements, demanded their acquittal for lack of material or any other evidence of a crime. The two sides summed up their cases on 21 March. The court conferred until the 23rd.

Shelkov and Lepshin were sentenced to five years in strict-regime labour camps and confiscation of property. Spalin was sentenced to five years in ordinary-regime labour camps and confiscation of property. Furlet was sentenced to three years in ordinary-regime camps. Maslov received a suspended sentence of two years. The houses belonging to Furlet and Maslov, as well as the typewriters, tape-recordings and literature confiscated during searches, were confiscated on the orders of the court as instruments of crime.

* * *

Throughout the trial only a few relatives of the accused were allowed

into the courtroom. The other places in the courtroom were occupied by the traditional 'public', also by officials of the K G B and the Procuracy in charge of the case.

On 14 March, thinking that the sentence would be announced that day, Academician Sakharov came to Tashkent once more (see 'The Trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev'). He was not allowed into the courtroom and was told there were no seats free. After the recess, one of the relatives who had been allowed in asked that Sakharov be allowed in, in place of himself. As a result this relative was not allowed back into court himself after the recess.

Later, a middle-aged Armenian came out of the courtroom and engaged Sakharov in conversation. He presented himself as a relative of the people who died in the Moscow Metro explosion in 1977. Starting to shout, he accused Sakharov of responsibility for people's deaths, saying he had blood on his hands and was defending murderers. He threatened Sakharov, saying that if the latter did not leave Tashkent, he and his relatives would not be responsible for their actions. After uttering these threats, he immediately calmed down and went away.

On 28 March Sakharov appealed to Pope John-Paul II, to the heads of the states which signed the Helsinki Agreement, and to the world public, calling on them to assist in obtaining a review of the sentence and the quick release of all the accused.

> This sentence — the third to be passed in Tashkent in recent months — is yet another shameful page in the 60-year history of the fanatical persecution of religion in the U S S R. While proclaiming freedom of conscience and separation of Church and State, the totalitarian system in fact does not allow any freedom of religion or propagation of it, any independence from Party-State control. The sentence passed on 84-year-old Vladimir Andreyevich Shelkov is an example of especial cruelty violating all norms of humanity.

On 9 April the All-Union Church of T F S D A appealed to the Supreme Court of the Uzbek S S R, the Procurator of the Uzbek S S R and the Chairman of the Uzbek S S R K G B. The Adventists write that Shelkov and the others were not proved guilty, either at the pre-trial investigation or in court.

> We categorically repudiate the invented, false charges made against these persons, whose lives are sufficiently well known to us.

The declaration describes how the court did not examine the facts reported in the letter to the participants in the Belgrade Conference, how defence witnesses were not summoned to court, and how written evidence by believers whose persecution had been reported by Shelkov was not attached to the case files or taken into account.

Members of the All-Union Church of T F S D A began demanding a re-examination of the case.

On 13 May (12 May in Moscow) the newspaper *Izvestia* published an article by Kassis and Mikhailov: 'What was Going on in the Apostle's Bunker'. On 27 and 28 May an article by Illarionov, 'A Fanatic in the Role of an Apostle', appeared in the newspapers *Pravda Vostoka* and *Vecherny Tashkent* [*Evening Tashkent*].

It is known that a number of refutations of the articles in *Izvestia* and the Tashkent newspapers have been written by the T F S D A Church. The Adventists state who Illarionov is, and report that he is already free and living at home in Tashkent.

On 16 May the Christian and Catholic Committees for the Defence of Believers' Rights put out a joint press statement about the article 'What was Going on in the Apostle's Bunker'. They write that the article in *Izvestia* is composed on classical lines with regard to believers: the accused were pursuing political, not religious ends; Shelkov was motivated by greed; he was working with 'our enemies'; he was the son of a rich peasant; he helped the German occupying forces; and so on.

On 2 July the Supreme Court of the Uzbek S S R heard the appeal by the defendants and their lawyers. The sentences passed on Shelkov,[5] Spalin, Maslov and Furlet remained unchanged. The judgment regarding one of the charges against Lepshin — 'avoidance of military service' — was revoked. With regard to the other charges against Lepshin, the sentence remained unchanged.[6]

The End of the Raksha Case

Pyotr Raksha was arrested in Tashkent on 26 April 1978. On 7 July the Tashkent City Court sentenced him to six years' hard-regime under article 192-1, part 2, of the Uzbek S S R Criminal Code ('Resisting a police-officer or people's vigilante') and article 194-1 ('Attempt on the life of a police-officer or people's vigilante'). However, the falsity of the charges was so obvious (at the time of the 'attack on a Tashkent police-officer' Raksha was in Kiev Region), that on 5 October the Supreme Court of the Uzbek S S R repealed the sentence at an appeal hearing and sent Raksha's case back for fresh investigation. Raksha remained in detention (*Chronicle* 51).

Between 20 and 29 March 1979 the Tashkent City Court sentenced Raksha under the same articles as Shelkov — articles 191-4 and 147-1, part 2 of the Uzbek S S R Criminal Code — to three years' imprisonment. The chief witness at the trial was once again Illarionov.

A Case about Bribery

On 2 February in Tashkent a trial of a group of Adventists, which

had been going on for almost a month, came to an end. **S. F. Bakholdin** and **T. I. Krivoberets** were charged with having given bribes to a hostel manager, **G. P. Astashova** (also an Adventist) and passport registrar **V. S. Yutsevich,** to obtain residence registration for their fellow-believers.

Bakholdin and Krivoberets were arrested in April 1978 (*Chronicle* 49). Soon after, a series of searches 'in connection with the Bakholdin Case' took place all over Uzbekistan. Religious literature was confiscated.

In court, evidence against Bakholdin, Krivoberets and Astashova was given only by the accused, Yutsevich, and the witness Illarionov (see above). The remaining witnesses spoke about the falsification of their testimony at the pre-trial investigation. Astashova's defence counsel showed Judge Dubrovin the forgery in the record of her interrogation (the Judge was surprised: 'The investigator was careless! ').

Nevertheless the court found all the defendants guilty and sentenced them as follows:

— Bakholdin to seven years in hard-regime camps and three years' exile;

— Krivoberets to eight years in strict-regime camps and five years' exile;

— Astashova to eight years in ordinary-regime camps and confiscation of property;

— Yutsevich to three years' imprisonment (suspended).[7]

The Trial of Skornyakov

From 19 to 23 March the trial of Baptist Ya. G. Skornyakov took place in Dzhambul; he was charged under article 170-1 of the Kazakh S S R Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code), article 130, part 2 ('Violation of the laws separating Church from State and school from Church'), article 200-1, part 1 ('Violation of the person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites'; part 1 of this article provides for heavier penalties than part 2 — *Chron.*) and article 164, part 1 ('Engaging in a forbidden trade'). Skornyakov was arrested on 3 July 1978 (*Chronicle* 51).

The judge was E P. Pomerantseva, the state prosecutor was I. G. Gershenzon (he was also the investigator in the case — in direct violation of the Criminal Procedural Code); and defence counsel was Z. I. Palayeva.

On the first day of the trial Skornyakov renounced his defence counsel, but the court, in violation of the Criminal Procedural Code, ignored his wishes. Skornyakov asked that additional defence witnesses

be called — the court refused. Then Skornyakov refused to give evidence or answer questions, and also declared a hunger-strike.

Because of the situation thus created, the court read out evidence given by Skornyakov at the pre-trial investigation, and then began to question the witnesses. The witnesses asserted that in schools the children of believers were not persecuted and that at Baptist meetings they were called on to disobey Soviet laws.

On the second day of the trial a tape-recording was played of Skornyakov's interrogation at the pre-trial investigation; it had been made with his consent. During this interrogation Skornyakov had declared that he had done nothing that could be construed as unlawful. After the tape had been heard Skornyakov confirmed all that he had said, and put a question to witness Vershinina, the headmistress of a school: who had ordered a list to be made of religious parents and a roster to be set up of teachers who were to attend prayer-meetings? Vershinina refused to answer this questions and asked the court to give the defendant the heaviest sentence possible. Skornyakov asked the witness if she was suggesting that he should be shot. She replied that, if it lay in her power, she would shoot him. After this, Skornyakov again ceased taking part in the questioning of witnesses.

On the third day of the trial, witness V. Kolosov refused to answer any questions until the court acceded to Skornyakov's requests. The court, after a consultation, decided to recommend that charges should be brought against the witness for refusing to give evidence. Then three other witnesses refused to give evidence for the same reason.

Skornyakov said that he did not insist on additional witnesses being summoned, but asked that a few witnesses be invited to the trial from other towns and that two witnesses sitting in the courtroom be heard. In addition, he asked for an opportunity to speak to his lawyer for five minutes. The court satisfied the defendant's requests in part (by calling the witnesses who were in the courtroom and allowing a consultation with defence counsel). Skornyakov declared that, as his requests had been satisfied, he would participate in the trial and end his hunger-strike.

The witnesses summoned from the courtroom, T. Tsibikova and L. Esmayeva, did not support the prosecution's allegations that Skornyakov had called on young people not to obey the authorities.

Witness Vorobyov, in spite of constant attempts by the Judge to interrupt him, insisted on his right to recount what he knew about the case. He specifically refuted every one of the charges.

On the fourth day of the trial the court began to hear the evidence of expert witness Vasilev, who described all the literature confiscated from Skornyakov's house as slanderous. However, when asked which particular works were confiscated from the accused, the expert did not

reply. Neither did he reply when asked if the Bible contained slanders, and in which book there was an incitement against taking the military oath. As soon as it became clear that the expert was finding it difficult to give a reply, the Judge overruled the question.

The state prosecutor asked for the maximum penalty (three years) under articles 170-1 and 130, for a four-year sentence under article 200-1 and for six months' corrective labour under article 164.

On the final day of the trial the public prosecutor asked the court to award the defendant the maximum penalty under each of the articles mentioned. The defence counsel, while agreeing that the accused had committed unlawful acts, asked the court not to punish him too severely. In his final speech, which lasted for almost two hours, Skornyakov explained the essence of his religious activities to the court in detail, and, while not denying the facts in the charges, categorically denied that they constituted crimes in any way.

The court sentenced Skornyakov to the maximum penalty possible: five years in strict-regime labour camps (the maximum penalty under article 200-1, part 1) and confiscation of property. On 5 April Skornyakov appealed against the sentence.

The Trial of Zisels

On 8 December 1978 criminal proceedings were instituted against Iosif Samoilovich Zisels (b. 1946); on the same day as he was arrested (*Chronicle* 52). The indictment stated that materials from the criminal case against D. I. Margulis (*Chronicles* 51, 52) and G. M. Gurfel, separated out on 21 November 1978, served as the grounds for instituting criminal proceedings.

From 3-5 April the Chernovtsy Regional Court, presided over by its Deputy Chairman, V. S. Ishchenko, examined the case against Zisels, who was charged under article 187-1 of the Urainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). The prosecutor was First Assistant Procurator of the Chernovtsy Region, Kotsyurba, the defence lawyer was N. Ya. Nemirinskaya from Voroshilovgrad (who defended B. Dandaron in 1972 — *Chronicle* 28; V. Khaustov and V. Nekipelov in 1974 — *Chronicle* 32; L. Roitburd in 1975 — *Chronicles* 37, 38; V. Igrunov in 1976 — *Chronicle* 40; and V. Rozhdestvov in 1977 — *Chronicles* 47, 48). The trial took place on the premises of the Sadgorsky District People's Court in Chernovtsy. The location of the trial was announced on the morning of 3 April.

On 3 April, apart from the 'special public' only the wife of the accused, Irena Zisels, was allowed into the courtroom; she was ordered beforehand to leave her handbag; during the break the police took her notes away. P. A. Podrabinek (*Chronicle* 48) who had arrived

from Moscow, was escorted to a police station, where he was detained until the evening. He was then taken to the airport and put on a plane back to Moscow, without even being allowed to collect his things. The police 'advised' the brother of the accused, Semyon Zisels, and other friends not to stand near the court building. When they refused to move away, they were taken to the police station, where they were detained until about 3 pm. At the beginning of the trial I. Zisels petitioned for his friends and relatives and, by name, P. A. Podrabinek, to be let into the courtroom. At about 2 pm, after the break, the court acceded to the petition, but the head of the escort, who was sent to implement the court's decision, came back and reported that there was no one in front of the court building. On 4 April Iosif Zisels's mother and his brother Semyon were allowed into the courtroom as well, and on 5 April — Iosif's mother-in-law.

K G B officials under the command of Lt.-Col. Vishnevsky were controlling everything going on in and around the courtroom. They were always in the room where the Judge rested during the breaks, and gave orders on whom to allow into the courtroom, whom to take to the police station, etc.

At the beginning of the trial I. Zisels objected to the composition of the court and to the Procurator, reasoning that because of the structure of our state a court could be composed only of people who completely and fully supported the policies of the party and the state, and that the very fact of his trial showed that several aspects of these policies were in need of serious criticism. To the Judge's question as to what court could decide his case, I. Zisels answered that a case of this type should be under the jurisdiction of an international court of human rights. After 45 minutes' consultation the court overruled his objection.

I. Zisels repeated his petition submitted during the pre-trial investigation to call 580 witnesses and conduct 139 confrontations and examinations to determine the truth of the facts contained in the incriminating documents (listed were people discussed in these documents, and their authors — Solzhenitsyn, Nekipelov, Osipova and others).

Eight witnesses out of the 23 who had been examined at the pre-trial investigation were summoned to appear at the trial. Zisels petitioned for the other 15 witnesses to be called also.

He also petitioned for the examination in court, in the category of material evidence, of several documents confiscated from him during a search on 10 November 1978 (*Chronicle* 51), in particular D. Kharms's collection *The Event* and journals containing the article by A. Belinkov, 'The Poet and Fat Man'. The court rejected all these petitions.

I. Zisels enumerated 29 articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure

which had been completely or partially broken during the pre-trial investigation.

The indictment consisted of the following charges: —

— *The circulation of 'slanderous literature'*: in 1974-5 in Kishinëv he acquainted I. Shenker with A. Amalrik's article 'Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?', with Solzhenitsyn's letter to the Fourth Congress of Soviet Writers, and with his Nobel speech; in 1976 he gave V. Kruglov and Semyon Zisels *The Gulag Archipelago* to read; in 1976 he gave R. Blitt the collection *From Under the Rubble.*

— *The preparation and possession with the purpose of circulation* of two 'handwritten texts' (a synopsis of Solzhenitsyn's article 'Live Not by Lies' and a list of questions on human rights) and one 'typewritten text' (an appeal in defence of A. Podrabinek; under this appeal Zisels had added to the typewritten signatures 16 names in his own handwriting).

— *Possession with the purpose of circulation* of the collection *Live Not by Lies* (*Chronicle* 32), two issues of *Oprichnina-78 Continues* (*Chronicle* 51), two bulletins of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, A. Solzhenitsyn's *This is How We Live*, brochures entitled *Aid to Political Prisoners in the U S S R* (*Chronicle* 46), a letter by A. Belinkov, and appeals in defence of Orlov, Shcharansky and Ginzburg.

— *The circulation of oral 'slander'*: in 1976 and 1978 I. Zisels said to witness I. Ostapenko that human rights are violated in the Soviet Union, people do not have the right freely to live anywhere, and Jews do not have opportunities for higher education; in March 1978 Zisels told N. Sakharova in Moscow that the authorities distort the facts regarding the development of socialist society and forcibly place healthy people in psychiatric hospitals for political reasons.

— *The collection of tendentious information* (a card index on 77 prisoners in special psychiatric hospitals — *Chronicle* 51).

I. Zisels declared that he was not guilty of any of the charges, in so far as there was no slander contained either in the materials confiscated from him or in his utterances.

Zisels refused to answer questions about where and from whom he had obtained any of the documents; when questioned about the purpose of his possessing them he gave a short account of each document and explained that he was interested in their themes; he declined to answer a question on whether he shared the opinions of the authors, as this was a question which concerned his convictions. He neither confirmed nor refuted the evidence of the witnesses and the results of examinations by experts. He refused to answer any question which concerned third parties.

Here is an excerpt from the examination of I. Zisels:

Lawyer Have you come across the sort of facts stated by Solzhenitsyn in *The Gulag Archipelago* anywhere else?
Zisels Yes, I've come across some of these facts from other sources.
L What are these sources? Were they published officially?
Z Yes, they are official sources, namely the books *1941; 22 June* by Nekrich, *A Tale from Experience* by Dyakov, *One Day in The Life of Ivan Denisovich* by Solzhenitsyn, the memoirs of G. Serebryakova and materials from the 20th and 22nd congresses of the C P S U.

On 4 April the witnesses were examined.

N. V. Kruglova confirmed that in 1976 she had become acquainted with the book *The Gulag Archipelago*, which had been brought by her son from I. Zisels. To the Procurator's question: 'In what circumstances did Zisels offer you this book to read?' Kruglova replied, 'No, he didn't offer it me to read. He telephoned and suggested coming to see me with my son. My son came on his own and brought the book'. The first sentence of this reply was not included in the record, in spite of Zisels's objection.

V. Kruglov, too, confirmed that he had borrowed *The Gulag Archipelago* from Zisels in 1976. To the Procurator's question, 'In what circumstances did you take this book?' he replied, 'I noticed it on a table and asked Iosif to lend it to me to read. Iosif only gave me the first part'. The first sentence of this reply was again not included in the record.

R. Blitt confirmed that in 1976 he had borrowed *From Under The Rubble* from I. Zisels. To the Judge's question: 'Did you choose the book yourself or were you offered it?' he replied, 'I chose it myself'. Neither the question nor the answer was included in the record.

I. Shenker declared that he could not remember whether Zisels had shown him Amalrik's article and Solzhenitsyn's letter and speech.

Judge On the record of your interrogation on 29 January 1979 you wrote in your own hand that your words had been noted correctly, and your signature is there.
Shenker The record of 29 January 1979 was compiled by the investigator on the basis of the explanations I had given to the Kishinëv K G B in February 1977. That was the first time in my life that I'd been to the K G B and I was in a terrible state.
J On 29 January, when you wrote an addendum to the record and signed it in your own hand, were you in a normal state?
S I didn't want to contradict the evidence which I'd given to the K G B.
J Witness, do you exclude Zisels from the circle of people who might have acquainted you with this document?
S Yes, I exclude him.

J Why?
S If only because he's my friend.

The Procurator demanded that a criminal case be instituted against Shenker for giving false evidence and that he be arrested in the courtroom.

According to the evidence of I. Ostapenko, a colleague of Zisels, the accused had said to him that it is made difficult in our country for Jews to get higher education and that their attempts to emigrate to Israel meet numerous obstacles.

Judge Witness, what is your relationship to the accused?
Ostapenko After 1976, when I discovered from an article in the regional newspaper what unattractive activities Zisels was engaged in — reading the works of Solzhenitsyn (*Chronicle* 44), I could not respect him.
Lawyer Did Zisels utter any fabrications discrediting our society and state?
Ostapenko No.
Zisels Who was present at our conversation?
Ostapenko Zakharov, Yaremkevich and other people who worked in the accounts department. (The two last questions and answers were not included in the record.)

From the examination of Zakharov (who was examined before Ostapenko):

Judge Were you present during a conversation between Ostapenko and Zisels about human rights being violated in our country?
Zakharov No, I don't remember.
Lawyer Have you ever seen Zisels in the company of Ostapenko and Yaremkevich?
Zakharov No, I haven't.

(These two questions and answers were not included in the record.)

After the examination of Ostapenko, Zisels stated that his testimony was false, that it was disproved by the testimony of Zakharov and Yaremkevich given at the pre-trial investigation and by Zakharov's testimony at the trial (Zisels's petition to summon Yaremkevich to appear in court was turned down — see above).

N. Sakharova's mother sent the court a telegram saying that her daughter was in hospital. I. Zisels and his counsel requested that the session be postponed until her arrival, or that her evidence be disregarded. In addition to this, Zisels announced that N. Sakharova had not been to Chernovtsy to give evidence to the pre-trial investigation and that her signature on the interrogation record of 21 December was a forgery. The court rejected the petition of Zisels and counsel

and decided to read N. Sakharova's evidence from the record in question. According to this evidence N. Sakharova understood, from a conversation with I. Zisels, that 'in our country, a few historical facts have been consciously distorted by the official organs and that people who try to tell the truth are subjected to compulsory treatment in psychiatric hospitals'.

The last witness to be called, Semyon Zisels, not having received a summons, was in the courtroom during the examination of the accused and other witnesses. The court, therefore, decided not to use his evidence. At the pre-trial investigation S. Zisels had refused to give evidence and did not confirm the explanation which he had given in 1976 about *The Gulag Archipelago* (*Chronicle* 52).
From the Procurator's speech:

The accused Zisels believed bourgeois propaganda; he believed that in the Soviet Union elementary democratic rights and freedoms are violated.

The Procurator repeated all the accusations made in the indictment and demanded three years' hard-regime camps for Zisels.

In her speech defence counsel pointed out that not the slightest effort had been made, either at the pre-trial investigation or at the trial, to demonstrate falsity in the facts contained in the documents incriminating the accused; at the same time the petitions of the accused, aimed at establishing their truthfulness, had been turned down. Thus Zisels' guilt was not proven.

It occurs to me to doubt whether either the investigator or the Procurator is acquainted with the text of article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. Possession of books and documents is not mentioned, you know, in article 187-1.

At the beginning of his prosecuting speech, the Procurator refuted his own accusation in his own words. He said that through reading anti-Soviet literature Zisels believed that human rights were being violated in the Soviet Union. Where then is the deliberate fabrication?

Going through each of the episodes and pieces of evidence incriminating Zisels one by one, the lawyer showed that they were either not proven or not incriminating, and asked the court to acquit the accused.

From I. Zisels' final speech:

I maintain that the investigators and the court had decided my guilt before even beginning to examine the essence of the case. The Procurator in his prosecuting speech substituted for evidence of

my guilt a long story about the great successes of our country and the subterfuge of the imperialists ...

Today the court was again faced with books. The history of mankind can be seen as the history of man's and society's attitude to the book. But if there are somewhat varying attitudes to the books that are being destroyed, the attitude to authors is always and everywhere the same. They are either declared lunatics, like Radishchev and Chaadayev, N. Korzhavin and Z. Medvedev, or they are put on trial like Dostoyevsky and Korolenko, Daniel and Sinyavsky, or they are killed like Pushkin and Lermontov, Gumilyov and Mandelshtam, Babel and Vesyoly. On the one hand — the superpower with all its attendant attributes of force, ideology and propaganda, on the other — just a few sheets of paper; and the outcome of the duel is decided in advance: the book always wins ...

I searched for my path in life for a long time ... and found it in the river-bed of an old tradition. This tradition is resistance to violence and lies. Its weapons are words of truth and a sympathetic concern for the deceived, and help for those to whom violence is applied. I've only just set out along this path, taken a few steps along it, but I'm happy that I've managed to find it, managed so well that I've found myself in prison. Lies and violence are particularly concentrated in places of imprisonment. And where could a word of truth and sympathetic concern be more necessary than there? ...

I am grateful to everyone who has passed through the political repressions of the last 200 years of Russian history with honour — from Radishchev to those sentenced at the trials of 1978. I am in debt to these people because they have taught me to feel a free and proud man even behind the stone walls of a prison. I bow before their clear, noble and deeply moral position. They could, you know, have uttered just two words: 'I recant!' — and warmth and comfort, health and a full stomach would have been restored to them; but they did not say those words.

I ask the forgiveness of my dear ones and my acquaintances for what they have had to endure.

To the Judges, who are not in a position to give an independent and just verdict, I have nothing to say.

The judgment was pronounced on 5 April. Its descriptive part differs from the indictment on two points (the 'acquainting' of Semyon Zisels with *The Gulag Archipelago* and of Shenker with Solzhenitsyn's Nobel speech), and substitutes 'possessed with the purpose of circulation' for 'obtained and used for circulation'. The court sentenced Zisels to three years in a hard-regime camp.

On the same day Irena Zisels issued an appeal:

To all who hold truth and justice dear

I am grateful to all the people and organizations who have raised their voices in defence of my husband. Were it not for this support, the lot of Iosif Zisels and many others would be much heavier ...

I call upon honest people throughout the world actively to join the fight against lies and violence and thus make political and psychiatric repressions impossible.

On 7 April Irena Zisels wrote about the people in the courtroom:

Applause by special pass

A courtroom. Around fifty people torn by command from their usual duties. They were all given special passes. It was explained to them that an 'enemy of the people' was on trial, and that it was their duty to give a personal demonstration of the people's indignation and to clap when the sentence was read out ...

But what do I see! I see sometimes eyes, and in them there is evidence that these people, oh horrors, THEY HEAR! And maybe tomorrow they will no longer be able to remain indifferent to people's unhappiness and sorrow, to the lies and violence around them ...

Iosif Zisels was shown the record of the trial only on 26 April — after three statements requesting it. He listed 31 addenda and corrections. On 4 May a court session was held to review the accuracy of the record. I. Zisels's petitions were turned down.

On 29 May the Ukrainian Supreme Court examined the appeal of I. Zisels and his lawyer and left the sentence unchanged. On the same day Semyon Zisels for the second time (*Chronicle* 52) appealed to President J. Carter for help:

I ask you to do everything that is within your power to ease the lot of my brother Iosif Zisels.

The Trials of Tsurkov and Skobov

In spring 1976, on the opening day of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, a group of young people circulated some leaflets in Leningrad (*Chronicle* 40). They included first-year student of the Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty of Leningrad State University [LSU] Andrei Reznikov, first-year polytechnical college student Arkady Tsurkov, first-year student of the LSU History Faculty Alexander Skobov, and Alexander Fomenkov, who was in his final year at school.

On 4 March 1976 Reznikov was arrested. He was charged at first

under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, then under article 1901-1; on 30 March the case was closed and Reznikov was released. He was immediately expelled from university and in the autumn was taken into the Army.

Tsurkov was expelled from college, but did not go into the Army for health reasons (acute short-sightedness); he started work in a factory. Skobov transferred from his full-time course in the History Faculty to the evening course, and started work as a watchman. Fomenkov was expelled from school. In spring 1977, when he had finished evening school, he was taken into the Army.

* * *

During the winter of 1976-7 Skobov organized a 'commune'. Half a wooden house on the outskirts of the city was rented. There young people gathered constantly; they held discussions, read, listened to music, held exhibitions; they often had guests from other towns.

In autumn 1977 a journal began to appear. Two numbers came out (the first was called *Unity*, the second — *Perspective*). A third number was prepared. In the middle of October 1978 the group prepared an 'inter-town' conference.

On 12 October searches were conducted at the homes of Reznikov, Tsurkov and Irina Lopatukhina, and in a further three flats. A large bag full of samizdat was confiscated from the left luggage office at the Moscow Station. On the same day around 40 people were interrogated by the K G B.

On 14 October Andrei Besov from Moscow and Viktor Pavlenkov from Gorky were detained at the station. Besov was forcibly hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital; he was discharged only on 26 December (*Chronicle* 52). Pavlenkov was put in prison for ten days for 'petty hooliganism'.

On 16 October Skobov was arrested, on 31 October — Tsurkov. They were charged under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. The case was conducted by K G B investigators Lt.-Cols. Blinov and Gorshkov, Major Groshev, Captains Gordeyev, Egerev, Melnikov and Tsygankov, and Senior Lieutenant Karmatsky.

* * *

In November or December Irina Lopatukhina received, via an investigator, a letter from Tsurkov asking her to give evidence. He later explained that the investigator had frightened him into making this request by saying that otherwise the entire blame for publishing the journal *Perspective* would rest on her, since she had already admitted to typing materials for the journal (at the search on 12 October a typewriter and materials for the third number were confiscated from her — *Chronicle* 51), but she did not say who had

given them to her. On 13 December Tsurkov asked for an interrogation, took responsibility for as many of the journal's articles as he could, and said that Lopatukhina had typed the material under pressure from him. After this, Lopatukhina confirmed that Tsurkov had given her some articles to type, but refused to talk about anyone else.

* * *

From 3-6 April 1979 Leningrad City Court, presided over by Isakova, examined the case of Tsurkov, accused under article 70 of the R S F S R Code and the analogous article of the Estonian Code. The prosecutor was Deputy Procurator of Leningrad Ponomaryov. The defence lawyer was Yarzhinets.

* * *

Arkady Samsonovich Tsurkov (b. 1958) entered the Mathematics Faculty of Tartu University in 1977; in 1978 he transferred to the second year of the Mathematics Faculty of Leningrad's Herzen Pedagogical Institute.

* * *

The Tsurkov Case was separated from Case No. 95 (*Chronicle* 51 has a mistake here) — the Skobov Case. The indictment accused Tsurkov of inciting other people in Tartu and Leningrad to set up an anti-Soviet organization, circulating slanderous literature and oral 'fabrications', organizing (together with Skobov) 'a publication of anti-Soviet content', and of being the author of a number of its articles.

Twelve witnesses were interrogated. I. Malsky testified that Tsurkov had given him material from the journal *Perspective* to type out and photograph. Irina Lopatukhina was approached in the entrance hall of the court by three people in civilian clothes, who said that they were from the Pedagogical Institute and threatened to beat her up after the trial if she retracted her pre-trial evidence. She and Aleksei Khavin retracted the evidence they had given at the pre-trial investigation, declaring that they had given it under duress (all the same, the record of the trial stated that Khavin had corroborated his evidence). Four of Tsurkov's fellow-students from Tartu testified that he had said 'Down with the party's monopoly of all spheres of public life!' Yet another witness from Tartu, Timchenko (once, after a conversation with Tsurkov, Timchenko had taken him to the local K G B office) gave extensive evidence about Tsurkov's utterances: these 'were anti-Soviet in character and called for the overthrow of the Soviet system'. All the witnesses were asked: 'What is your attitude

to the utterances of Tsurkov which you have heard (or to the literature seen in his possession)? Are they slanderous?' Lopatukhina refused to answer this question. Khavin said that he did not consider them slanderous (See also 'The Khavin Case' in the section 'Miscellaneous Reports'). Fomenkov, who had been brought from his military unit (there was evidence that Tsurkov had brought *Perspective* to him in his unit), declared that he was in full agreement with the line taken by the journal; he tried to substantiate his position at length, but was interrupted; with the help of an officer who had come with him, he was removed from the courtroom. The remaining witnesses confirmed the 'slanderous character' of Tsurkov's utterances and the journal's materials.

Tsurkov himself admitted his participation in publishing *Perspective* and the authorship of the articles incriminating him; he also admitted to the authorship of all the articles whose authors had not been ascertained at the pre-trial investigation. But he did not admit guilt, saying that the journal was not of a slanderous nature. Of the utterances incriminating him, he denied those which mentioned an armed struggle against the Soviet authorities. At the trial Tsurkov categorized his views as Marxist. 'Marxist-Leninist?' — he was asked. 'No, Marxist.'

The Procurator asked for six years' camps and three years' exile for Tsurkov. The lawyer asked for leniency, taking into account the age of the accused, his state of health (acute short-sightedness, thrombophlebitis and cystitis of the colon), and that of his mother (a Group 2 disabled person).

In his final speech Tsurkov again said that he did not consider himself guilty; he declared that after his release he would continue the struggle. Tsurkov asked for his mother to be looked after and for his marriage to I. Lopatukhina to be allowed (not long before his arrest they had been to a registry office to arrange the marriage). In answer to the greetings of friends who had gathered around the court building he cried 'Long Live the Democratic Movement!'

Sentence: five years' strict-regime camps and two years' exile.

* * *

During the night of 30-31 March, when Andrei Reznikov and his pregnant wife were walking along the street, eight people attacked them. Andrei was beaten up. His wife was thrown to the ground.

On 31 March Judge Kotovich of Kuibyshev District People's Court in Leningrad placed Reznikov under arrest for 10 days.

* * *

In the courtroom where Tsurkov was being tried, they attempted not to admit any of the accused's friends. The courtroom was filled in

advance with a 'special public'. Only Tsurkov's mother was admitted without hindrance. I. Fyodorova managed to get into the first session. They tried to remove witnesses from the courtroom directly after their examinations. The witnesses refused to go, referring to article 283 of the R S F S R Code of Criminal Procedure, but only succeeded in staying in the courtroom until the next break — after the break they were not let back in. When Lopatukhina tried to re-enter the courtroom after a break, they threw her on the ground, damaging her hand, then said 'What's she sprawled out here for?' and started calling the police.

Everyone who came to the trial was checked thoroughly at their place of work or study to determine whether there were valid grounds for absence. V. Repin, a correspondent of the newspaper *Leningrad Worker*, was asked to resign 'at his own request'. He refused.

On the morning of 4 April Muscovite Lev Kuchai and Viktor Pavlenkov came to the trial. They were pushed out of the court building and Kuchai was punched in the stomach. Pavlenkov and Kuchai left the court and started walking along Nevsky Prospekt. Here a policeman approached them and asked for their documents. They were pushed into a car and taken to police station 5. Here they were asked to sign a statement that they had 'expressed themselves in unprintable language and had tried to pester citizens' — at the time it had been the policemen who were continuously swearing. They shut Pavlenkov and Kuchai in a cell. On 5 April Judge L. P. Samarina of Kuibyshev District Court in Leningrad sentenced them to 15 days' arrest, expressing regret that she could not give them more. In the evening of 5 April they were put in a special detention centre (6 Kalyayev Street). A warder there hit Pavlenkov in the face, after which the latter declared a total hunger-strike. On 9 April a doctor and a Procurator came to Pavlenkov's cell (according to the doctor it was the first time in six years that the Procurator had visited a 'fifteen-day man'). The Procurator promised Pavlenkov to 'sort it out' (regarding the warder's attack); in addition, they stopped using the familiar form of 'you' to him and insulting him — for this reason Pavlenkov ended his hunger-strike on the evening of 9 April. In the end the Procurator did 'sort it out': Pavlenkov had not been hit, he had merely received rude answers to his 'anti-Soviet shouts'. Visiting Pavlenkov for a second time, the Procurator said:

> Just don't say anything superfluous, Viktor Vladlenovich, it isn't necessary. Or else look — your father writes to us that you've been savagely attacked — well, is that the truth? Or all sorts of terrible things will be said and people might start believing them. Nothing superfluous. So there's no unpleasantness either for you or for us. Goodbye! All the best!

In the evening of 18 April Kuchai and Pavlenkov were released. That day they both simultaneously started to feel ill (headache, rheumatic pains, a temperature of 39.5°); they even had to call for first aid.

On 19 April (the day Skobov's trial took place — see below) a policeman arrived in the in the morning at the flat where they had spent the night. In spite of their high temperatures they were again taken off to police station 5. After detaining them for about four hours, the police returned their documents and ordered them to leave Leningrad the same day.

* * *

On 23 May, in the Leningrad K G B Investigations Prison, the marriage took place between A. Tsurkov and I. Lopatukhina. After the ceremony the newlyweds were granted a five-minute meeting in the presence of a prison official.

Several days later I. Fyodorova was summoned to the Leningrad K G B for a 'chat'. During this 'chat' she asked a K G B official why Tsurkov and Lopatukhina had been given only a five-minute meeting. He replied that they did not deserve any more, as Lopatukhina was also a criminal. When asked what court had declared Lopatukhina a criminal, he replied that as soon as the answer came to the Tsurkov case appeal, Lopatukhina would be prosecuted for refusing to give evidence.

* * *

In February a forensic psychiatric team at the Serbsky Institute (*Chronicle* 52) ruled Alexander Valerevich Skobov not responsible; the diagnosis was 'schizoid psychopathy'.

On 19 April the trial of Skobov took place in Leningrad City Court. The prosecutor was the same Ponomaryov, the defence lawyer was S. A. Kheifets. Skobov was not in court. The court sent Skobov for compulsory treatment in an ordinary psychiatric hospital.

The Trial of Makeyeva

On 12 April the Kirov District People's Court in Moscow, presided over by Prilepko, examined the case of Valeria Zoroastrovna Makeyeva (b. 1929), charged under article 162, part 2 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('conduct of a forbidden trade'). The prosecutor was Gorshkov, the defence lawyer — F. S. Kheifets.

Makeyeva was arrested on 15 June 1978 (*Chronicle* 52). Psychiatrists at the Serbsky Institute ruled her not responsible, with the diagnosis 'psychopathy with an acute personality disorder'.

Makeyeva was charged with making 'duplicating apparatuses' for

producing sashes with the text of a prayer (known as 'living aids'), and also with the manufacture and sale of several thousand of these sashes.*

The lawyer petitioned for experts to establish whether the devices made by Makeyeva for producing the sashes were 'duplicating apparatuses', and whether the sashes themselves constituted 'church utensils' (as defined in the 'Statute on Citizens' Domestic Craft Trades', which forbids both). For a second expert opinion the lawyer suggested that a priest be called. The court rejected both petitions. The lawyer stated that the sashes served to satisfy individual citizens' needs and were not for collective worship; they did not therefore constitute church utensils.

The court ignored his arguments and ruled to send Makeyeva for compulsory treatment to a special psychiatric hospital. At present Makeyeva is in the Kazan Special Psychiatric Hospital.

* * *

In a letter about the case of Makeyeva the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R draws attention to the fact that there are no shops in the U S S R for the sale of articles of religious worship and church utensils. These can be sold only in operating churches and produced in the workshops of the Moscow Patriarchate. The range of articles is limited, their quality is exceptionally low, and many articles (particularly prayer sashes) are not manufactured or sold at all.

The Trial of Monblanov

On 24 April Viktor Monblanov was sentenced in Kiev under article 206, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism') to four years in hard-regime camps.

V. Monblanov was arrested on 30 December 1978 on Kreshchatik Street in Kiev (*Chronicle* 52). According to the indictment Monblanov had gone into the street in 'a white dressing-gown' and collected a crowd around him, thus violating public order. In addition, he had shaken his fist at citizen A. G. Dil, wishing to strike him, and he had resisted arrest.

The Lenin District People's Court in Kiev examined the case of Monblanov. The judge was Kiba, the prosecutor — Ryndina. Monblanov refused a lawyer. Dil (the victim) and three police witnesses also took part in the proceedings.

Dil did not admit to being a victim. He informed the court that

[*The sashes are slung over the shoulder and worn next to the skin.]

he had himself torn a placard from Monblanov's chest; he, Dil, fought in the Patriotic War, he had helped to free prisoners from Hitler's camps, and he did not believe that there were prisoners of conscience in the USSR; therefore the slogan on the placard — 'Freedom for Prisoners of Conscience' — had angered him. But Monblanov had not put up any resistance either to him or to police officials. (When sentence was passed Dil was indignant about its unfairness.)

When the evidence of the witness Duritsky was read (he was in hospital and did not appear at the trial), it became clear that he had testified incorrectly about the place where the event took place.

Neither did the remaining witnesses corroborate the fact that Monblanov had 'put up resistance'. However, after the Procurator's persistent questions one of them declared that when the policemen had taken Monblanov's arm, he had put up resistance by 'flinching'.

Procurator Ryndina repeated the indictment and asked for four years' deprivation of freedom. In his final speech Monblanov talked about his impressions of the trials of A. Podrabinek, P. Vins, Yu. Orlov and A. Ginzburg. After these trials, Monblanov said, he had considered it his duty to express his objection and his solidarity with prisoners of conscience. 'I wanted to appeal, not to people's reason, but to their best feelings — to the heart, to their sense of honour; I wanted to appeal for mercy and sympathy.' Finally, Monblanov expressed the hope that 'justice will one day triumph'.

Sentence was passed by the court after a three-hour deliberation which was held, not in the consulting room attached to the courtroom, but on another floor of the building. During the deliberation, Judge Kiba held more than one long telephone conversation.

* * *

Until 1976 Viktor Vladimirovich Monblanov had worked as an assistant director at the Kiev Studio of Popular-Scientific films. In 1976 he received a legacy and left work to make an independent study of religion, history and literature.

* * *

Monblanov's wife Alla Yakovleva has been refused a meeting with her husband, on the grounds that they are not legally married. Monblanov and Yakovleva have been living together for 13 years and have a ten-year-old son.

* * *

On 31 May the Kiev City Court rejected Monblanov's appeal and ruled the sentence of the court of first instance to be correct.

The Trial of Skvirsky

One of the founders of the Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People (*Chronicle* 51), Vladimir Ilich Skvirsky (b. 1930), was arrested on 13 October 1978 (*Chronicles* 51, 52) on a charge of misappropriating state property — library books. Skvirsky's arrest came after a search, in the record of which 76 items are listed. However, only nine of these items concern books with library stamps. The remainder are typewritten and handwritten texts (mainly relating to the Free Trades Union — *Chronicle* 48), cinefilms, negatives of a brochure entitled *Sowing* [*Posev*], three photographs, seven sheets of carbon paper and 405 cassette tape-recordings of songs.

The search was conducted by Investigator Knyazev of the Moscow Procuracy. The record does not mention the participation in the search of Investigator Zhdanov of the Moskvoretsky District Procuracy, who later conducted the case against Skvirsky, or of three KGB officials (one of whom 'combed' the walls and floor of the flat with a metal detector), or the presence of three of Skvirsky's acquaintances. At the same time a search was conducted in Skvirsky's mother's flat. There, over 200 books were confiscated, some bearing library stamps.

The case was heard on 15-16 May in Moskvoretsky District People's Court in Moscow. None of Skvirsky's friends or acquaintances was allowed into the courtroom, although as far back as March, 17 people had written a statement to the Chairman of the Moscow City Court asking to be allowed to attend the court proceedings (there was no answer to this letter).

B. A. Komyagin presided at the trial, G. P. Pavda defended. (The Moscow lawyer Andrei Rakhmilovich, an acquaintance of Skvirsky who was preparing to defend him in court and had already presented the assignment from his lawyers' office to defend Skvirsky to the Procuracy, was then called as a witness. This automatically disqualified him from participation in the trial as defence counsel.)

The indictment charged Skvirsky with misappropriation of books to the value of over 750 roubles. The Procurator asked for Skvirsky to be sentenced to five years' exile.

The lawyer demonstrated that Skvirsky was guilty only of not having returned (without the intention of misappropriation) a few dozen books, and that he had paid the cost of these books, and therefore his actions did not constitute a crime.

The judgment stated that Skvirsky had misappropriated books to the value of 246 roubles. The court sentenced Skvirsky under article 93, part 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('The misappropriation of state ... property by fraudulent means') to five years' exile.

* * *

Several collective letters have been written in defence of V. Skvirsky.

The following extract is from a letter (with 18 signatures) to the Procurator of Moscow, M. G. Malkov, dated 6 November 1978:

> Are there really sufficient grounds for charging Vladimir Skvirsky with the misappropriation of library books, since deliberate misappropriation can come about only when the reader refuses to return books *after two written warnings from the library?* Until these two written warnings have been received there can be no talk of the deliberate misappropriation of library books, and it is only the rules for using a state library that are broken ... After reading in the *Literary Gazette* on 13 September 1978 that in the Nekrasov Moscow City Library alone ... there were 3,718 readers at the end of 1977 who had not returned books borrowed from the library, and knowing that not one of them was charged with a civil (let alone a criminal) offence, one can safely say that charging Skvirsky with a criminal offence cannot be considered fair ...

An extract from another letter in defence of Skvirsky (with 75 signatures) says:

> Vladimir Skvirsky has been arrested. A criminal charge has been fabricated against him. This is the latest arrest of an active member of an independent trades union, the latest attempt to present a dissenter as a criminal ...

From yet another letter (with 20 signatures):

> The activity which he took upon himself during the past year, to save and consolidate what was left (ie who was left) of the independent trades union, could not, of course, pass unnoticed.

The Trial of Kuleshov

Eduard Yakovlevich Kuleshov (b. 1936), a worker from Taganrog, was arrested on 6 December 1978 (*Chronicles* 51, 52). On 19 December he was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. On 5 February 1979 the pre-trial investigation was completed.

On 6 March the Rostov Regional Court began to examine Kuleshov's case. Kuleshov declared that the investigators had violated article 47 of the Code of Criminal Procedure: because the accused had a physical impediment (from childhood Kuleshov has suffered from a severe stammer), he should have been allowed a defence counsel from the moment the charge was made.

Medical specialists present in the courtroom confirmed that Kuleshov suffered from a stammer to a degree that made the aid of a lawyer imperative. The case was remitted for further investigation.

The trial reopened on 11 May in an empty courtroom. Even the mother of the accused was not admitted. In reply to Kuleshov's demand for the trial to be open the Judge announced that the case would be heard in camera. The Procurator explained that it was impossible to admit the public to the courtroom as this would be tantamount to disseminating the slanderous fabrications which the court would be examining. Even the defence lawyer supported the Procurator's explanation. Kuleshov stated in reply that because of the violation of the law on the openness of court proceedings he refused to take part in the trial. The court resolved to continue the hearing. However, when it was made clear that petitions sent by Kuleshov asking for additional witnesses to be summoned had not been presented to the court, the hearing was postponed until 15 May.

The third court session took place on 15 May. Deputy President of the Rostov Regional Court M. T. Rebrov presided. The prosecutor was the Rostov Procurator Ya. F. Antropov, and the defence lawyer — A. A. Sheshtanov from Taganrog.

The session began with a petition from the lawyer that the case be heard in open session. The Procurator supported the lawyer. The court granted the petition. The courtroom was immediately filled with a specially invited public, 50 or 60 people, including many students from the Law Faculty of Rostov University. From Kuleshov's intimates only his mother was allowed into the courtroom.

The first day of the trial was devoted to reading the indictment and to the accused's petitions. The indictment charged Kuleshov with: —

— *Recording* on tape, from Deutsche Welle radio-station broadcasts, chapters of *The Gulag Archipelago* and listening to this recording in the presence of his acquaintances M. Slinkov (*Chronicle* 51) and A. Kurbatsky.

— The *circulation* in conversations with the same witnesses of 'deliberate fabrications, defaming ...' (examples: the majority of party members joined the party to further their careers; it is now even more difficult for workers' children to get places in further educational establishments; the freedoms provided for by the Constitution exist only on paper; there is no mass political activity in the USSR).

— The *circulation* in conversations with cell-mates in the investigations prison S. Panchenko and V. Bespalov of 'deliberate fabrications ...'.

— *Writing* letters 'about Soviet justice, the activities of the KGB, particularly in connection with the case of Buzinnikov' (*Chronicle* 51).

Kuleshov submitted around 30 petitions. In particular he asked for historical experts to determine whether the events described

in *The Gulag Archipelago* constituted 'deliberate fabrications' or whether they had really occurred. He petitioned for a number of additional witnesses to be summoned to the trial. Kuleshov also asked for a tape-recording to be made of the trial, or at least of the testimonials of the chief witnesses.

The court rejected all the petitions of the accused. The petition regarding the tape-recording was rejected on the grounds that the court did not have the necessary 'technical means'. On 16 May the witnesses were examined (granting a petition from the Procurator, the court decided to examine first the witnesses and then the accused).

The chief witness for the prosecution, Slinkov, declared that he had not been permitted to write his evidence in his own hand, that investigators Netsvetai and Pavlenko had distorted his evidence, and that he had not wanted to sign it but that they had threatened him with prison. He said that he had not listened to a tape-recording of *The Gulag Archipelago* at the home of the accused and had not heard any slanderous utterances from him.

The presiding Judge said that in signing false testimony at the investigation Slinkov had committed a crime punishable by up to seven years' deprivation of freedom. (The Judge was lying: since Kuleshov had been charged under article 190-1, Slinkov could be threatened only with article 181, part 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code — 'up to one year'.) Slinkov replied that he was guilty of cowardice and was prepared to serve time for that. The Judge disallowed most of the questions which Kuleshov put to Slinkov.

Witness Bespalov testified that he had not given any evidence against Kuleshov, and that Investigator Pavlenko had forced him to sign evidence that had been prepared in advance, informing him that otherwise he would get article 102 — malicious homicide, which carries the death penalty. (Bespalov was in prison for killing his mother and was accused of homicide without aggravating circumstances — article 103.) When the escort was taking Bespalov out of the courtroom, he shouted, 'You can shoot me then, that's what all your policies are!'

Panchenko told of how he had signed evidence that had been prepared for him in advance. He explained that he had done this because he had been badly beaten the day before on instructions from the operations unit, and he did not want to come 'under the hammer' again. Panchenko said that his additional statement to the Procurator, which he had sent from prison, had been dictated to him by the Deputy Head of the Investigations Prison. Witnesses I. Chursina (Kuleshov's wife) and A. Udodov (Kuleshov's brother) gave no evidence against Kuleshov. Witness Kurbatsky confirmed that he had heard excerpts from *The Gulag Archipelago*, at a party at Kuleshov's home, but could not be certain whether this was from a tape-recording or a radio broadcast. He also could not say whether the party took place in 1977, 1976 or even 1975. Kurbatsky only confirmed one of Kuleshov's 'slanderous fabrications' — that corruption exists in the USSR and it is impossible to secure justice.

On 17 May the remaining witnesses were examined. Witness T. Udodova (the wife of A. Udodov) testified that at a party in 1975 Kuleshov did not listen to any tape-recordings of *The Gulag Archipelago*. Witness L. A. Dushkina (Kuleshov's former wife) did not confirm the evidence she had given to the investigation, explaining that it had been twisted by Investigator Pavlenko to support the charge, and that he had written down something completely different from what she had said.

After the examination of the witnesses, Kuleshov began to give explanations of each point in the indictment. The explanations continued on 18 May (in view of the accused's acute stammer).

Kuleshov pleaded not guilty and denied all the charges in the indictment. He refuted the charge of 'preparing materials defaming the Soviet political and social system' by means of recording chapters of *The Gulag Archipelago* from radio broadcasts. 'How could I have prepared these materials, and with what deliberate intent?, said Kuleshov. 'If I was the author or wrote the text down from memory, then one could talk of preparing. But I taped an unknown text from a radio broadcast. That is, I obtained it, but I did not prepare it. Obtaining an unknown text does not constitute a crime'.

Explaining his allegedly 'slanderous' utterances about the Constitution, Kuleshov noted that the USSR Constitution contains many statements conflicting with reality, and also articles which contradict each other. For example, article 2 states that 'all power in the USSR belongs to the people', and article 6 states that the party is the leading and directing force in the country.

The Judge often interrupted Kuleshov as he was giving his explanations. 'You could have said that in your final speech', said the Judge. 'Oh, no', replied Kuleshov, 'You might deprive me of my final speech. I will say what I wish, and as much as I wish'.

The Judge asked for whom Kuleshov's letter concerning the Buzinnikov Case was intended. 'For handing to a representative of the USSR Procuracy', replied Kuleshov. 'But judging by the contents of the letter, it was intended for quite another place; people do not write letters like that to the Procuracy!' 'And what do you think?', asked Kuleshov. 'That I would be embarrassed to hand such a letter to the Procuracy?' 'Well, no', said the Judge. 'Judging by your behaviour in court, I wouldn't think that'.

On 21 May, the fifth day of the trial, several of the tape-recordings made by Kuleshov of *The Gulag Archipelago* were played in court. Kuleshov had petitioned for this earlier, but the Procurator had

objected for a long time; now he asked for it himself. It turned out that the court had both a tape-recorder and a specialist technician. Chosen at random, the extracts heard were the chapter on the Solovki Islands, an extract from the chapter on the transporting of prisoners, and extracts from the chapters 'Imbeciles' ['Pridurki'] and 'Women in the Camps'.

Afterwards, Kuleshov explained that the book *The Gulag Archipelago* is not 'slanderous', as it describes events which really happened. He said that he was in full agreement with Solzhenitsyn's evaluation of the events.

On 22 May Procurator Antropov made his prosecuting speech. He declared that he considered that the five points of the indictment had been proven in the course of the court examination: the circulation of a recording of Solzhenitsyn's book *The Gulag Archipelago*, the slanderous oral utterances (three episodes), and the writing of a slanderous letter on the Buzinnikov Case. The Procurator asserted that the crime constituted a serious danger to society and, taking into account the personality of the accused, asked for the maximum sentence under the given article — three years of strict-regime camp.

The lawyer Sheshtanov said that in his opinion not one point of the indictment had been corroborated in the courtroom. He tried to convince the court that since out of five witnesses four had retracted their evidence, the unconvincing and contradictory evidence of witness Kurbatsky should also be placed in doubt. 'If you couldn't hang on to the mane', said Sheshtanov, 'don't hang on to the tail'. He asked for Kuleshov to be acquitted.

After the speech for the defence, the trial was postponed until 30 May, as Judge Rebrov was unexpectedly informed that his father had died. The session on 30 May did not, however, take place, in view of the Judge's illness — it was postponed until 4 June.

On 4 June Kuleshov made his final speech. He refuted all the conclusions drawn by the Procurator in his speech for the prosecution. 'To assert, on the far-fetched evidence of a single 'witness', Kurbatsky, that the charge is proven — this means to lose all respect for one's duty and one's calling', said Kuleshov. In conclusion he said:

> The Procurator doubts the truthfulness of Solzhenitsyn's description of camp life. I doubt *his* sincerity, for at that time, as is now recognized, violations of Soviet legality occurred. But come along to cell no. 10 in Rostov Prison and see for yourselves what sort of conditions prisoners are held in today, when socialist legality is observed. In a dirty, stuffy basement with dilapidated, soot-caked walls and ceiling, on solid iron bunks and dirty, lousy mattresses, half-naked people lying side by side. Personal bed-linen is not given out. 25 men share three mugs; there are not enough spoons; the cell has neither a table, a bench, nor a hook; as well as lice and bedbugs it is full of other insects. The chipped cement floor is unwashable and even difficult to sweep, and mice run about freely. Gorky's *Lower Depths* in real life.
>
> But instead of paying attention to the flagrant violations of human rights taking place under his nose, the Procurator tries to determine in scrupulous detail what people were talking about at a party ... I hope that the court will not take the Procurator's path: to save the honour of his uniform he is trying to push the court into a step that is incompatible with justice.
>
> Therefore I ask the court to be guided exclusively by the law, and to rule for acquittal.

The Judge interrupted Kuleshov several times when he was making his final speech, informing him that he was digressing from the matters for which he was being tried — the circulation of slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social structure.

The verdict was pronounced after the lunch-break on the same day: deprivation of freedom for three years in a strict-regime camp. (The justification for strict-regime is that in 1958 Kuleshov got 15 years for 'theft'. He was pardoned in 1970.)

The judgment contained all five points of the indictment which the Procurator had presented in his final speech:

1. Organizating a hearing of tape-recordings of *The Gulag Archipelago*;
2. The assertion that tyranny allegedly exists in the USSR and that it is impossible to secure justice;
3. The assertion that Soviet reality does not allow for the spiritual enrichment and growth of Soviet citizens;
4. The uttering of deliberate fabrications about the constitutional freedoms of Soviet citizens and the democratic nature of the electoral system;
5. The preparation of a letter of information on the Buzinnikov Case which contains slanderous fabrications concerning the activities of the law-enforcement organs in the USSR.

The basis of the sentence, in spite of Slinkov's refusal to give evidence, was his testimony from the pre-trial investigation. In the judgment this circumstance is explained as follows:

> Witness Slinkov could not give a convincing explanation for changing his testimony at the trial. In addition, he testified to the Judicial Board that he had given evidence to the pre-trial investigation voluntarily. The Judicial Board evaluates witness Slinkov's alteration of his evidence as an attempt to lighten the burden of the accused's responsibility and takes Slinkov's evidence on the

episode in question given at the pre-trial investigation to be the true version.

The sentence was handed to Kuleshov only on 27 June. In violation of article 265 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and in spite of several requests, Kuleshov was not shown the record of the trial, nor given the opportunity to add his comments to them.

On 6 June in Novocherkassk Prison, where Kuleshov was held after the trial, all the notes relating to his criminal case were confiscated. Kuleshov wrote a statement to the head of the prison requesting to have the notes returned, as he needed them to compose his appeal. An official of the prison operations unit informed Kuleshov that the 'administration was acquainting itself' with the notes and that they would not be returned to him.

On 3 July Kuleshov sent his appeal to the R S F S R Supreme Court. Kuleshov's lawyer Sheshtanov also sent an appeal. It is known that Slinkov sent the R S F S R Supreme Court a statement, in which he set down his truthful testimony instead of the testimony distorted by the investigators and the court.

* * *

On 18 July V. Nekipelov, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, wrote a short article entitled 'Why was Eduard Kuleshov convicted?':

> I dare to assert that in this way — by juggling facts, using force on witnesses and declaring opinions and criticisms 'slanderous' — every political trial in the U S S R is constructed, regardless of its scale.
>
> Of course the materials of the trial will be falsified. The fact that Kuleshov was not allowed to see the record of the court proceedings after the trial speaks for itself — the record will be rewritten.
>
> But documents remain. And I am sending them to Amnesty International, deliberately disseminating these — no, not 'deliberate fabrications', but authentic facts which alone, without any commentary, thoroughly disgrace a state system which is forced to protect itself with the help of such trials.

On 30 July S. Kallistratova and V. Nekipelov, members of the Moscow Helsinki Group, addressed a statement to the U S S R Procurator-General:

> *Personal! Urgent!*
>
> *STOP THIS CRIME!*
>
> In spite of the circumstances disclosed, the court returned a verdict of guilty on Kuleshov, founded on the shaky evidence of a single solitary witness. There was no accompanying decision about the criminal activities of the investigating organs.
>
> A large number of violations of procedure were allowed by the court, and these are set down in the appeals of the convicted man and his lawyer. After the trial the convicted man was denied his right to see the record of the court proceedings, which forces one to suppose that the records have been falsified.
>
> The appeal hearing in the Kuleshov Case is due to take place in the U S S R Supreme Court within the next few days. Fearing that the sentence will be automatically upheld, we ask you to take urgent measures to restore the legality so crudely trampled on by the Rostov court.

The Trial of Volokhonsky

On 19 March Lev Yakovlevich Volokhonsky (b. 1945), a member of the Council of Representatives of the Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People [F I A W P] was arrested. He was charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. His arrest was formally justified by statements by A. Snisarenko, A. Fain and A. Druzhinin that Volokhonsky had circulated 'anti-Soviet literature'.

Volokhonsky was also charged with the dissemination of slanderous information in spoken form, 'the establishment of an underground organization, F I A W P, the composition and dissemination of F I A W P documents, giving foreign correspondents information about F I A W P, and the composition and dissemination of letters in defence of V. Skvirsky (see above).

Leningraders Yu. Galetsky, N. Vilko, Yu. Lutsky, O. Levitan and S. Sokolova, and Muscovite members of the F I A W P Council of Representatives V. Novodvorskaya and V. Skvirsky (in custody), and also T. Pletneva, were interrogated in connection with the case against Volokhonsky (the investigators were Grigorovich and V. A. Nosov). Levitan testified that Volokhonsky had circulated *The Gulag Archipelago*, but gave no further evidence against him.

Members of the F I A W P Council of Representatives V. Borisov, N. Nikitin, N. Lesnichenko and E. Nikolayev were also summoned. None of them came for interrogation.

The case file included evidence by M. Morozov (*Chronicle* 52, and, also, see below in this issue), according to which Volokhonsky had disseminated, in spoken form, 'deliberate fabrications ...', and evidence from F I A W P Council of Representatives member Samoilov, who testified that Volokhonsky had composed F I A W P documents and letters in defence of Skvirsky, and also an unfavourable description of Volokhonsky written by P. Egides.

The trial took place in the building of the Leningrad City Court

on two days — 8 and 12 June. Volokhonsky's friends were able to attend. The judge was Yakovlev, the procurator — Malosh. At the beginning of the session Volokhonsky refused a lawyer and announced that he would conduct his own defence.

The charge of establishing the F I A W P had been deleted from the indictment, and the opinion of the investigation that it was necessary to institute criminal proceedings against 'V. Borisov, N. Nikitin, A. Yakoreva, L. Agapova, V. Novodvorskaya, A. Ivanchenko and others' had been inserted (! — this in the text of an indictment — *Chronicle*; all those listed, with the exception of Ivanchenko, are members of the F I A W P Council of Representatives; Ivanchenko is no longer a member — see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

Volokhonsky declared that he was a member of the Council of Representatives of F I A W P, an organization with no political aims which defended the rights of working people Signing and disseminating F I A W P documents (including the information given to foreign correspondents) did not fall within the sphere, according to Volokhonsky, of article 190-1 of the Criminal Code, because these documents were not untruthful, let alone deliberate fabrications. Volokhonsky said that he was convinced of Skvirsky's innocence, and therefore wrote a letter in his defence. However, the text he had written was only a rough draft and had not therefore been disseminated by him or anyone else.

Witnesses Novodvorskaya and Pletneva testified that they knew nothing about Volokhonsky's participation in writing F I A W P documents and a letter in defence of Skvirsky. Novodvorskaya asserted that Volokhonsky had not collected signatures for the letter or disseminated it. Samoilov, who had given evidence on this matter at the pre-trial investigation, did not appear in court.

Witnesses Levitan, Fain, Snisarenko and Druzhinin were examined in connection with the charge of disseminating 'literature of anti-Soviet content'. They all retracted their testimonies given at the pre-trial investigation, where they had alleged that the accused had lent them *The Gulag Archipelago*, a collection of articles by Sakharov entitled *In the Fight for Peace and Democracy*, the journals *Possev*, *Kontinent*, *Time and Us* and *A Chronicle of Current Events*, and articles by Korzhavin and Anin. Snisarenko and Druzhinin declared that they had given false evidence at the pre-trial investigation under pressure from K G B officials who, in the course of seven or eight interrogations, had threatened them with reprisals, or simply prison. Druzhinin testified that he had borrowed several of the books incriminating Volokhonsky from the home of N. Lesnichenko, where the accused was then staying, but that he did this without the knowledge of his hosts. Snisarenko wrote a statement addressed to the U S S R Procurator-General in which he described the illegal

actions of K G B officials and Investigator Grigorovich. He gave the court a copy of this statement. Levitan explained that he had obtained *The Gulag Archipelago* not from Volokhonsky, but from Tarakanov, who had emigrated to the West. Fain stated that he had not received any literature from Volokhonsky.

Lesnichenko, who was also called as a witness, maintained that she had never seen the literature incriminating Volokhonsky in his possession.

A curious document featured at the trial — a joke memorandum on which were drawn a stamp and an inscription in Volokhonsky's hand — 'K G B — sucks to you!' Judge Yakovlev asked what the inscription signified. Volokhonsky answered that it was an incantation against the 'telephone devil': if you are having troubles with your phone you have to repeat this phrase three times. In his speech the Procurator declared that the K G B is an organization the employees of which risk their lives to protect our state and the peace of its citizens, and that those who made jokes at the K G B's expense should be put in prison. However, this 'document' was not mentioned in the judgment.

In his defence speech Volokhonsky said that he pleaded not guilty and that the indictment was groundless on all points concerning the composition and dissemination of F I A W P documents and the letter in defence of Skvirsky, and that the dissemination of literature had not been corroborated by the witnesses' evidence.

All points of the indictment were, however, included in the judgment, except the dissemination of the letter in defence of Skvirsky and the circulation, in spoken form, of information defaming the political and social system — because the circulation was not systematic. It was also noted that all the witnesses who had refused to corroborate the evidence given to the pre-trial investigation were attempting to lighten Volokhonsky's burden; Snisarenko had been trying in addition to evade responsibility regarding himself.

Taking into account that this was a first offence and that the accused had a four-month-old dependent child, the court sentenced Volokhonsky to two years' ordinary-regime camp (the Procurator had asked for two-and-a-half years).

* * *

Immediately after Volokhonsky's arrest, members of the F I A W P Council of Representatives and friends of the accused wrote several letters in his defence. On 8 June British, French and Swiss Trades Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trades Unions sent greetings to the F I A W P in which they expressed support for L. Volokhonsky. The same organizations sent Brezhnev telegrams protesting against Volokhonsky's arrest.

After the trial Volokhonsky got a letter out from the 'Crosses' Prison in Legingrad:

> I thank all those who have concerned themselves with my fate, and all the trades unions which have come out in my defence. I am turning to you ... with an appeal to continue supporting the F I A W P. It is essential to avert new repressions. Victims have already been selected, as was stated plainly at my trial.

On 15 June the Moscow Helsinki Group wrote in Document No. 94:

> Persecution for participation in peaceful, non-violent associations, the conviction of Lev Volokhonsky — one of the members of the Free Inter-Professional Association of Working People — these are manifestations of a complete scorn for fundamental human rights ...

The Trial of Bebko

Vladislav Vladimirovich Bebko (b. 1952) was arrested on 7 November 1978 (*Chronicle* 51). On 8 November a criminal case was instituted against him under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code and, on 9 November, under article 206, part 2 ('malicious hooliganism'). On 20 November the charges were combined (there are a few inaccuracies in *Chronicle* 51).

In February I. L. Kosharsky, a Deputy Procurator for Kuibyshev Region, sanctioned the indictment, according to which Bebko,

> being one of the organizers of gatherings of nihilistic young people, is charged with the systematic utterance of politically harmful statements about Soviet reality among his group over the period 1973-1978. In May 1976 he was warned by the Kuibyshev Regional K G B that such actions were not tolerable, and on 28 February 1978 he was officially cautioned in accordance with the Decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme dated 25.12.72, 'On the issue of cautions by security organs as a measure of preventive action' [*Chronicle* 32].
>
> However, Bebko did not draw the necessary conclusions and systematically during the period 1976-1978 prepared tapes and transcripts of foreign radio broadcasts containing deliberate fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system, and then disseminated them in oral form and by means of giving tape-recordings to other persons.
>
> During 1978 Bebko systematically uttered sharp and slanderous fabrications against the Soviet political and social system; he declared that in the U S S R democratic freedoms — the freedoms of speech, the press and association — are absent; he attempted to convince his audiences of the advantages of capitalism; he denied the reliability of the mass media in the U S S R; he distorted the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution; he spoke insultingly about the founder and first leader of the Soviet state; and he expressed solidarity with persons who had emigrated and were publishing literature slandering our state abroad.
>
> The above-mentioned slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system were spoken by Bebko in 1978 in Kuibyshev to G. V. Konstantinov, in August 1978 to I. V. Ippolitova, and in September 1978 to students of the Kuibyshev Polytechnical Institute, while picking potatoes at the Communard State Farm, Krasnoyarsk District, Kuibyshev Region: on 10-15 September to A. V. Shishov, and on 16-21 September to Yu. Yu. Sinitsyn, E. V. Zhideleva, V. V. Istomin, V. N. Sidnev, A. E. Krechetov, L. A. Dunenkova and others.
>
> From 1976 to 1978 Bebko prepared a text on several sheets of paper and recorded on nine tapes foreign radio broadcasts containing slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system. With the intent of disseminating slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system he gave M. R. Ryabova three tapes. By these actions Bebko committed a crime as stipulated by article 190-1 of the Criminal Code.
>
> Continuing to defame the Soviet political and social system, on 7 November 1978, at 6 pm, Bebko, being in a drunken state and in the presence of M. R. Ryabova and G. V. Konstantinov on New Street in Kuibyshev, promoted by hooliganism and with the words 'The communists have covered the place in placards', tore down, tore up and destroyed two placards devoted to the 61st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which had been hanging on the wall of house no. 55, where a medical epidemiological department is situated.

During the pre-trial investigation Bebko was subjected to a psychiatric examination, at which he was ruled responsible. Kuibyshev lawyer G. N. Popova, who studied the case materials at the end of the pre-trial investigation, categorically refused to defend Bebko in court.

On 12 March the Kuibyshev Regional Court, presided over by Chairman of the Regional Court Presidium V. P. Lavrichenko, began to examine the Bebko case. The prosecutor was Assistant Regional Procurator Mezonin, defence counsel was the lawyer N. Ya. Nemirinskaya from Voroshilovgrad (see her 'service record' in the section 'The Trial of Zisels').

The trial was genuinely open. Four or five K G B officials were always present in the courtroom. Two men in plain clothes and a

policeman with a walkie-talkie were on duty in the entrance hall.

Bebko pleaded partly guilty under article 206; not denying the facts (see above), he said that he was unable to control his actions as he was under the influence of alcohol; he pleaded not guilty under article 190-1.

From the examination of Bebko:

Judge Do you admit that you called Vladimir Ilich Lenin an 'adventurer'?
Bebko Yes. But I would like to explain that I see nothing bad in that. In my understanding an adventurer is a person who is capable of taking risks. Any revolutionary is an adventurer.
J Did you assert that there are democratic freedoms in the West, and that life in general is better there?
B Yes, I consider that to be the case.
J Do you understand that you have committed a crime? Do you regret what you have done?
B Yes, I understand that one should not do such things. I won't speak such thoughts aloud again.

On 13 March the court passed a resolution to send Bebko for an in-patient forensic psychiatric examination. (Lawyer Nemirinskaya also petitioned for this.)

* * *

On 28 March a comrade of Vladislav Bebko, **Anatoly Sarbayev** (*Chronicle* 51), was forcibly hospitalized and on 29 March — **Viktor Ryzhov** (*Chronicle* 51). Sarbayev was detained in a psychiatric hospital until April 6, Ryzhov until April 30. Sarbayev was treated with glucose and vitamins, Ryzhov with neuroleptics (tizertsin and stelazine) and tranquillizers (tazepam).

* * *

The psychiatrists again ruled Bebko responsible. From 12 to 14 June the Kuibyshev Regional Court, presided over by Shestopalov, examined the case against Bebko for a second time.

From the examination of Bebko:

Lawyer Do you understand that your behaviour is considered wrong?
Bebko I understand.
L Do you agree with this?
B I have never agreed with it.
L How do you explain your critical attitude to reality?
B Reality had many shortcomings and instances of lawlessness.

In her speech defence counsel Nemirinskaya pointed out that 'distorting the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution', 'making insulting utterances about Lenin' and 'expressing solidarity with persons who had emigrated and were publishing slanderous literature abroad' had nothing to do with 'the Soviet political and social system'. Later she pointed out the insubstantiality of the charges. In the case of concrete utterances relating to the system, 'deliberate falsification' had not been proven: Bebko's testimony at the pre-trial investigation and in court showed that he was even now convinced of the truth of his judgments. Nemirinskaya asked the court to acquit Bebko under article 190-1, and suggested that the 'torn placards' charge be redefined under article 206, part 1.

In his final speech Bebko asked for a punishment that would not deprive him of his freedom. However, the court adopted the Procurator's suggestion and, pronouncing Bebko guilty on both charges, sentenced him to three years in ordinary-regime camps.

When the Judge said 'An appeal may be lodged against the sentence ... ', flowers started flying from all corners of the courtroom. They had been brought by Bebko's friends, on whom the police and plain-clothes men immediately pounced. A. Sarbayev was taken to a police station.

* * *

On 15 June (the day after Bebko's trial finished) **A. Sarbayev** was sentenced to 15 days. He was taken out to work only after 13 days — to clear rubbish. He then went home; when he returned after one hour, the police were already waiting for him. On 29 June he was given another 15 days for 'escaping'. His cell-mates were amazed: usually even people who escape for two or three days have nothing added to their sentence. On 14 July Sarbayev was released.

* * *

At the end of June Bebko was transferred to Syzran Prison — Institution IZ-42/2. All through July he waited for his appeal hearing. Bebko's cell-mates are criminals who rob and beat him: one of them cut his fingers with a razor-blade. As there are too many people in the cell, he has to sleep on the cement floor.

The Trial of Kukobaka

On 20-21 June the Mogilyov Regional Court, in an assizes session presided over by Deputy Chairman of the Court M. Ivanov, in the building of the Bobruisk People's Court, examined the case of M. Kukobaka, charged under article 186-1 of the Belorussian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code).

* * *

Mikhail Ignatevich Kukobaka was born in 1936 in Bobruisk. His father was killed in 1939 in the Russo-Finnish War. His mother joined the partisans in the Patriotic War and was severely wounded; she died in a nusing home in 1946. Mikhail lived with his grandmother after the outbreak of war, but in 1944 she had to give her grandson to a children's home (he wrote a story, *A Meeting with My Childhood*, about this). In 1953 Kukobaka completed a course at a craft training college and subsequently worked as an electrician and a turner, served in the Army, and finished secondary school.

On 30 September 1968 Kukobaka went to the Czechoslovak Consulate in Kiev to express his sympathy and his outrage at the occupation. He did not join a trades union; he refused to participate in elections and ignored the 'working Saturdays' [days when people work without pay 'for the state']. The K G B started to collect 'material' on him.

On 12 April 1970 Kukobaka was arrested in Aleksandrov (Vladimir Region), where he was then living, and charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Held against him were an open letter he had written to the English writer I. Montagu (in defence of the emigrant A. Kuznetsov) and 'slanderous' conversations with working people. The investigation had already finished when an official of the Vladimir K G B, Major Evseyev, asked Kukobaka, in exchange a secretary from the West German Embassy called Müller. Kukobaka refused and was sent for psychiatric diagnosis to the Serbsky Institute. There he was ruled not responsible. Diagnosed as a 'paranoid schizophrenic', Kukobaka was interned in the Sychyovka Special Psychiatric Hospital, where he spent about three years. He was then transferred to the Vladimir Regional Psychiatric Hospital, from which he was released on 10 May 1976 (*Chronicle* 40).

Kukobaka lived in Bobruisk after his release, and worked as an electrician and a loader. He was twice forcibly hospitalized: in November 1976 for circulating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*Chronicle* 43) and in October 1977 for refusing to take down from the wall above his bed in a hostel an icon and photographs of Sakharov and Grigorenko (*Chronicle* 47).

In April 1977 he wrote to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet renouncing Soviet citizenship and asking to be allowed to leave the U S S R (*Chronicle* 47). On 19 October 1978 Kukobaka was arrested and sent for psychiatric diagnosis (*Chronicle* 51).

* * *

In January 1979 L. Ternovsky, a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, sent a letter to the Director of the Serbsky Institute, giving him the following warning:

> If M. Kukobaka is again ruled not responsible, the Working Commission will consider this an instance of the use of psychiatry for political and repressive purposes ...

From 12 February to 10 April Kukobaka remained in the Serbsky Institute. In spite of the fact that he behaved extremely defiantly and demonstratively ignored the doctors (as he relates in his samizdat account, *Story of a Diagnosis* [8]) a commission of experts under Bobrova ruled him responsible:

> There are signs of developing psychopathy. Since 1968 disturbances of affect: a seeking of conflict; overvaluing of his own personality, combined with emotional blunting; a pathological interpretation of his surroundings and thought disorders; all of this pointed to a schizophrenic condition.
>
> As a result of treatment the development of the schizophrenic process has been arrested. He is responsible.

* * *

On 20 June Kukobaka stood before the court. The charge was supported by Procurator Alekseyenko from Mogilyov.

Moscow lawyer E. A. Reznikova was due to defend Kukobaka (in 1973 she defended Shikhanovich — *Chronicle* 30; in 1975 M. Nashpits — *Chronicle* 36; since 1975 she has conducted the 'supervisory case' of S. Kovalyov — *Chronicle* 46 and this issue; in 1977 she defended F. Serebrov and S. Pavlenkova — *Chronicle* 47; in 1978 she represented V. Khailo — *Chronicle* 48 — and defended A. Ginzburg — *Chronicles* 48-50). In spite of her telegram saying 'Defence counsel Reznikova can come to the hearing of the case against Kukobaka any day after 22 June ... ', the Judge refused to postpone the hearing.

Kukobaka submitted a petition asking for V. Nekipelov, who was present in the courtroom, to defend him. After consultation the court resolved:

> ... the Judicial Board considers it impossible to permit Kukobaka's representative Nekipelov to defend him in court, since Nekipelov, in 1974, was prosecuted for an analogous crime. The court cannot be sure that Nekipelov, given the right to defend, would use this right in good conscience to the advantage of the case.

Kukobaka categorically refused the lawyer nominated by the court, and said that he would defend himself. The court agreed.

The indictment charged Kukobaka with writing and sending to the West the article 'Détente and Human Rights are Indivisible'

(*Chronicle* 45) and the essay 'Stolen Motherland' (*Chronicle* 51); with making tape-recordings from Western radio broadcasts and acquainting his friends with them; with writing and giving to one of the witnesses 'An Open Letter to the USSR Minister of Health, Academician Petrovsky' (about psychiatric repressions); and with disseminating 'slander' in spoken form (there is no freedom of speech, of the press or demonstrations in the USSR; people are subjected to criminal prosecution for their beliefs; the authorities have brought the country to destitution).

Kukobaka petitioned for two supplementary witnesses to be summoned: Yury Belov (*Chronicle* 48) and MVD official V. I. Pinyas. He asked for all the documents which had been confiscated from him and were called 'slanderous' in the case to be attached to the case files. He declared that the indictment accused him only of actions taking place between June 1977 and October 1978; he asked for the period to be extended to cover the years from 1968 to 1979. All his petitions were rejected. Kukobaka pleaded not guilty. He explained that everything he had said and written was a result of his beliefs, which he was not intending to change.

Six witnesses were examined in court: O. Borisov (*Chronicle* 51), S. Novikov (*Chronicle* 51) and his sister T. Sagatova, N. Bolkhvadze, L. Kisel and A. Burd. Novikov, Sagatova and Kisel gave testimony only under pressure from the Judge, after he put leading questions or read out passages from the records of the pre-trial investigation.

Judge What is your attitude to Sagatova's testimony?
Kukobaka You call that her testimony? That was the KGB's and the investigator's testimony. Their invention.
Judge And where were you writing out the article, in whose house?
Borisov The local policeman told me the house number. I didn't know it.
J And in whose house did he ask you to write the article?
B That place where they were selling beer.
J What did the local policeman have to do with it?
B No, I'd forgotten. It was at the KGB they told me the number of the house. A dark fellow.

In his prosecuting speech Procurator Alekseyenko asserted that no one is persecuted in the USSR for thinking differently: 'Think for a hundred years if you like, but don't act!' He asked for three years' ordinary-regime camp for the accused.

Kukobaka concluded his defence speech as follows:

> My convictions are absolutely opposed to communist ideology. These convictions are not subject to any correction through labour. How is that possible — to correct convictions through labour? I've already served seven years for my convictions. Isn't that enough? I renounced my citizenship: to tie someone by force to citizenship of a particular country is an act of unparalleled sadism. If a man is ashamed of his citizenship, it is immoral to keep him in the country. I don't want to, and I can't, change my convictions. But if they don't suit you, then deport me from the country, and that'll be that.

From his final speech:

> The first and most important human right, or rather, obligation to oneself, is to stand by one's convictions.
>
> I am frightened of prison, of camps, of lunatic asylums ... but I am more frightened of lies, base behaviour and my own participation in either of these, than of any prison. I am not ashamed to be called a prisoner. But I am bitter at having been born in this country and I am ashamed that until I was nearly 30 I myself was an obedient cog in the system. But my convictions changed a long while ago. I want to live according to my convictions, to read what I want, to look at what I want. And you are trying me for this desire!

All the episodes on the indictment were included in the judgment. Kukobaka was sentenced to three years' ordinary-regime camp. The Belorussian Supreme Court, presided over by Zaitsev, rejected Kukobaka's appeal.

* * *

F. Serebrov, member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, issued an appeal:

> Let Mikhail Kukobaka live outside the barbed wire of the great socialist camp! I ask everyone who believes in God, everyone who can still suffer for the persecuted, everyone who is sickened by injustice, to take action to secure the release of Kukobaka and allow him to leave the USSR.

On 21 June A. D. Sakharov called on trades unions throughout the world and Amnesty International to come to Kukobaka's defence.

The Trial of Morozov

On 30 October 1978 the Morozov Case was detached from the criminal case against V. A. Orekhov. According to Morozov, Viktor Alekseyevich Orekhov is a KGB captain, employed in the operations department; he is about 35; he gave Morozov secret official information and was sentenced to 10-12 years in mid-May.

It is known, for example, that Morozov gave people prior warning of the searches on 15 May 1978 (*Chronicle* 50) and the arrest of A. Podrabinek (*Chronicles* 50, 51), and provided some passes for the trial of Yu. Orlov (*Chronicle* 50).

On 31 October the Morozov Case was accepted by the Investigations Department of the USSR KGB (Orekhov's Case was conducted by the Moscow KGB and the Military Procuracy). Morozov was detained on 1 November (*Chronicle* 51) and arrested on 3 November. He has said that soon after his arrest he was shown Orekhov's testimony about information he had passed on, and Orekhov's request that he corroborate it. Morozov fulfilled the request.

At the pre-trial investigation Morozov gaved detailed testimony (*Chronicle* 52). On 29 June 1979 the RSFSR Supreme Court, presided over by Member of the Court P. P. Lukanov, sentenced Mark Aronovich Morozov (b. 1931), under article 10 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, to five years' exile.

According to the judgment, Morozov committed the following offences: —

— In 1974-6 he duplicated for the purpose of dissemination, and disseminated, *The Gulag Archipelago.*

— In 1974 he provided Berdyayev's *The Sources and Meaning of Russian Communism* for duplication.

— In 1974 he disseminated Solzhenitsyn's *The Calf Butted the Oak.*

— In 1974-6 he disseminated Roy Medvedev's article 'The Near Eastern Conflict and the Jewish Question in the USSR'.

— In 1975-6 he disseminated the second volume of Avtorkhanov's *The Origins of the Partocracy.*

— In 1976 he disseminated Amalrik's *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*

— At the beginning of 1977, at his home, he gave Orekhov the first and second parts of Turchin's book *The Inertia of Fear: Socialism and Totalitarianism* (this is chronologically the first episode connected with Orekhov).

— In 1976 he photographed, with the purpose of future dissemination, the collection *From under the Rubble.*

— In August 1977 he wrote and posted abroad an appeal to the leaders of the Italian Communist Party (*Chronicle* 47).

— In March 1978 he organized and personally participated in the manufacture by photographic means of about 100 leaflets; these were disseminated during the night of 13-14 March 1978 by his associates in various districts of Moscow (*Chronicle* 51).

Morozov pleaded guilty in court and declared that he thoroughly

understood the hostility of his past actions to the Soviet Union and all their possible harmful consequences, which he had wanted to take place.

Expressing repentance for what he had done, Morozov said that he regretted the harm he had caused to the Soviet political and social system ...

In considering the measure of punishment, the Judical Board takes into account the fact that this was Morozov's first crime, as well as his sincere repentance and the fact that through his evidence the accused has, to a significant degree, make it possible for light to be shed on the crime committed by him and for the truth to be established. On these grounds it is considered possible not to deprive him of freedom.

At the trial Morozov refused the defence counsel allocated to him and undertook his own defence. Morozov explained his behaviour at the pre-trial investigation and in court in one of his statements to the USSR Procurator-General:

> I am answering your natural questions, namely: why did I give evidence against myself that the investigation and the court could not corroborate? and why, neither during the investigation nor during the trial did I object to violations of procedure? The investigation, in the person of Col. V. I. Volodin (Senior Assistant Head of the USSR KGB Investigations Department — *Chronicle*; see *Chronicles* 45-49), gave me a firm promise of a suspended sentence if I gave evidence, and also promised me help with getting work after the trial. I gave evidence that basically confirmed the investigation's version, so as to get the trial procedure over and done with as quickly as possible ... After the end of the investigation (article 201 of the Procedural Code) Col. V. I. Volodin and Major N. N. Belyayev persistently reminded me to stick to my testimony in court, not to deny the facts set down in the indictment, not to refute the interpretations of the investigators, and even to force the witnesses at the trial to give evidence to the advantage of the prosecution, so as not, as they put it, 'to spoil the whole case'. V. I. Volodin also asked me not to try to engage E. A. Reznikova as my defence counsel, informing me that she was allegedly a dissident and therefore her very participation could only bring me harm, since the Judges would pay no attention to her arguments. These requests, which in essence denied me the opportunity to defend myself (as everyone present at the trial could see, I was passive and merely tried to compel witnesses to give the evidence needed by the prosecution), derived, as I now see, by no means from the desire to give me a suspended sentence, but from the knowledge that the outcome of the

investigation was, in a legal sense, inconclusive. Supposing a promise from the K G B to be the word of the government, I took the risk of believing the investigators, and, although the indictment disturbed me by the tendentiousness, I 'didn't spoil the case' in court.

Through my own experience I now know the price of K G B promises; I have understood how judges like Lukanov interpret socialist legality. I hope that my comrades will be able to draw the appropriate conclusions from my bitter experience.

On receiving exile instead of a suspended sentence Morozov again 'repented of what he had done' (his behaviour at the pre-trial investigation and in court, and also his compact with the K G B) and returned to the ranks of the defenders of the rule of law. In the same statement he writes:

> Lukanov has discredited socialist legality and damaged the prestige of the Soviet Union by his actions. I am now convinced that Soviet dissenters are right to criticize the court procedures at political trials. Undoubtedly one should also have doubts about other trials conducted by Judge Lukanov — the trial of Shcharansky in particular.

Morozov also maintained that the charges connected with the leaflets and the collection *From Under the Rubble* were not proven in court, although they were included in the judgment, and demanded that criminal proceedings be instituted against Judge Lukanov for 'passing a deliberately illegal sentence'. He writes:

> After November 1976, when I signed an official caution in connection with circulating anti-Soviet literature, practically no further instances of my doing so were established, except the episode with witness V. A. Orekhov, the now convicted K G B captain. Orekhov pointed out that his superiors knew and did not object to my giving him forbidden literature, as Orekhov, through the nature of his work, had the right to read it. Since Orekhov, who has suffered for the help he gave to the movement to defend the rule of law, could not have been leading me on for his own purposes, I have to presume that the K G B was conducting this unseemly matter.
>
> The instance of circulating literature took place before I signed the caution; afterwards I drew the conclusions demanded by the authorities. To charge me now with these earlier episodes means to deprive the official caution of all meaning.

In another statement to the U S S R Procurator-General, Morozov asks for help, as he is seriously ill (with infectious rheumatic polyarthritis), and Judge Lukanov has not, in spite of his requests, applied

article 361 of the Code of Criminal Procedure ('postponement of the serving of a sentence' in cases where, for example, 'the serious illness of a convict prevents him from serving his sentence'). In his statement Morozov explains Judge Lukanov's refusal in the following way:

> My complete immobility as a result of my illness is for him an acceptable alternative which compensates for the relatively light sentence he passed on me to avoid giving grounds for public protests against the severe sentences on Soviet defenders of the rule of law, especially before the 1980 Olympic Games.

Arrests, Searches, Interrogations

Case No. 46012

On 6 March, in Moscow and Leningrad, another series of searches was conducted in connection with Case No. 46012/18-76 (*Chronicle* 52). Officials of the Moscow Procuracy conducted searches at the homes of A. Yu. Daniel and R. P. Tseilikman. Officials of the Leningrad K G B, 'on behalf of the Moscow Procuracy', conducted searches at the homes of S. V. Dedyulin, A. B. Roginsky and V. N. Sazhin.

As a result of the searches the following articles were confiscated: —

— From **Sergei Dedyulin:** the manuscript he had compiled of a bio-bibliographical dictionary of social activists in the U S S R from the '50s to the '70s, card-indexes of samizdat documents (several thousand cards), bibliographic materials for a history of U S S R party and state organs, and a bibliography of A. I. Solzhenitsyn's works, compiled by Dedyulin and said to be the most comprehensive one in existence. Several numbers of the samizdat journals *A Chronicle of Current Events, Community* and *37* were also taken.

— From **Alexander Daniel:** several handwritten and typewritten texts of the memoirs of various authors; books published abroad (*Along a Sharp Edge* by Yu. Aikhenvald, *Memory* No. 2 and The Bible); the brochure *The Third Plenum of the Moscow Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*, which was published in the U S S R; two numbers of *A Chronicle of Current Events*; two numbers of *The Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives*; manuscripts containing information on the position of religious sects in the USSR; and tape-recordings. Officials searched the handbag of **Natalya Kravchenko,** who was in A. Daniel's flat during the search, and confiscated some notebooks.

investigation was, in a legal sense, inconclusive. Supposing a promise from the K G B to be the word of the government, I took the risk of believing the investigators, and, although the indictment disturbed me by the tendentiousness, I 'didn't spoil the case' in court.

Through my own experience I now know the price of K G B promises; I have understood how judges like Lukanov interpret socialist legality. I hope that my comrades will be able to draw the appropriate conclusions from my bitter experience.

On receiving exile instead of a suspended sentence Morozov again 'repented of what he had done' (his behaviour at the pre-trial investigation and in court, and also his compact with the K G B) and returned to the ranks of the defenders of the rule of law. In the same statement he writes:

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— From **Arseny Roginsky:** books and brochures published in the USSR — *The Case of the Industrial Party, The Case of the Mensheviks, A Resolution Concerning the Work of Enemies of the People Inside the Komsomol, Crime and its Prevention, The Interrogation of Kolchak, Decembrists and Siberia* (an offprint) and the journal *The Past*, No. 16 for 1921; a pre-Revolutionary book written by former director of the Police Department A. A. Lopukhin, entitled *From the Sum of My Professional Experience*; a reprint published abroad of N. Antsiferov's book *The Spirit of Petersburg*, originally published in 1922; and books published abroad: *Dmitry Merezhkovsky* by Z. Gippius, *The Russian Idea* by N. Berdyayev, and *My Memoirs* by E. Olitskaya (vol. 2).

— From **Raisa Pavlovna Tseilikman:** *Into the Whirlwind* by E. Ginzburg, *The Yawning Heights* by A. Zinoviev, *The Faculty of Useless Things* by Yu. Dombrovsky, and a few dozen pages of a typewritten text from L. Z. Kopelev's memoirs.

In addition, all the people searched had their typewriters removed.

* * *

On 7 March Dedyulin, Roginsky and Sazhin were summoned for interrogation. They were all asked one and the same question: Do you know anything about the publication of *A Chronicle of Current Events?* They replied in the negative.

In mid-April **A. S. Korotayev,** the son of R. P. Tseilikman, was summoned several times to the Procuracy. Investigator Burtsev (*Chronicle* 52) conducted the first interrogation (in connection with the search at his mother's). KGB officials conducted the next two talks. The talks concerned the publication of the *Chronicle, Searches* and *Memory*, Korotayev replied that he knew nothing about them.

In July 1979 Burtsev interrogated **Daniel** about the materials taken during the search of his home. Burtsev was interested in the contradictions in the comments appended to the record of the search (A. Daniel had stated in writing that all the material confiscated from him was his personal property, and had nothing to do with his former wife, E. M. Velikanova, in whose name the search warrant was made out; N. Kravchenko had noted that the texts concerning the position of religious sects in the USSR belonged to her, Kravchenko). Daniel refused either to refute or corroborate Kravchenko's statement and demanded the return of the materials taken from his files, which, according to him, 'are of an exclusively historical and informative nature'.

* * *

Arseny Roginsky is 33 years old. He is a school-teacher; apart from this he is an historian, a specialist on the history of the liberation movement in nineteenth-century Russia, and his writings have been published in scholarly collections. In February 1977 his home was searched in connection with the Ginzburg Case (*Chronicle* 45) and in June of the same year he received a 'caution' from the KGB (*Chronicle* 46). After the search on 6 March he was dismissed from Evening School No. 148, where he had taught literature (see the section 'A Labour Conflict').

Sergei Dedyulin (aged 28) is a Chemistry teacher at the same school. After Roginsky's dismissal he left the school 'of his own accord'.

Alexander Daniel (aged 28) is a Mathematics teacher at a secondary school.

Valery Sazhin (aged 32) is a research officer at the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library.

Raisa Pavlovna Tseilikman is 71 years old. She is the widow of writer V. Ya. Kantorovich.

The Case of the Journal *Searches*

Interrogations in connection with the case of the journal *Searches*, which began after the searches on 25 January (*Chronicle* 52), are continuing. At an interrogation on 12 April Investigator Yu. A. Burtsev presented member of the editorial board **Valery Abramkin** with a resolution about the institution of proceedings regarding the publication of *Searches*. The new case has the number 5061/14-79. The resolution states that during the pre-trial investigation in connection with Case No. 46012/18-76 (the case number which appeared on the 25 January search warrants), it became clear that the editorial board of *Searches* was not connected with the publication of the slanderous bulletin *A Chronicle of Current Events*. However, it was established that *Searches* also contains deliberate fabrications discrediting the Soviet system. Therefore the case against *Searches* had been separated and would be conducted independently of the investigation of Case No. 46012/18-76.

V. Abramkin was subjected to more intensive interrogation than others. He refused to answer any of the questions put to him. Investigator Burtsev threatened Abramkin: 'As soon as the sixth number comes out, you will be charged in connection with the *Searches* Case. We know that you are the journal's chief editor and are inciting other members of the editorial board to continue publication'. The investigator invited Abramkin to think about his family and the fate of his baby.

Burtsev said that other members of the editorial staff would be banished from Moscow by administrative order.

On 12 April the editorial board of *Searches* made a joint statement,

in which they evaluated Burtsev's threats as an attempt to cause a split in the board by turning V. Abramkin into a hostage.

> We, the editorial board of *Searches*, reject the ultimatum delivered to us as illegal blackmail.
>
> We again assert: all the editors of *Searches* bear equal and indivisible responsibility for the publication of the journal ...
>
> We appeal to everyone to speak up for the journalist Valery Abramkin. It is essential to avert the reprisals with which he is threatened. The practice of taking hostages — a terrorist method condemned by the whole world — must benefit no one!

* * *

On 15 March a search was conducted at the home of **Mikhail Yakovlev** in Odessa. Yakovlev (pen-name Liyatov, his mother's surname) is a regular contributor to the journal *Searches*, in which his play and some comic short stories have been printed. One number of *Searches*, V. Erofeyev's *Moscow — Petushki*, and some of his own writings were confiscated. Two days afterwards, during a second visit, his typewriter was taken.

Shortly after that, officials had a talk with him. They asked him whether *Searches* printed his works with his consent. He replied in the affirmative. He refused to talk about his acquaintances in Odessa or Moscow.

On the day after the talk an official interrogation took place. Yakovlev still refused to give evidence and was threatened with a trial. The next day he was summoned to the Procuracy, where he was cautioned in accordance with the 'Decree'. He signed the cautioning statement.

When officials arrived to search Yakovlev's home, they found **Vyacheslav Igrunov** (*Chronicle* 51) there. In March he was summoned three times for 'chats', and once again in June.

* * *

On 19 March a search was conducted at the Moscow home of **Aleksei Smirnov** (*Chronicle* 7) — again in connection with Case No. 46012. During the search a copy of the fifth number of *Searches* was confiscated (among other things).

* * *

On 17 May Burtsev interrogated member of the editorial board of *Searches* **P. M. Egides.** Although Egides refused to answer questions, Burtsev wrote down all his questions accurately in the record, and after each one he wrote 'I refuse to answer'.

Here are some of the questions put by Burtsev: Where, when and by whom was the journal thought up? Who looks after its materials and where? Who is the chief editor? Which department is Egides in charge of? Will a sixth number be produced? If so, will Egides take part in its production? If so, why? If not, why not?

At the end of the interrogation Egides asked Burtsev to explain where he saw anything criminal in the journal and to cite examples of slander. Burtsev replied that the journal 'blackens Soviet reality'. To Egides's question 'Have you read my articles?' Burtsev replied, 'I haven't gone into them in depth'.

Egides explained in writing, on the record, why he had refused to give evidence. He noted in particular the groundlessness of charging *Searches* with slander and the immorality of persecuting free thought.

* * *

On 29 May member of the editorial board of *Searches* **Viktor Sokirko** was detained in the Metro. He was taken to the police station attached to the Metro station, where Investigator Burtsev was waiting for him. He showed Sokirko a warrant for a body-search in connection with Case No. 5061/14-79. After the search, during which 11 copies of the fifth number of *Searches* were confiscated, they tried to interrogate Sokirko. However, he refused to take part in the interrogation on the grounds of the illegality of the criminal prosecution of *Searches*. During the search, Procuracy officials started several conversations about the pointlessness of all the 'dissident noise' and said that any Soviet person, seeing the 'bits of paper' confiscated from Sokirko, would beat up their authors mercilessly; it was about time for Sokirko to think of himself and his family, since he'd been 'caught red-handed' and there was no escape: his only real way out would be a sincere promise to 'start talking', etc.

They then took Sokirko back to his flat and conducted a search there. As a result of both searches, typewritten materials for *Searches*, Sokirko's manuscripts, and a typewriter were confiscated.

During the search **Gleb Pavlovsky** (*Chronicles* 40, 52) dropped in. Typewritten and handwritten texts of G. S. Pomerants's essay 'Dreams of the Earth' were confiscated from him. Both Sokirko and Pavlovsky refused to sign the search records.

* * *

On 24 July at 6 pm, member of the *Searches* editorial board **Yu. Grimm** was detained in the Metro. He was taken to the police room at the Metro station and told that he looked like a criminal for whom they were searching. He was asked to show the contents of his bag. Grimm refused and asked to see the search warrant. He was then taken to police station 1 (in the area where he lived), where Captain Ivanov (on duty at the station), in the presence of policemen and vigilantes,

took his bag from him and made a list of its contents. Grimm refused to sign the list of articles confiscated. After the search, Deputy Head of the Station for Criminal Investigation Dugin interrogated Grimm. Grimm was allowed to leave at 11.30. On 31 July Grimm sent a statement to the Procurator of Moskvoretsky District in which he enumerated the violations of the Code of Criminal Procedure which had taken place during his detention and demanded that the people who had broken the law receive official punishments, and that all the documents, books and personal possessions confiscated from him be returned.

* * *

Member of the *Searches* editorial board **Raisa Borisovna** was expelled from the party on 21 March for 'actions incompatible with the high calling of a member of the CPSU'. (R. B. Lert joined the party in 1926.) The expulsion, in violation of the regulations, took place without the consent of her local party organization and in her absence.

* * *

A decision was taken by the administration of the institute where Master of Philosophical Sciences Assistant Professor **Egides** taught, to dismiss him. The reason for the dismissal was his involvement with *Searches*, which was regarded as an 'amoral act' (article 254 of the Code of Labour Law). The trades union committee approved the administration's decision.

Events in the Ukraine

The Arrest of Alexander Berdnik

On 6 March writer Oles (Alexander) Berdnik was arrested in Kiev. On the evening of the same day and on the morning of the following day searches were conducted at the homes of many members of the national movement and the movement to defend the rule of law in the Ukraine, in connection with his case.

* * *

Alexander Pavlovich Berdnik was born in 1927 into a peasant family. He participated in the Patriotic War. He was first arrested in 1949 for 'anti-Soviet activity' and released in 1955. On his release he engaged in literary activity, became a member of the Ukrainian Union of Writers, and a number of his works were printed. He has been a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group from the moment of its inception in November 1976, and became the Group's leader after the arrest of N. Rudenko in February 1977. He was expelled from the Union of Writers and his works were removed from libraries (*Chronicle* 47). Recently Berdnik has been working in an arts workshop.

* * *

Berdnik left his flat a midday on 6 March and did not return. The next morning, a search was conducted at the home of his wife **Valentina Sokorinskaya,** who lives in the village of Grebeni in the Kiev Region. Nothing was confiscated at the search. Berdnik's wife was informed of his arrest only on 12 March. The K G B told her that he had 'committed a state crime'.

Berdnik is being held in the K G B's Republic Investigations Prison in Kiev. Investigator Tsimakh is conducting the interrogations in connection with his case.

Berdnik's relatives and friends have reason to believe that after his arrest he declared a hunger-strike 'to the death'. As a mark of solidarity with her husband, Sokorinskaya also held a hunger-strike from May 22 until 1 June. **Vasily Sichko,** who had come to visit her, joined in the strike.

* * *

On 6-7 March four searches were carried out in Kiev in connection with the Berdnik Case, at the homes of **O. Ya. Mesho, V. Malinkovich** (*Chronicles* 49, 52), **N. Gorbal** (*Chronicles* 47, 52) and **P. Stokotelny** (*Chronicles* 51, 52).

On the same days four more searches were conducted in the Kiev Region, at the homes of **V. Lysenko** (Vasilkov), **M. Melnik** (Pogreby Village), **Yu. Litvin** (Barakhty Village) and **R. Rudenko** (Koncha-Zaspa Village).

In Dolina (Ivano-Frankovsk Region) another two searches were carried out, at the homes of **Vasily Streltsov** and of **Pyotr Sichko** and his son Vasily.

Works by A. Berdnik — the articles 'Holy Ukraine (The Ukrainian Spiritual Republic)' and 'The Alternative Revolution', and the poem 'The Oath' — were removed, as well as other typewritten texts. From V. Malinkovich they even confiscated a typewritten copy of O. Mandelshtam's 'Egyptian Stamp' (although they later returned it).

From Yu. Litvin they confiscated his own manuscripts: poetry, a research paper entitled 'The Soviet State and the Soviet Working Class', and drafts of Ukrainian Helsinki Group documents. (Yury Litvin is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.)

A search was conducted at the home of **P. Vins** in connection with the same case on 12 March, and a second search at the home of Raisa Rudenko on 19 March. From R. Rudenko they confiscated

several works by her husband Nikolai Rudenko, including the book *Economic Monologues* and unpublished verses. They also took a typewritten literary collection entitled *Behind Bars* and a description of the trial of N. Rudenko and A. Tikhy (*Chronicle* 46). She is being threatened with a separate criminal case for 'possession and duplication of anti-Soviet works'.

On 20 March Raisa Rudenko tried to buy a plane ticket for Moscow, but when she showed the cashier her passport, the latter, on seeing her surname, made some excuse to delay handing her the ticket. A few minutes later Raisa's 'overseer' from the K G B suddenly appeared. He told her that she was being summoned for interrogation and took her to the K G B. (On the way he said, 'Well, what's the point of your going to the capital ... ?) R. Rudenko refused to answer any questions.

* * *

On 6 March, during the search of O. Meshko's flat, her acquaintance **Elena Lelyukh** (Lelekh in *Chronicle* 51) dropped in. She was detained and searched, and a collection of poetry, Yury Litvin's *Tragic Gallery*, was confiscated from her.

A week later E. Lelyukh was summoned to the K G B and issued with a 'caution'. The cautioning statement mentioned three offences: the collection of poetry by Litvin; the Ukrainian émigré journal *Suchasnist* (*The Contemporary*) which was taken from her during a search in June 1978; and her participation in an unofficial gathering to commemorate T. G. Shevchenko on 22 May 1977 — the K G B has in its possession a photograph of E. Lelyukh placing flowers beside Shevchenko's tombstone. Elena Lelyukh is a chemical engineer working in Kiev. She has an eight-year-old son.

* * *

On 23 March several men in plain clothes attacked **Vladimir Malinkovich** in a Kiev street. They dragged him into a car and drove him to one of the so-called 'public rooms'. Here they announced to him that he was 'in custody', forcibly searched him, and advised him in parting to end his acquaintance with P. Vins and O. Meshko. During this episode they did not show Malinkovich any documents, but it is known that one of the participants in the 'operation' was K G B official Titarenko.

On 30 March Malinkovich was subjected to an interrogation. The questions were about Berdnik, whom Malinkovich does not know, and Oksana Meshko. Malinkovich refused to answer the questions.

After the interrogation they drove Malinkovich to the K G B Regional Office, where they returned everything confiscated from him on 6 March with the exception of tape-recordings of songs by Galich

(these were classified as anti-Soviet). They also issued Malinkovich with a caution 'under the Decree', which he refused to sign.

* * *

On 2 April **Ivan Kandyba** was detained in Kiev. He was taken to the K G B and interrogated in connection with the Berdnik Case. He was then put on a train to the place where he lives in the Lvov Region (Pustomyty village). Notification about the extension of administrative surveillance of him was waiting for him there — 'in view of the fact that he had not stepped on to the path of correction and had not engaged in socially useful labour'. Kandyba's previous term of surveillance had ended on 23 March.

The Suicide of Mikhail Melnik

During the night of 9-10 March Mikhail Melnik (*Chronicle* 51) ended his own life. At the search on 6-7 March he lost his entire archive; the results of all his scientific and literary endeavour were removed.

Mikhail Melnik was born in 1930 into a peasant family. In 1969 he graduated from Kiev University and subsequently worked as a teacher in village schools. From 1969 to 1971 Melnik was a post-graduate student at the Ukrainian S S R Academy of Sciences' History Institute. He was obliged to give up his studies shortly before the end of his course, because of his participation in an unofficial celebration to commemorate T. G. Shevchenko on 22 May. He was then expelled from the party. For a year he worked as a teacher in Kiev. In 1972 he made a written protest against arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia. After that he was forced to 'resign' from the school. His last job was as a watchman in a brick factory.

In recent years Melnik made several protests to the press about violations of human rights in the Ukraine, and was a correspondent of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Melnik was married; his widow is left with two children, aged 5 and 10.

M. Melnik's funeral took place on 12 March in the village of Pogreby, under the surveillance of K G B agents. Two of Melnik's friends, **Pavel Stokotelny** and **Oksana Meshko,** were detained on their way to the funeral. Stokotelny was taken to the K G B, where he was interrogated in connection with the Berdnik Case, and Meshko was detained at the K G B until the end of the funeral without any excuse being given.

Only one copy of Melnik's collection of poetry *A Calendar of Memorable Dates* remained after his search, and this was confiscated on 23 March from **Grigory Minyailo** (*Chronicle* 49), who was stopped in the street and subjected to a body-search.

The Arrest of Taras Melnichuk

Taras Melnichuk (*Chronicles* 33, 35), poet and ex-political prisoner,

was arrested in March in the village of Utoropy in the Ivano-Frankovsk Region. Apparently he is charged with 'malicious hooliganism' (in January he was provoked into a fight). In connection with his arrest searches were conducted at the homes of ex-political prisoners **D. Grinkiv, I. Shovkovoi** and **D. Demidov** (*Chronicle* 51).[9]

The Arrest of Yury Badzyo

On 23 April literary specialist Yury Badzyo was arrested in Kiev. The arrest was accompanied by a search. A manuscript of Badzyo's, *The Right to Live,* was confiscated for the second time (*Chronicle* 52). A typewritten copy of N. Rudenko's *Economic Monologues* was also taken. He is charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'.

Yuri Badzyo is 43 years old. In 1958 he graduated from Uzhgorod University and completed a post-graduate course in 1964. He worked as a journalist and literary critic and had dealings with a number of publishing houses. He was dismissed from his main place of work ('Youth of the Ukraine' Publishing House) in 1968 for political reasons. He was finally stopped from doing literary work in 1972 after publicly speaking out against arrests of members of the Ukrainian artistic intelligentsia. His wife Svetlana Kirichenko was likewise dismissed from the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ukrainian Language and Literature.[10] She later managed to get a job as a proof-reader.

Yury Badzyo himself could not get any job for a long time. Eventually he was taken on as a loader at a Kiev bread factory, where he worked until his arrest. The couple have two school-age children.

* * *

On 19 April **Vasily Streltsov** was summoned to an interrogation in Dolina. On 20 April and 22 May **Pyotr Sichko** and **Vasily Sichko** were interrogated.

On 30 April Pyotr Sichko renounced his Soviet citizenship in writing. On 22 May Streltsov and P. Sichko were cautioned 'under the Decree'. They both refused to sign the warning statements.

* * *

On 30 May **Yury Litvin** was summoned to an interrogation by KGB Investigator Zinich. Litvin sent the Chairman of the Ukrainian KGB a statement saying that he refused to go, and that he considered the KGB's involvement in the affairs of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group a crude violation of the law.

* * *

People who visit **Oksana Meshko** are afterwards detained and interrogated (*Chronicle* 51). For example, **Klim Semenyuk** was detained on 25 March, and searched. But Oksana Meshko's open letter to Oles

Gonchar, which he had in his possession, was not taken; the officials even refused to read it, although Semenyuk invited them to do so: 'We do not read other people's letters'. (Three days before, a copy of this letter had been sent to First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee V. V. Shcherbitsky.)

Semenyuk was ordered to stop visiting O. Meshko and threatened with 15 days for hooliganism. 'I'm not acting like a hooligan', said Semenyuk. 'You will be in a moment', they replied. One of the officials promised him a beating if he continued to visit O. Meshko.

Architect **Pyotr Vovchenko,** an old friend of the Sergienko-Meshko family, was visited by a KGB official. The theme of their talk was the same — end your acquaintance. However, in deference to Vovchenko's position, this was said extremely politely.

The Death of Vladimir Ivasyuk

At the end of April Vladimir Ivasyuk, a 25-year-old poet and composer, disappeared. He was a student at Lvov Conservatory. Here a man approached him and invited him to go somewhere. He was not seen again by any of his acquaintances.

* * *

Ivasyuk is the author of songs which are especially popular among young people (eg 'Chervona Ruta' ['Red Rue']). He also arranged Ukrainian folk songs. His works were performed at international festivals and competitions. Although his official situation seemed satisfactory (he was a member of the Komsomol Regional Committee and allowed to travel abroad), he also had conflicts with the authorities. It is known that he refused an invitation to compose an oratorio to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the 'reunification of the Ukraine'. Before he disappeared he was for some reason being summoned to the KGB.

* * *

For a long time after Ivasyuk's disappearance, his family was told that attempts to find him were being made without success. On 18 May they were told that his body had been found hanging from a tree in a thick part of a forest, and that expert analysis had determined suicide, committed about three days before he was found. One of Ivasyuk's relatives, a doctor, who was allowed to attend the post-mortem, said that the corpse did not show certain signs characteristic of a hanging.

The funeral took place on May 22 in the Lechakovsky Cemetery in Lvov. It turned into a huge demonstration. On 12 June, Trinity Day, there was a veritable pilgrimage to Ivasyuk's grave. It was heaped with a mountain of flowers. Pyotr and Vasily Sichko came from Dolina to visit the grave.

Vasily Sichko climbed on to the neighbouring grave and made a speech. 'We don't know', he said, 'when Vladimir Ivasyuk died. We only know the date of his funeral, 22 May'. Vasily Sichko suggested that this day be marked as a day of mourning and remembrance for all the well-known figures of Ukrainian culture who had died in mysterious circumstances. In this connection he named, apart from Ivasyuk, the composer Leontovich and the artists Alla Gorskaya [Horska] and Rostislav Paletsky. At Vasily Sichko's suggestion, the crowd honoured the memory of these people with a minute's silence.

Pyotr Sichko spoke next. He said that he and his son Vasily were members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which was fighting for human rights in the Ukraine and the national rights of the Ukrainian people; he appealed for support and help. 'We arrived here and found villages decorated with flowers and greenery', he said. 'So in spite of 40 years of the policy of suppressing our national spirit and of atheistic propaganda, our folk traditions and faith are alive. The Ukrainian people must preserve itself and its culture'. After his speech the crowd chanted 'Glory to the Ukraine!'

When Pyotr and Vasily Sichko were leaving the cemetery, a man came up to them and said, 'You could be arrested. Let me give you a lift in my car'. Pyotr Sichko replied that he was a K G B agent. The crowd escorted Pyotr and Vasily Sichko to the bus stop and many people got on to the bus with them.

The Arrest of Pyotr and Vasily Sichko

On 5 July Pyotr and Vasily Sichko were arrested. They were charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). Assistant Procurator of the Ivano-Frankovsk Region Ivanov is conducting the case.

On 6 July an article entitled 'May the Lies of the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] Rot' appeared in the Lvov newspaper *Vilna Ukraina*, vilifying both Sichkos. Concerning their speeches on Ivasyuk's grave, it states that they addressed a few loafers who happened to be near the grave (the newspaper names four of these loafers). The lie which must rot is that Ivasyuk was killed.

On 10 July Stefania Sichko announced that her husband was in an investigations prison and her son had been sent to the Lvov Regional Psychiatric Hospital for diagnosis.

In connection with the dispatch of Vasily Sichko for psychiatric diagnosis, the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes sent a statement to the hospital's head doctor:

> The dispatch of V. Sichko for diagnosis immediately after his arrest reveals in this case the desire of the investigating organs yet again to use psychiatry as an instrument of punishment. This desire is particularly obvious when you bear in mind that the charge brought against Vasily Sichko is of a political character, and that people who know Sichko well, and his relatives, are in no doubt about his mental health ...

* * *

Vasily Sichko (b. 1956) was expelled in 1977, during his second year of studies, from the Faculty of Journalism at Kiev University, apparently in connection with his father's public activity. He renounced his Soviet citizenship and asked the authorities for a visa to go abroad, where he would be able to continue his education.

On 17 January 1978 V. Sichko was compulsorily hospitalized in the Ivano-Frankovsk Psychiatric Hospital, although he had had no previous contact with psychiatrists. A deputy head doctor at the hospital stated that no normal person would renounce his citizenship. Sichko was released after two weeks.

Pyotr Sichko (b. 1926) was arrested in 1947 for forming an underground student organization. He was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to 25 years. He was released in 1957.

* * *

On 5 July the Procuracy conducted another search at the home of **Vasily Streltsov.** At the same time a search was conducted at the home of another inhabitant of Dolina — the 80-year-old **Vladimir Gorbovoi** [Horbovy in Ukrainian]. (V. Gorbovoi is a Doctor of Philosophy and Law sentenced in 1945 to 25 years' deprivation of freedom. He was released in 1970.[11])

V. Gorbovoi's memoirs, *The Weather of Conscience*, were confiscated during the search. The reason for the search was Gorbovoi's 'contact' with the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The Arrest of Monakov

In summer 1979 Mikhail Viktorovich Monakov was arrested in the town of Ilichevsk, Odessa Region. Monakov is a school-teacher who, until January 1979, worked in School No. 99 in Odessa. In connection with the case against him a search was conducted on 16 July at the Odessa home of **Leonid Sery** (Sery's daughter was taught by Monakov). Sery's correspondence with acquaintances and the authorities was confiscated. On 16, 17, 19 and 20 July Sery was interrogated in connection with the Monakov case. The investigator said that Monakov had founded (or was founding) 'a new workers' party', and he had been charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Since the search, Sery and his family have been blatantly shadowed.

Exiles on Holiday

S. Sapelyak (*Chronicle* 51) went on holiday on 13 March. He had been staying for a while at the home of Irena Zisels when he was taken to a police station and escorted out of the town. He was also detained in Kiev and stopped from travelling to Lvov. On arrival in Moscow he was detained at the Kiev Station and taken to the police station, where he was ordered to return to his place of exile the same day.

* * *

In April **V. Chornovil** left for a holiday in the village of Olkhovtsy, Zvenigorodka District, Cherkassy Region. He was intending to break his journey in Kiev for a few hours.

On 8 April the aeroplane from Irkutsk to Kiev in which he was flying arrived over the airport in Kiev on time, and the landing announcement was made. However, the passengers were unexpectedly forbidden to disembark and the plane was sent to Simferopol. The plane landed at Simferopol Airport and stayed there for some time. It eventually landed in Kiev six hours late. On arrival at Borispol Airport, V. Chornovil was taken off the plane by the police, put into a car, and driven to the bus station to catch the bus to Zvenigorodka. His wife, who was waiting to meet him at the airport, was told that he had not arrived on the flight; he was told that his wife would meet him in Zvenigorodka.

The guests who then came to visit him in Olkhovtsy were literally hunted. On their way back from Olkhovtsy **P. Stokotelny, N. Gorbal, Yu. Badzyo** and his wife, all from Kiev, were detained — each of them separately, and each was informed that he or she was suspected of taking part in a robbery — 'a raid on a shop'. **L. Vasilev** from Moscow, who was also on his way back from Olkhovtsy, was detained at a police station for six hours, also 'suspected' of taking part in the raid.

K G B officials 'chatted' to Chornovil in Zvenigorodka. He was not allowed to go and see his wife and son in Lvov. The K G B agents said: 'If we let you go to Lvov, in two weeks' time you'll have issued a journal'.

On 12 May, when V. Chornovil, his sister and his son were travelling through Zvenigorodka on their way to Kiev, they were detained and subjected to an interrogation which lasted from morning till evening, by when the last bus for Kiev had left. They were interrogated in connection with the case of the arrested Yury Badzyo (see above).

The next day, at 5 am, Chornovil was taken to the airport in a police car and not given the opportunity to go to Kiev. Chornovil's friend **I. Svetlichny** had just arrived for a holiday in Kiev from his place of exile.

A search was conducted at the airport and papers were confiscated. The search record notes that Chornovil was asked to 'show any dangerous packages or objects' and that 'a 52-page notebook containing a draft report was discovered and confiscated during the examination'.

Chornovil wrote an open letter to the Ukrainian Minister of Internal Affairs, I. Kh. Golovchenko, describing all these events. He also sent him a protest in which he demanded

> the immediate return of my illegally confiscated notebook, and, as a minimum, a written apology for this and the other incidents which I have listed.

Chornovil writes:

> ... the incident at the airport is part of a series of tyrannical actions, and shows that these actions were the work of K G B agents using your obedient instruments, more precisely:
>
> 1. My abduction at the airport and the illegal escort with the purpose of preventing me travelling via Kiev, as was specified on my travel documents.
> 2. The ban on my officially prearranged visit to Lvov to have medical treatment and see my family.
> 3. The detentions, interrogations and searches — including body-searches ...
> 4. The day-long interrogation, which was ridiculous as regards both content and method ...
> 5. My illegal removal by the police from the airport bus ...
> 6. The incident at the airport and the illegal confiscation of my 'dangerously explosive notebook'.

* * *

On 12 April member of the Moscow Helsinki Group **Malva Noyevna Landa** was taken off a bus on the way from Olkhovtsy to Kiev. She was searched and then driven to the police station at Zvenigorodka, the district centre. Here she had to remove all her clothes to be searched again.

During the first search they were looking for 'documents' which had disappeared 'from a certain house' which she, Landa 'had just left'. At the second search they were looking for 'gold watches and other valuable items' because 'a shop was raided in Olkhovtsy and she was given the bag of stolen goods'. They found: Moscow Helsinki Group documents, notes, and a copy of V. Chornovil's letter to the Ukrainian Minister of Internal Affairs.

Malva Landa was detained overnight at the police station. In the morning the head of the station demanded 'an explanation' of what

she was doing in the district. He expressed indignation at the 'anti-Soviet materials' Landa was carrying, and said that whatever was being done to Chornovil was an internal affair which there was no point in publicizing. He was also indignant that Landa had visited Chornovil, since the latter had been given permission for a holiday to see his parents, not to see her. There was no further talk of robberies and raids.

Landa refused to give 'explanations' and instead wrote a statement of protest against her illegal detention and the searches on false pretexts, and against the intrusion of the authorities into her personal life.

* * *

On 30 April **Landa** again arrived in Kiev. She was detained at the station and taken to a police station, where she was again searched and again had to strip.

They were looking for 'a purse containing a large sum of money' which Landa 'had stolen from another passenger'. They found several handwritten and typewritten texts and personal letters. Among them was a letter from A. D. Sakharov, which was used in the newspaper *The Week* on 25 June (see 'Letters and Statements').

She was then taken, or so she was told, 'to Konotop, for identification'. However she was in fact taken back to Moscow. At the Kiev Station in Moscow she was again detained by K G B officials — at least, that is how one of them introduced himself — and told that she was wanted for a talk 'on the subject of the incident'. Landa was taken to a car and driven to the town of Petushki, where she is registered.

At the Petushki Police Station she was again undressed and searched. Landa gave the people who were searching her her opinion of the Soviet system. She described it as 'nothing less than fascist' and promised them a Nuremberg trial. In response a record was drawn up which stated that Landa had called the people present 'reptiles' and said that they 'ought to be hanged'.

Then Landa was taken from the police station for a talk with the District Procurator. The head of the Petushki K G B department joined in the talk. The Procurator said that the police record was sufficient basis to institute criminal proceedings against her and put her in prison for a year for insulting officials. However, he would ignore this record if Landa would promise not to leave Petushki over the holiday period, 1 to 10 May. She gave him her promise.

After this Landa wrote a sketch entitled 'Kiev-Moscow-Petushki'. In the sketch the events of 30 April to 1 May are described as 'a micro-model of the rights of the individual under real developed socialism'.

* * *

On 22 March a search was conducted in **S. Germanyuk's** flat. Germanyuk is a Baptist who is serving a term of exile in Khabarovsk Territory after four-and-a-half years of implisonment. A Bible belonging to his family, bulletins of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, religious literature, notes, notebooks and Germanyuk's camp letters (which had passed the camp censorship) were confiscated.

* * *

On 10 April Investigator Saushkin conducted a search at the Tarusa home of **Nina Strokatova.** On 12 April **Oksana Meshko** was stopped and subjected to a body-search in Serpukhov on her way back from visiting Strokatova.

* * *

On 29 April **V. G. Titov,** a worker and inhabitant of Roslavl (Smolensk Region) [see *Chronicles* 27, 30, 37, 39, 41, 45] was detained on a train from Roslavl to Fayansovoye. He was searched and put in the cells for a night.

On 6 May, as he was returning home, he was arrested on Fayansovoye Station, without any reason being given, searched, and held in the cells for four days.

Titov sent a complaint about these incidents to the Moscow Helsinki Group and the F I A W P [see 'The Trial of Volokhonsky'].

* * *

In May, students of Tartu University **Hubert Jakobs, Viktor Niitsoo, Doris Karev, Aado Lintrop** and **Madis Pesti** were interrogated by K G B officials in Tartu about the samizdat newspaper *Poolpäevapekht* [*Saturday Newspaper*] (*Chronicle* 52).

Jakobs refused to answer questions. He was expelled from the university for 'behaviour unworthy of a Soviet student'. The others are also being threatened with expulsion and criminal proceedings.

* * *

On the evening of 11 June, Muscovite **Igor Gritskov** dropped into a café near Dzerzhinsky Square. There he struck up a conversation with two other customers. A political argument started. Gritskov said that he was against dictatorship — left-wing or right-wing — and expressed his opinion that the Stalinist terror was merely the logical outcome of such dictatorship. In response the two men pulled out papers identifying them as K G B officials and told Gritskov that they were arresting him. At first they wanted to take him to the Small Lubyanka. On the way they met some policemen and told them that were escorting a citizen who had been spreading anti-Soviet propaganda in a café. As a result Gritskov was taken to police station 46 (on B. Khmelnitsky

Street). There he was informed that a charge of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda had been brought against him and that he would soon be facing trial. Police Inspector Vorobyov released Gritskov after telling him to return the next day.

On 12 July Vorobyov informed Gritskov that for now he could go free, but an investigation was being conducted and he could be summoned at any moment.

* * *

Olga Alekseyevna Frindler and her eighteen-year-old son were detained at the Moscow Station in Leningrad before their departure for Moscow. They were searched and a manuscript about the camps entitled *Behind the Cordon of Lies* was confiscated.

Olga Alekseyevna's husband **Georgy Vilgelmovich Frindler,** a director and playwright, was in Stalin's camps from 1938 to 1948. He wrote the book that was confiscated. In 1963 it was accepted for publication and then rejected.

An interrogation followed. The investigator's oral review of the confiscated manuscript: 'It's like Solzhenitsyn and all the others put together'.

The Arrest of Eduard Arutyunyan

On 13 July member of the Armenian Helsinki Group **Eduard Arutyunyan** (*Chronicle* 48) was arrested in Erevan. He was arrested on the premises of the Armenian Procuracy, where he had been summoned in connection with one of his statements. A search was conducted at his home and copies of his letters to various organizations were confiscated.

In the Prisons and Camps

Chistopol Prison

The prison consists of a a small three-storey building designed for about 300 people (43 cells). The ground floor is a semi-basement. The political prisoners are kept in the left wing of the second floor.

The cells have wooden floors. The water is turned on four times a day, at prescribed times, by the warders in the corridor. The radio is switched on inside the cells. The building is heated with radiators. Reveille is at 5 am, roll-call at 7.0 and breakfast at 7.20; exercise begins at 8 am and lights-out is at 9 pm.

There is no prison hospital (the nearest one is in Kazan), there are only one or more 'hospital cells', which are little different from ordinary cells. There are about 200 books in the library. Prisoners are allowed to keep five books or periodicals in their cells.

Sheets are changed once a week, when visiting the bath. Prisoners may make purchases in the camp shop twice a month. The following food products are available: bread, curd cheese, milk, margarine, sweets, processed cheese.

The Prison Head is Lieutenant-Colonel V. Malafeyev, the Deputy Head for Political Matters is Captain Mavrin, and the Deputy Head for Regime is Captain Nikolayev.

In the camp shop the prisoners are allowed to spend only money they have earned in prison. They are not even allowed to spend money they have earned in camp — a prohibition which contravenes the Corrective Labour Code.

* * *

Political prisoners were transferred from Vladimir Prison on 8 October 1978 in a special transport — six 'black ones' (**G. Butman, R. Gaiduk, R. Zograbyan, I. Mendelevich, G. Sheludko** and **A. Shcharansky**) and eight 'striped ones' (**V. Bondarenko, V. Petkus, F. Trufanov** and **V. Fedorenko** are known to have been among them). Before the transfer the prisoners had all their belongings taken away (they were returned to them in Chistopol). The 'striped ones' (named after the striped prison clothing worn by especially dangerous recidivists) refused to leave without their things: Fedorenko undressed completely and was dragged into the Black Maria in this state; Petkus was struck in the face by Ugodin, Head of Vladimir Prison, then thrown to the ground by several people and beaten with rubber truncheons. On the morning of 10 October the Stolypin wagon arrived in Kazan. From there the prisoners were taken on the three-hour journey to Chistopol in Black Marias.

In November 1978 **V. Balakhonov** and **M. Kazachkov** (*Chronicle* 51) were brought to Chistopol Prison from Camp 36. They were put on strict regime: Balakhonov for six months (until 21 May) and Kazachkov for two months.

I. Ogurtsov (on 27 July) and **M. Ravinš** were brought here from Perm Camp 35 see 'The Perm Camps').

In December 1978 **Sergei Grigoryants** (*Chronicles* 48, 51) was taken away to a prison in the Urals. He is now in the town of Verkhne-Uralsk (Chelyabinsk Region) in 'Institution' YaV-48/ST-4. His sentence ends in March 1980.

* * *

Conditions in Chistopol Prison are considerably harsher than those

in Vladimir Prison. Both 'incoming' and 'outgoing' letters are delayed.

For example, in Vladimir **G. Butman** used to receive 20-30 letters every month, whereas in Chistopol he receives 2-3 letters a month, from his close relatives only, and not even all of these.

Shcharansky is rarely given his letters, and then only those from his family. For five months they did not give him any letters from his wife (in Israel), then they gave him one. He was not given the greetings telegrams which arrived for his birthday. Shcharansky has submitted a complaint to Procurator Zakirov.

* * *

On 4 December 1978 **Kazachkov** wanted to send a letter to his mother. It transpired that Chistopol has its 'own' rules: the censor does not accept registered letters accompanied by a card for notification of receipt. Moreover, he does not accept telegrams at all, and statements must be addressed to the Procuracy or M V D.

On 11 January, in support of his demand that his letter, registered and with notification, should be sent, Kazachkov declared a hunger-strike. For declaring a hunger-strike he was put in the cooler, where he maintained a 'dry' hunger-strike for eight days. On the ninth day he was force-fed. Until 15 June he was fed on alternate days, then every day. During his hunger-strike Kazachkov got food poisoning three times from the force-feeding mixture. By the end of July he had already lost 20 kg. He underwent two psychiatric examinations. He was pronounced sane both times. He is at present in a 'hospital cell'.

As a result of this hunger-strike the prison postal 'regulations' have been changed: prisoners are permitted to send registered letters with notifications and telegrams. Kazachkov's voluminous letters (over 200 pages in all) are however 'stuck' with the censor, so he is continuing his hunger-strike, demanding that the letters be dispatched to their destinations, with the censor's cuts if necessary. **Balakhonov** has supported Kazachkov's hunger-strike.

Recently Shcharansky has been suffering from severe headaches and pain behind the eyes. His head begins to ache if he reads for more than 30-40 minutes at a time; the pain lasts for several days. Shcharansky was examined by an optician, who found nothing abnormal. Both Shcharansky and his family are trying to arrange an examination by specialists. In response to their enquiry his family were informed by the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions that Shcharansky was in good health and not in need of an examination. The latest reply from the Medical Department of the M V D is that Shcharansky had been examined by five specialists and nothing abnormal had been found. The 'examination' consisted in checking Shcharansky's sight by using a standard optician's chart, and measuring his blood pressure. Foreign doctors to whom his symptoms have been

described suggested that he might be suffering from a developing brain tumour or an inflammation of the cerebral membranes.

* * *

During his stay in prison **Petkus** has lost 25 kg in weight.

* * *

In April **Balakhonov, Zograbyan, Kazachkov, Shcharansky, Fedorenko** and **Yu. Shukhevich** (who had returned from being 're-educated' in Kiev — *Chronicle* 51) signed a statement to the effect that they intended to stage another (see *Chronicles* 51, 52) 'Ten Days of Solidarity between the Peoples Struggling against Russo-Soviet Imperialism and Colonialism'. They were supported by prisoners from Mordovian Camp No. 1: **B. Gajauskas, A. Ginzburg, N. Evgrafov, S. Karavansky, E. Kuznetsov, L. Lukyanenko, B. Rebrik, A. Tikhy** and **D. Shumuk.**

* * *

During the summer **Shcharansky** did not fulfil the norm and for this he was deprived of access to the camp shop.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 1 (special-regime)

There has been a change in the official designation of the special zone of Camp 1. It is now: uchr. ZhKh-385/1-8 (previously it was 1-6).

During the summer lavatory pans and wash-stands were installed in the cells. The sewerage system does not work, however, so latrine buckets have to be used as before. At approximately the same time, loudspeakers were installed in the corridors. They are never turned off during non-working hours.

* * *

On 18 April **Aleksei Tikhy** suffered the beginnings of a perforated ulcer. He was not taken to hospital until the following day, after bleeding for 18 hours without medical aid and with a blood pressure of 70/40. In the hospital he was operated on immediately.

On 10 May a serious complication (peritonitis) set in; his stomach was cut open and washed out. On the same day he had a visit from his son (of about two hours). On 25 May the doctors submitted documents recommending that Tikhy be released in connection with his seriously ill condition. These documents got no further than the hospital.

On 16 July Tikhy's wife telephoned Yavas and asked for Major

Timofeyev, the Head of the hospital. She was told that Tikhy had been sent back to his camp. On 17 July she again telephoned Yavas. Timofeyev told her that Tikhy was still in the hospital, his temperature was 37.5°-38°, and there was no cause for alarm. He also said that the day before Olga Alekseyevna [Tikhy's wife] had not talked to him, and that the conversation with her and the assertion that Tikhy had been sent back to his camp were 'someone's joke'. On 19 July Tikhy's wife and son arrived in Barashevo. Timofeyev told them that on 18 July Tikhy had been taken to a hospital in Sverdlovsk — as he put it, 'by order, to improve his conditions'.

In actual fact, by 14 July Tikhy was no longer in the hospital. On her return to Moscow, his wife received a telegram from Timofeyev which he had dispatched on the 20th, immediately after he had spoken to her: 'For the second time, in case of non-receipt. Sent in satisfactory condition to a hospital of the Sverdlovsk Regional Soviet E C U V D' (she had received no 'first' telegram). In response to her enquiry, she was informed from Sverdlovsk that Tikhy had not been admitted to the U V D hospital. Only after a number of enquiries was Aleksei Tikhy 'found' in a hospital in Nizhny Tagil.

* * *

Aleksei Murzhenko is ill: he suffers from gastritis, angina pectoris and inflammation of a shoulder joint. During the past year he has been forbidden to write about his health.

He was deprived of his parced for 1979. He was also deprived of his parcel for 1978 (*Chronicle* 48). He was deprived of access to the camp shop for both November and December 1978 (see also *Chronicle* 52 and 'Miscellaneous Reports' in this issue).

* * *

On 23 March **A. Ginzburg** had a scheduled 'short' visit from his wife. She described this visit in an open statement dated 26 March:

> Before the visit began, Major Nekrasov, the Head of the camp, said that he was giving us only three hours ... Nekrasov said that he 'had nothing against Ginzburg, but that my 'activities' (letters, statements, interviews) did not meet with his approval.
>
> The Head of a corrective labour colony decides the duration of a visit according to the 'behaviour' of the prisoner's relatives! This seems to me both surprising and illegal ...
>
> The visit took place in a long room. The barred window had a thick curtain drawn across it. By the window stood a wooden table painted bright blue, with a large screen nailed to the front of it. The screen hides the person opposite so that only their head and neck are visible. This is the table for relatives. There is an identical one for the prisoner, just by the door. Between us is the empty expanse of the room. Along the walls there are stools for the

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1 Seven Jewish prisoners, released ahead of time in April 1979, photographed with President Navon on arrival in Israel. Top *l to r*: Mark Dymshits, Arie Khnokh, Vulf Zalmanson, Anatoly Altman; *bottom:* Gilel Butman, Navon, Boris Penson, Eduard Kuznetsov. **2** The family of an eighth prisoner released early in April 1979, Rev. Georgy Vins, shortly before their emigration. *R to l:* his son Pyotr (subjected to police brutality before leaving), wife , two daughters, mother Lydia, Baptist leader Mikhail Khorev, two unknown women.

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3 Group of dissenters in Moscow. *L to r:* Pyotr Vins and a sister (both from Kiev), unknown child, Sergei Khodorovich, Irina Zholkovskaya-Ginzburg, Malva Landa, Pyotr Starchik *crouching* and Avgusta Romanova. **4** Iosif Zisels, human rights activist from Chernovtsy (Ukraine) imprisoned for three years, with his son. **5** Viktor Monblanov, Kiev dissenter given 4-year term for demonstrating for release of prisoners of conscience, with his family.

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6-7 Alexander Skobov *l* and Arkady Tsurkov, Leningrad students arrested for issuing a political journal. Tsurkov got 7 years of imprisonment and exile, Skobov was psychiatrically interned. **8** Viktor Pavlenkov, a Gorky dissenter briefly imprisoned for association with the same journal. **9** Lev Volokhonsky *r*, Leningrad dissenter given 2 years for founding a free trades union with Vladimir Borisov *l* and others. **10** Alexander Ivanchenko, a union member pressured by the KGB to resign.

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11 Visitors to the flower-covered grave in Lvov of Vladimir Ivasyuk, a popular young Ukrainian song-writer who was found hanged in mysterious circumstances. **12** The family of Pyotr Sichko *r* and his son Vasily, who made speeches at a demonstration beside Ivasyuk's grave on 12 June 1979. Members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, they were later sentenced to 3 years each. Front row *l to r:* Pyotr's wife Stefania, Group member Oksana Meshko, Oksana Sichko.

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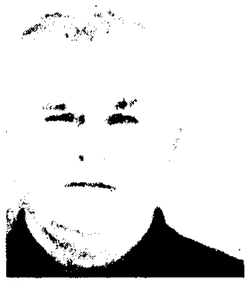

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13 Vladimir Ivasyuk. **14** Mark Belorusets, a Kiev dissenter beaten up in an attempt to intimidate him. **15** Vladimir Malinkovich, a Kiev doctor and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, also subject to intimidation. **16** Alexander Daniel, Moscow mathematics teacher who lost much samizdat during a search. **17-19** Baptists in Kirgizia, Central Asia, sentenced for teaching children religion (see *Chronicle* 51): Andrei Mokk (1 year), Ivan Garpinyuk (3 years), Genrikh Vibe (not known).

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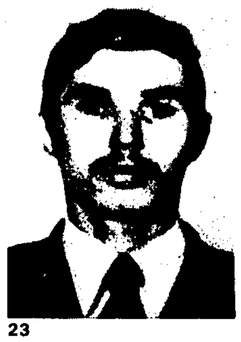

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20-21 Semyon Bakholdin and Timofei Krivoberets, Tashkent Adventists sentenced respectively to 10 and 13 years. **22** Stepan Germanyuk, b 1934, Baptist who had his Bibles and other literature confiscated while in exile near the Pacific, after 4½ years in camps.
23 Viktor Peredereyev (b 1958), Baptist given 3 years for conscientious objection to military service.
24 Alexander Shatravka, soon after his release from several years of psychiatric internment for emigrating illegally, with Tamara Los, KGB-persecuted dissenter, and her mother, in Kiev Region.

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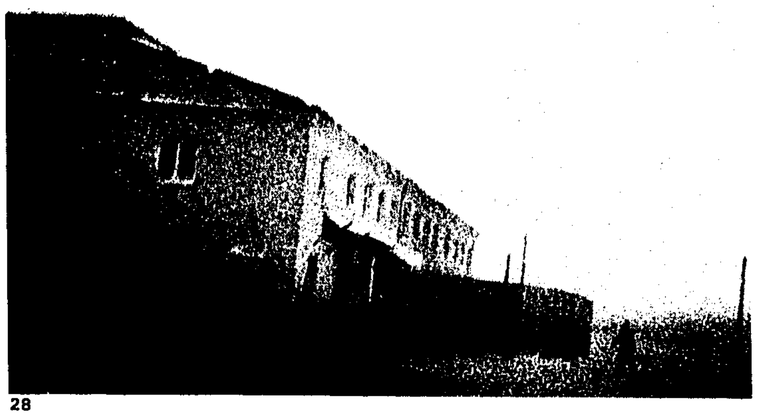
25 Father Vasily Fonchenkov, lecturer at the Orthodox Academy who in 1979 joined the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights. **26** Father Karolis Garuckas, member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, who died in April 1979. **27** Fr. Garuckas's funeral in Svenčioniai: Fr. Alfonsas Svarinskas, officiates with microphone, exiled Bishops Sladkevičius *far left* and Steponavičius *second left* attend in full regalia.



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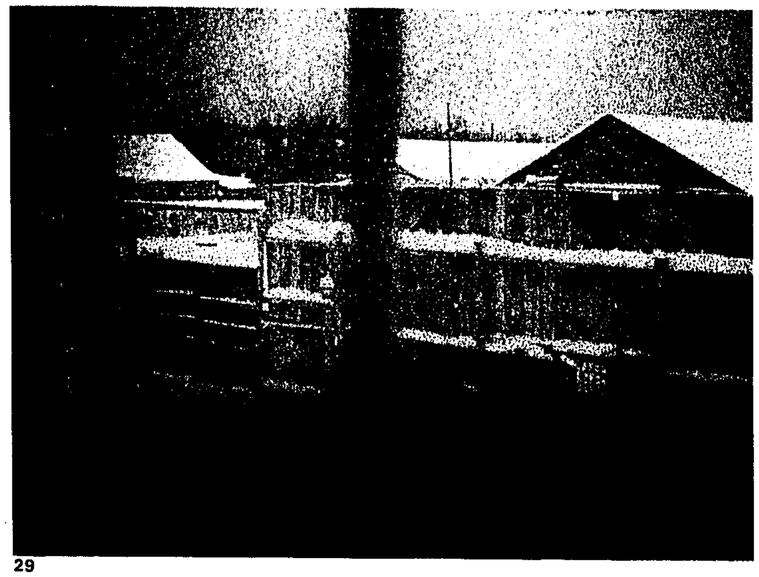

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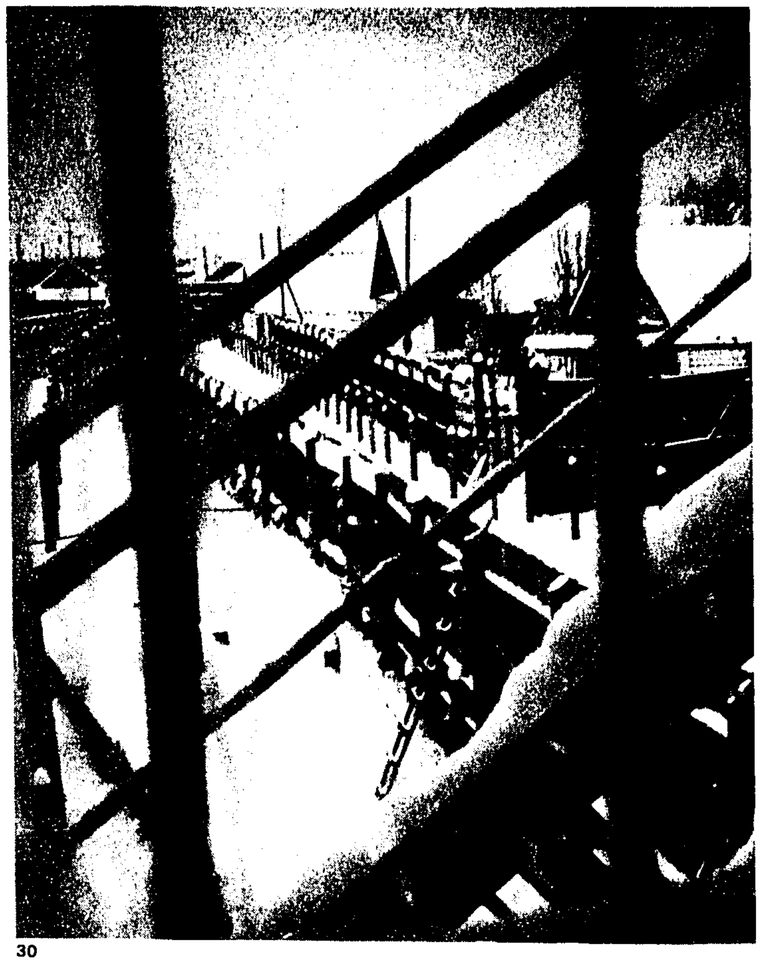
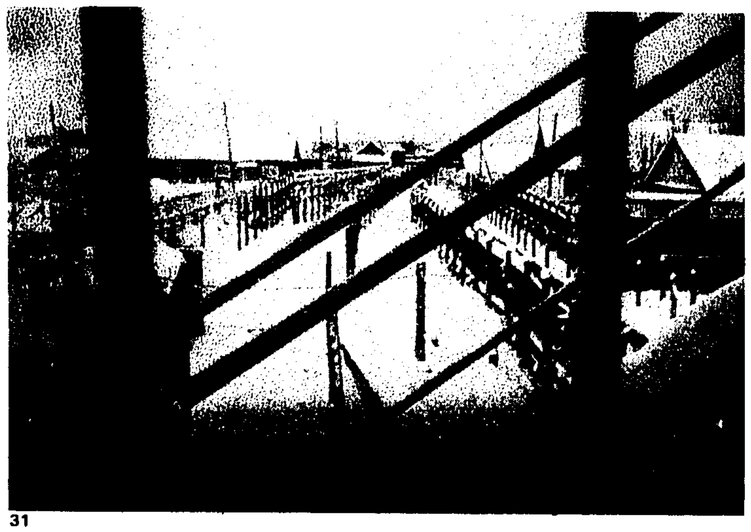


30

Camp 36 at Kuchino in Perm region, which holds political prisoners (see 'The Perm Camps'). **28** The administration building, as visitors see it on arrival. The outer camp fence is joined to it on the left (not visible). The balcony and door (top left) lead into the main guard house. **29** View from the office of the camp special operations chief, situated on the far side of the building (top storey). Below it is a visitors' room for meeting prisoners. In front of it is a 'forbidden zone' (15-20 yards wide) between the outer and inner fences. The large iron gates lead into the work zone. Beyond them, behind a fence (just visible), are the barracks of the 'residence zone'. This is entered from the work zone through more gates (not visible — see No. 30) to the left. The barbed wire fence (foreground) crosses the 'forbidden zone', blocking access to the administration building. Prisoners are led through the gate at the far end when being escorted to meetings. **30** A view further to the left, showing the gates into the residence zone, the zone's inner fence, the barbed wire fence outside it, then the inner camp fence. Foreground: the steps up to the guard house.



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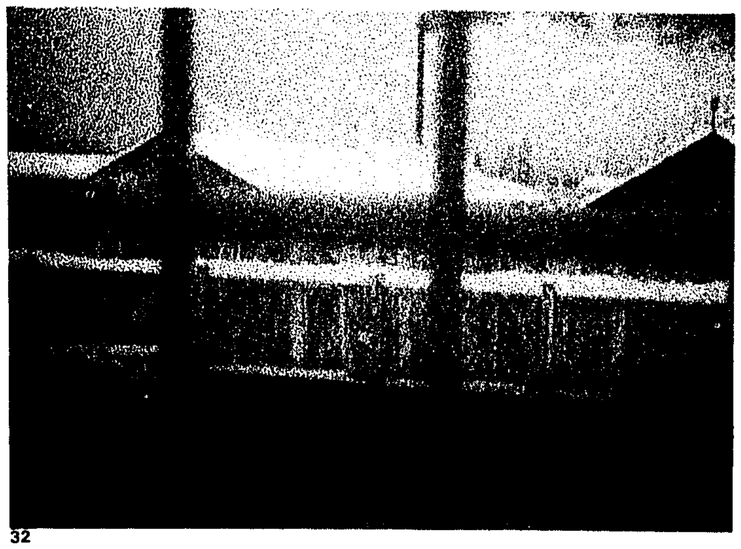
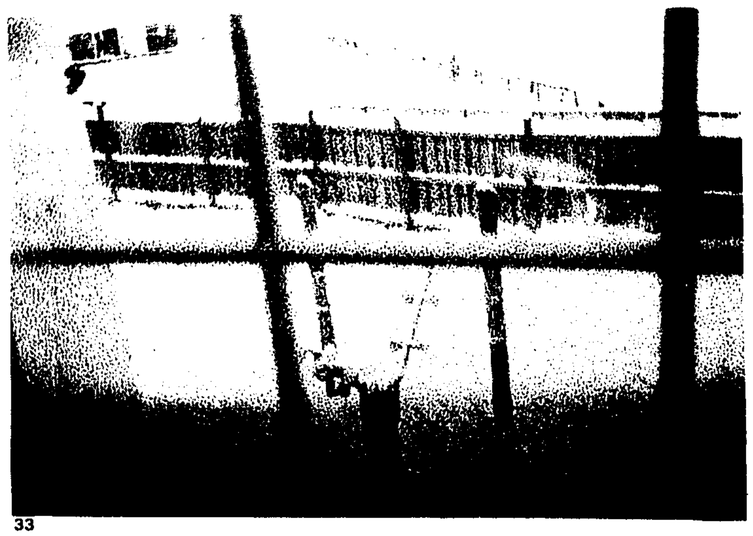


32

31 A view further left still, showing these three fences, then a barbed wire fence, then the outer, wooden fence, with a snow drift against it. At the end of the forbidden zone stands the watch-tower at the camp's far corner (another corner tower is attached to the administration building). The forbidden zone is floodlit and patrolled by dogs at night. The building on the left is outside the camp. 32 A view to the right of No. 29.



33

34

Муса Мамут

35

33 A view further to the right, showing the antler-like projections at the top of a barbed wire fence. These provide overhang on both sides. 34 Seidamet Memetov, b 1941, Crimean Tatar given 5-year sentence for insistent attempts to live in the Crimea. 35 Musa Mamut, Crimean Tatar who immolated himself in 1978 in protest at forcible deportations from the Crimea (see *Chronicle* 51).

36

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38

36 Valery Marchenko, Ukrainian dissenter, emaciated after 6 years in camps, soon after being sent to exile in Central Asia, August 1979. **37** Semyon Gluzman, Kiev psychiatrist, exiled at age 33 to West Siberia, after 7 years in camps; May 1979. **38** *L to r:* Alexander Podrabinek, his fiancée Alla Khromova and Vyacheslav Bakhmin at Podrabinek's initial place of exile in Chuna, Central Siberia, February 1979.

guards. (At our meeting there were between one and four of them; they came and went) ...

My husband looks a little better than he did during the investigation and trial. But he said that his blood pressure often rises to 220/120 and that his stomach complaint is getting worse. Nevertheless, he is not even given a special diet.

I had brought with me various medicines (essential to my husband) and multi-vitamins, but they were not accepted.

My husband is still grinding and polishing glass. During our meeting he told me that he receives only a negligible proportion of the letters sent to him by his family and friends. Over a period of two months (from 4 December 1978 to 4 February 1979) 24 of his letters were confiscated because they 'contained undesirable information' (including some letters from me and the children). Many letters simply disappear without trace, without anyone being informed that they have been confiscated ...

The telegram I sent when our six-year-old son was discharged from hospital after a car accident lay around in Sosnovka for eight days and was not given to Ginzburg until the eve of my visit. All letters mentioning religion are confiscated. It is forbidden to write out the text of prayers, or texts from the Bible or New Testament; it is forbidden to send the Orthodox Church calendar for 1979, or postcards depicting icons.

The camp Head, Major Nekrasov, told me that 'in our country the church is separate from the state and since Ginzburg is in a state institution, he is therefore separated from the church'.

On the same day I. Zholkovskaya sent two further statements, one to the Medical Section of the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions and one to the Main Administration itself. In the first she asks to be informed of her husband's state of health, requests that he be given a special diet and that she be permitted to send essential medicines to the camp. In the second, she asks: 'to be informed which documents of the internal regulations forbid religious subject matter in letters'; for an explanation as to 'whether the camp administration has the right to shorten the length of visits, according to the behaviour of free relatives'; and that the situation with regard to correspondence be put to rights. Zholkovskaya received no reply on the substance of her questions.

Camp 19

On 22 June **Pyotr Sartakov,** who had served seven years in camp under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, was dispatched under guard into exile. He has a five-year exile term to serve. On 1 August he was still somewhere in transit.

* * *

Leonid Lubman (*Chronicle* 51) has begun to suffer in camp from severe headaches, heart trouble, stomach pains and general weakness. On several occasions he has lost consciousness. (Until his arrest Lubman was in good health.)

From 2 to 22 April he underwent a psychiatric examination and was pronounced sane.

At the end of July Lubman's parents were due to come for a three-day visit. In response to their telegram about the date of the visit they received the reply: 'Addressee gone away'. They have so far received no reply to their numerous enquiries addressed to the camp and the M V D.

* * *

On 23 March **S. Soldatov** had a long visit (24 hours). He was ill and had to lie down practically the whole time.

The Perm Camps

On 1 March lawyer **E. A. Reznikova** came to Camp 36 to see **S. Kovalyov.** In the visiting room the Head of Operations, Senior Lieutenant Rozhkov, checked the blank paper and the copy of the Criminal Code which Reznikova had brought with her. Then he asked Reznikova what was in her handbag and asked that she show him its contents. Reznikova stated categorically that she would not do this without the sanction of the Procurator. Then Rozhkov proposed that she leave her handbag behind when she went in to visit Kovalyov. Thereupon, without coming to any agreement, Reznikova refused to go through with the visit under such conditions and left.

On her return to Moscow, Reznikova immediately complained to the Bar about the actions of the camp administration. The Bar simultaneously received a report from the camp, in which it was said that Reznikova had intended to take 'unauthorized' things into the meeting (her own money and food). The Bar sent a protest to the M V D about the illegal actions of the administration of Camp 36.

On 30 June **Yu. Orlov's** lawyer **E. S. Shalman** set off to visit him in Camp 37. Shalman did not intend taking his brief-case with him into the visiting room and it was therefore immediately suggested that he submit to a body-search. Shalman, too, was forced to forgo a visit under such conditions (neither the Corrective Labour Code nor the 'Rules on Internal Order' for camps provide for searching a lawyer or checking his belongings).

On 11 July Reznikova was granted permission to visit Kovalyov. There was no mention of a search or checking belongings (see also 'Camp 36').

Shalman has not yet been for another visit.

Camp 35

On 29 May, on completion of their 25-year 'basic' sentences, **V. Pidgorodetsky** and **M. Simchich** were dispatched to 'criminal' camps, also of strict-regime. Before their departure they were deceived into thinking that they were being released, so that they gave away their possessions and were left without warm clothing.

Simchich's 'additional' camp sentence was mentioned in *Chronicles* 42 and 48. Pidgorodetsky was given an additional sentence (it ends in 1981) for his part in a Taishet hunger-strike — 'sabotage'. One of his co-defendants had his sentence commuted to 'conditional release with compulsory labour' ('chemistry' in common slang).

Pidgorodetsky's address is: 618292, Permskaya oblast, g. Gubakha -11, uchr. VV-201/7-Ts-8. When he was transferred he was deprived of his Group 2 invalid status.

Simchich's address is: 618292, Permskaya oblast, g. Kizel, p/o Gashkova, pos. V. Kosva uchr. 201/20. Each barracks in this camp is occupied by 200-300 people, the food is very poor, there is stealing at all levels. Simchich says that only in Kolyma was he so hungry. He is the only political in the camp. The prisoners are urged to hound him. He works as a lavatory cleaner. Simchich, who suffers from an ulcer, hypertension and sciatica, is afraid of being sent to hospital: it is 150 km away, and the road to it is so dreadful that there is no guarantee he would get there.

* * *

On 19-20 March **Airikyan** and **Matusevich** staged a hunger-strike in protest against the execution of Zatikyan, Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan (*Chronicle* 52). Many prisoners sent their condolences to Zatikyan's widow. All statements were confiscated — in Matusevich's case, six times.

* * *

Airikyan's letters to his family and friends are, as a rule, confiscated or 'lost'. Similarly, almost all letters addressed to him are confiscated. Investigators from Perm have visited Airikyan several times. They were inquiring about his alleged intention to commit an act of terrorism after his release.

* * *

On 16 April **Ogurtsov, Lisovoi, Matusevich, Plumpa, Butchenko, Ravinš, Airikyan, Tilgalis** and **Kvetsko** began a ten-day strike. (A tenth prisoner — **A. Altman** — also intended joining the strike, but the day before it began he was taken away from the camp. See 'Political Releases').

Over a month previously they had all sent statements (individually,

since collective letters are prohibited by the Corrective Labour Code) to the USSR MVD, in which they described the violation of their rights and demanded an end to these violations and to tyranny; they also demanded that foreign correspondents and representatives of the UN Human Rights Committee be admitted to the camp. They stated that they would strike from 16 to 26 April. If any of their number were punished, however, the strike would continue until the last punishment was over. All the statements were confiscated. The camp administration responded with harsh repression.

During the strike all the participants except Tilgalis (who was transferred to Camp 37) were sent to the cooler for refusing to work. Airikyan was given 15 days at the end of March, lasting until the beginning of the strike. Just before the strike he was sentenced to another 15 days. On 23 April he was put in the punishment cells for three months, where he was again punished with 15 days in the cooler.

Butchenko spent 15 days in the cooler during the strike and on 25 April he was put in the punishment cells for two-and-a-half months.

Lisovoi was punished in the cooler, then in April-May he was put in the punishment cells and at the beginning of July he was dispatched under guard [into exile], straight from the punishment cells. (On 6 July his seven-year camp sentence ended. He still has to serve a three-year term of exile).

Ogurtsov, Matusevich and **Plumpa** each spent a total of 40 days, with short breaks in between, in the cooler. In June Ogurtsov was sent to Chistopol Prison, where he is to stay until the end of his [pre-exile] sentence (15 February 1982). Matusevich was put in the punishment cells for five months, Plumpa for two months.

* * *

While in the punishment cells **Airikyan** wrote to Khorkov, Head of Institution VS-389 (he has replaced Mikov in this post), complaining that the warders had used force against **Matusevich.** Khorkov considered the complaint a 'distortion of reality' and gave orders for Airikyan to be punished. Soon afterwards both Airikyan and Matusevich were deprived of access to the camp shop and of a parcel.

During the summit meeting in Vienna, **Butchenko,** Airikyan, Matusevich and **Plumpa** were put in the cooler for seven, eight, nine and ten days respectively, for handing in a telegram to Carter.

* * *

According to the Moscow Helsinki Group (Addendum to Document No. 87) all the strikers were deprived of access to the camp shop and scheduled visits. The Group also stated that the strikers in the punishment cells were fed according to norm '9-b' (*Chronicle* 33).

During their exercise period the prisoners in the punishment cells collected grasses (plantains, nettles, milfoil). The warders, led by Captain Nikolayev, took all the grasses away from them.

In July **Airapetov** joined the strike. He was immediately sent to the cooler. The strike continues.

Camp 36

The camp 'Diary' is still being compiled.

* * *

Camp 36 is situated by a river in very marshy surroundings. During this year's spring floods the camp was inundated — the water came to about knee height. The whole camp was evacuated to a nearby hilltop for a week. All the prisoners were kept together in one Army tent. They were guarded by soldiers with dogs, and a few days later a barbed-wire fence was erected.

* * *

On 15 March **Roman Gaiduk** (*Chronicle* 52) was dispatched on his journey into exile. On 23 March he was released in his place of exile: Chuna Station in Irkutsk Region. After five years in camp he has to serve two years in exile.

* * *

At the beginning of March Captain Nelipovich told Trofimov in conversation that **S. Kovalyov's** involvement in the food control section *Chronicle* 52) was undesirable because Kovalyov had broken regulations in the past, and also because he would tell the prisoners about the shortcomings he noticed in the kitchen.

* * *

On 1 March **S. Kovalyov** was kept in the visiting room for 24 hours, having been summoned there for a visit from his lawyer. The same day he was informed that lawyer Reznikova had 'not wished to see him' (see above). Later, after two written inquiries as to the reason for the cancelled visit, Kovalyov was told by Camp Head Zhuravkov that Reznikova had not agreed either to hand over for safe keeping, or to leave in her room, the things she had brought with her (excluding reference books and some paper).

On 4 June Kovalyov's wife L. Boitsova, his son Ivan Kovalyov and his eldest daughter arrived for a scheduled 'short' visit. However, it turned out that he had been deprived of his visit five days previously, on the grounds that on two occasions — 17 and 21 May — he had not greeted Fyodorov. (Long before this, Kovalyov had informed the administration that he refused to have anything to do with

Fyodorov — *Chronicle* 48). On their return from the abortive visit, L. Boitsova and I. Kovalyov published a joint 'Open Letter', dated 15 June, part of which states:

> We do not know and do not wish to know whether this actually happened. If so, it is possible that it was an accident, but perhaps it was deliberate. It is not the job of the camp administration to teach the scientist Sergei Kovalyov the rules of politeness, nor to dispute his concept of worth ...
>
> However, we are not concerned at present with the violation of rights, or with the legality of camp punishments. We emphasize: the authorities are concentrating their efforts not only on breaking of the prisoner's physical contact with the outside world, but on blocking all channels of communication. It was perfectly obvious to us, and we did not conceal our opinion from the camp administration, that such a hasty cancellation of the visit ... was connected with events which are being carefully concealed from the prisoners — the exchange of several political prisoners, including one from Corrective Labour Institution 36, **Zalmanson.** The administration's reaction confirmed us in our suspicions. [See 'Political Releases'.]

On 7 June S. Kovalyov sent a warning letter to his former investigator, Istomin, concerning his intention to commence on 15 June a hunger-strike of unlimited duration, if by 11 June no concrete steps had been taken to improve the situation. He described in detail the circumstances which forced him to take such extreme action: the blocking of his correspondence, which had forced him to stop writing letters, the prevention of visits from his family and his lawyer (for example, in December 1978 Reznikova was not permitted to come because of a fictitious redecoration of the premises), and finally, he had been trying since 1975 to get back some extracts he had copied out from his 'case file' and other documents essential to him for composing a supervisory complaint. Kovalyov especially pointed out that, having been placed in such a situation, he considered himself morally responsible not only for himself, but also for other prisoners.

On 12 June Kovalyov sent a statement, addressed to Brezhnev, to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in which he renounced his Soviet citizenship. He stated that irrespective of where he might choose to live after his release, and for reasons which he did not consider it necessary to explain in the present statement, he asked no longer to be considered a Soviet citizen. If, however, there was any difficulty with the legal registration of this request, Kovalyov proposed that he be stripped of his citizenship 'for actions unworthy of the title of Soviet citizen', since he had never striven to be worthy of this 'high title'. Zhuravkov confirmed that this statement had been forwarded to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In July a reply from the RSFSR Procuracy was read out to Kovalyov. It

recommended that the administration explain to Kovalyov that the matter raised in his statement were under review by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On 15 June Kovalyov declared a hunger-strike of indefinite duration. On 16 June **Kamil Ismagilov** declared a hunger-strike in support of Kovalyov. Kovalyov and Ismagilov were put in the punishment cells, in isolation. However, Ismagilov was not given a bed until the fifth day of his hunger-strike, and then only after strong protests from Kovalyov. On 28 June Ismagilov was forced to call off his hunger-strike for health reasons.

On 22 June **Miroslav Marinovich,** who was also in the punishment block, declared a hunger-strike in solidarity with Kovalyov. Several more prisoners staged short-term hunger-strikes in support of Kovalyov.

The hunger-strike continued for 27 days. Kovalyov was force-fed for the first time on the fifth day and then every three to five days. As a result of his hunger-strike Kovalyov was given several letters and telegrams which had previously been held back, and several documents: his indictment, a list of witnesses, the record of a search and confiscations. The rest of his papers (extracts he had copied from newspapers, from his 'case file', some personal notes on his case) were burned, since they 'contained slanderous fabrications'.

On the evening of 11 July, after Kovalyov had had a visit from lawyer Reznikova, he and Marinovich decided to call off their hunger-strike. During the night Marinovich felt ill: there was blood in his faeces, he had acute pains in the heart and stomach and he lost consciousness three times.

At the beginning of August Kovalyov is to have a 'long' visit from his family.

* * *

On 1 March a mobile court examined the application of three prisoners for a transfer from camp to 'chemistry' [see 'Camp 35'].

One of them, **Zagrebayev,** was refused on the grounds of a decision of a medical commission that his hypertension and sciatica prevented him from doing construction work. This same decision attested, however, that Zagrebayev was fit for any work without restrictions. Throughout his whole sentence to date (over 13 years) Zagrebayev has never been let off work due to illness, with only one exception — in 1970 he spent three days having false teeth fitted. He has had numerous commendations and not one reprimand.

The other two prisoners — **Kotok** (Katok in *Chronicle* 52) and **Stepanov** — were transferred. Kotok was dispatched from the camp on 28 March.

* * *

The prisoners are forbidden to inform senders that their incoming letters have been confiscated.

In the spring Olga Geiko sent **M. Marinovich** a stereo post-card in a registered letter. In response to her enquiry, Zhuravkov told her that her letter had been put in store, since 'stereo post-cards are not given to prisoners'.

* * *

In March, when news of the death of **E. Pronyuk**'s father (*Chronicle* 52) reached the camp, **Marinovich** asked the administration for permission to visit Pronyuk, who was then in the punishment cells, so that he could break the news to him. Permission was refused.

* * *

On Sunday 11 March an antedated order was issued concerning the transfer of a working day from 10 to 11 March, in connection with the switching off of electrical power on 10 March. **Grigoryan, Ismagilov, Kalinin** and **Kulak** did not go to work. For this, Grigoryan was deprived of access to the camp shop.

Thereupon, Grigoryan, **Zalmanson,** Ismagilov, **Kovalyov, Marinovich, Trofimov** and **Yuskevich** sent statements to the Regional Procuracy protesting against the transfer of a working day for reasons not specified in the Code of Labour Law.

* * *

On 16 March **Marinovich** was deprived of a scheduled visit for 'cynical and insulting expressions' allegedly contained in his statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding the imprisonment in prisons and camps of women and old men.

On 18 June Marinovich was punished with six months in the punishment cells because some papers allegedly written by him had been found during a search. The official reason for his punishment was a traditional one: violation of the regime and being a bad influence.

* * *

At the end of June and the beginning of July **N. Grigoryan** went on strike for ten days and on hunger-strike for three days, demanding a longer visit from his very old parents (they had been granted only 24 hours).

* * *

On 19 February **I. Šerkšnys** (serving 15 years for 'betrayal of the Motherland'; his term ends in 1983 [*Chronicles* 33, 46] handed camp

Head Zhuravkov a statement requesting hospitalization. Šerkšnys is already 62 years old; he suffers from hypertension and heart trouble, and his blood pressure sometimes rises above 200. During the past year he has been trying, without success, to persuade the doctors at the Medical Section to send him to hospital.

On 18 March, having received no reply from Zhuravkov, Šerkšnys handed in a copy of his statement, to be forwarded to the Medical Department of the Perm UVD and the Medical Department of the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions. Only on 4 April was he informed that his statements had been sent to the addressees on 27 March. At the end of July he had still not been hospitalized.

* * *

On 15 February **V. Marchenko** was taken to Perm, where he was put in the prison hospital (*Chronicle* 52). There a course of treatment was started for tubercular pleurisy and chronic nephritis and he was granted a visit from his mother. Marchenko and his mother were informed that he would be transferred to the central hospital of Corrective Labour Institution 389 (in Camp 35), where the course of treatment would continue for two months. He was, in fact, transferred there, but as early as 20 March, without explanation, he was sent back to Camp 36. Soon afterwards he was placed in the Medical Section with a high temperature.

In June, at the end of his six-year sentence, Valery Marchenko was dispatched under guard into exile. His place of exile is: Saralzhin State Farm [sovkhoz], Uil District, Aktyubinsk Region [Kazakhstan].

* * *

At the end of June **B. Mukhametshin** was transferred to Camp 37.

* * *

On 11 June **Kazys Baranauskas**[12] died in hospital in Perm.

In 1971 he was sentenced to ten years in camp for 'Treason'. In camp he suffered for a long time from a blockage of the ureter; from time to time he was bedridden in the Medical Section. It was often necessary to use a catheter and occasionally, when even that did not work, his urine had to be drawn out by means of a direct injection into the bladder. In June Baranauskas was again in the Medical Section, then he was discharged and almost immediately taken to Perm. There he lay slowly dying in his cell, without any medical assistance. During the three days he spent lying there, he was no longer able to relieve himself. On 11 June, after protests from his fellow prisoners, he was taken away for an operation. Soon after the operation he died.

* * *

Stasys Morkunas (*Chronicles* [33, 46,] 51, 52) is about 70 years old. In 1965 (there is a misprint in *Chronicle* 51) he was sentenced to 15 years in camp for 'Treason'. He suffers from oedema. His legs swell up so much that he is unable to walk in any form of footwear apart from slippers. Even the Medical Section has allowed him to 'violate' the regulation clothing in this way.

* * *

On 16 July a new daily timetable was introduced in the camp. It differed from the old one in that a 10-15 minute period of 'preparation' was introduced before breakfast, before dispersal for work, before the commencement of work itself, etc.

The administration explained that the new system was a relief for the old prisoners who found it difficult to keep up, and that besides this, it had been introduced to 'spoil various people's game'. As a result of this new system the working day ends approximately two hours later.

Camp 37

S. Gluzman, who was in the punishment cells in Perm Camp 37, began a hunger-strike on 8 January (*Chronicle* 52).

Gluzman's blood pressure was checked regularly until the end of February and then even this precaution was no longer taken. On the morning of 14 April he was force-fed for the last time in camp and during the night of 15-16 April he was dispatched on his journey into exile, without an accompanying doctor or medicines. Gluzman had heart trouble on several occasions during the journey. He was not given any medical assistance.

On 17 April he sent a statement to Brezhnev from a Sverdlovsk Investigations Prison, in which he informed him of his critical condition and declared that he would not call off his hunger-strike until such time as the law was applied to him. On the same day he handed over a statement to be forwarded to the Head of the Medical Department of the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, in which he described his condition in detail: marked general dystrophy, weakness, dizziness, sharp pains in the heart and stomach, increasingly severe headaches.

On the morning of 18 April Gluzman was transferred to a cell with a broken window. He requested three times that the glass be replaced. During the evening roll-call he was promised that the glass would be replaced — on the following day. At night the outside temperature in Sverdlovsk was −10°. The window was not, however, replaced.

On 10 May, a day before his sentence ended, Gluzman was released in his place of exile: Tyumen Region, Nizhnyaya Tavda settlement.

He was immediately admitted to hospital. Gluzman now works as a dispatcher on a collective farm.

* * *

On 30 October 1978 **Yu. Orlov** staged a 24-hour hunger-strike, demanding the release of all the arrested members of the Helsinki Groups and the return of the scientific notes he had made in Lefortovo Prison (*Chronicles* 51, 52). He staged two more hunger-strikes in support of these demands: from 20 to 23 November and from 10 to 15 December.

On 10 December he wrote to the Soviet leaders as follows:

> By stemming the flow of independent, humanitarian information you are destroying the buds of healthy political development in our country and driving the impatient among the dissatisfied to look for other ways. Your policy is short-sighted.
>
> Your attempt to widen your influence in the world would be wise, if it were based on the ideals of democratic socialism. But you are helping the development of totalitarian systems. This is a risky business, dangerous for our country and for the world. For it is difficult to reconcile the various totalitarian ambitions. Peace based on principles of ideological intolerance and secrecy of information cannot be lasting. I ask you at least to think about this.

The scientific notes Orlov had made in camp were taken away from him. On 5 February he went on strike. At first he was issued a reprimand, then deprived of a 'short' visit (in June), then punished with five days in the cooler. In the cooler he was unable to sleep because of the cold.

Towards the end of February, when Orlov came out of the cooler, his notes were nevertheless returned to him — 'this time'. Orlov's health worsened considerably during this period. He tired quickly at work, suffered from severe headaches and often felt sick. He fulfilled barely half the norm. The head of the workshop transferred him to general duties. Orlov's basic job was cleaning, there was no norm, he could spend part of his work time outside. However, by 12 April K G B officials were demanding that Orlov return to his former work — as a lathe operator. Orlov refused. On 17 April he was again sentenced to five days in the cooler

Orlov is in the 'small' zone of Camp 37 (*Chronicle* 51) where there are only 16 prisoners. These are primarily 'long-timers', serving sentences for 'war crimes'. One of them has been 'assigned' to Orlov and follows him literally on his heels. In addition, Orlov is 'shadowed' by two K G B officials.

* * *

In the spring of 1979 **Avtandil Imnadze** (*Chronicle* 49; his article and

sentence are unknown to the *Chronicle*)[13] was brought to this 'small' zone. At his trial he 'repented' but did not give evidence. Now the K G B investigators are 'squeezing' him in camp, trying to obtain evidence.

* * *

At the beginning of May **M. Kostava** was put in the cooler. In protest against the confiscation of his diary he declared a hunger-strike, which he kept up for a month. In the summer he was put in the punishment cells.

In Other Camps

Vasily Ovsienko (for his trial see *Chronicle* 52) is in a camp with the address 'uchr. YaYa-310/55-3-20' (in the town of Volnyansk, Zaporozhe Region). In transit to the camp, legal Codes and the Gospels were confiscated from him and he was robbed by criminal prisoners.

* * *

On 16 May **Evgeny Buzinnikov,** who is serving his sentence in a strict-regime camp in Sverdlovsk Region (*Chronicles* 51, 52), was transferred from the 4th section to the 8th or 'boss's' section (ie one which is more strictly controlled). Previously he had worked in the saw mill, now he is a general labourer on a building site.

In June 1979 Buzinnikov completed an internal camp course in 'Industrial Electronics', but he has not been given work in this field. Back in April the Camp Head, Major Maltsev, tore up Buzinnikov's request for a transfer to work as an electrician; he told the power specialist that he could give such a job to anyone except Buzinnikov, because the latter was anti-Soviet.

Then Buzinnikov was deprived of access to the camp shop because he wanted to send a letter on another prisoner's 'allowance' (according to the regulations, Buzinnikov is allowed to send two letters per month). Recently letters from friends have not been reaching E. Buzinnikov and many letters have been 'lost'.

* * *

Oleg Volkov (for his trial see *Chronicle* 45) is still (*Chronicle* 48) in Camp 'uchr. AN-243/9-1' (Vetyu village, Komi A S S R).

In 1978 Volkov spent two weeks undergoing tests in a 'health resort' in the village of Veslyana. There they told him that he was suffering from a chest complaint, but refused to name it. For four months Volkov tried to obtain a precise diagnosis. Finally, he was

told that he was suffering from 'chronic bronchitis with asthma'. He was also given a medical certificate stating that he 'must not work in very cold conditions'. The temperatures in these parts can fall as low as −50°. Volkov works as an electrician in the repair workshops.

On 24 August **N. Lesnichenko** (*Chronicle* 48) came to visit Volkov (the relatives entered in his personal file do not visit him). She was refused permission to visit since she was not a relative and, in the opinion of Deputy Camp Head for Regime Kirienko, would not help Volkov to 'reform'.

* * *

During the summer, **A. Bolonkin** (for his trial see *Chronicle* 51) was punished on several occasions with 15 days in the cooler. He was even sent there when ill with a high temperature. They were compelled to take him straight to hospital from the cooler. Even in the hospital he was continually being called out for a 'working over'.

On 5 July Bolonkin was punished with six months in the punishment cells. There he fell ill with dysentery. After this he was transferred to a cell on his own.

* * *

The Baptist **Viktor Peredereyev** is serving a three-year sentence (*Chronicle* 46) in Gorky Region. Having served over a third of his sentence, he asked the camp administration for a transfer to 'chemistry'. Although he had on several occasions distinguished himself by his conscientious attitude to work, his excellent studies and good conduct, in February 1979 an administrative commission refused his request, since he 'had not reformed' — that is, he had not renounced his religious beliefs. His sentence ends at the beginning of 1980 or the end of 1979.[14]

* * *

The Baptist **Pyotr Peters** (*Chronicles* 47-49) is serving his sentence in Camp Ukh-16/7 in Omsk. On 1 April he was deprived of a scheduled visit, because a Bible and the pamphlet 'The Genuine Christian' were found in his possession. His sentence ends on 3 July 1980.

In Defence of Political Prisoners

E. M. Derevenskova: 'To Comrade Brezhnev; to Mrs Carter' (9 May 1979)

The mother of political prisoner **Igor Ogurtsov** describes her son's situation. Igor is seriously ill. He was refused a transfer to the

Leningrad Gaaz [Prison] Hospital for treatment. What he needs most of all are not doctors and medicines, but normal, human living conditions. In camp, however, doing hard, physical labour, on 'semi-starvation rations, without vitamins', his health undermined, Igor will not last long.

Now it may still prove possible to restore his health to some extent, if he is released. I do not know what powers you have, but I appeal to you and I hope you will help. Save my son.

Ogurtsov's father has addressed similar appeals to the Chairman of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, Brezhnev, and to U S President Carter. He recalls that at his trial Igor, although admitting his guilt on some of the charges against him, denied the main one — that of 'Treason'. But subsequent appeals by his lawyers for a review of the case, and his father's appeal for clemency, have been refused.

I know you are humane. I know your attitude to the defence of human rights, I know your power. I appeal to you, as participants in the Second World War, to save the life of my only son.

V. O.: 'A Little about Igor Ogurtsov' (15 July 1978; 32 pages)

A significant place in this study is occupied by extracts from I. Ogurtsov's letters to his parents, in which he discusses his views on philosophy, religion and creativity in art, and describes his plans for literary work. The author concludes:

Moved by an irresistible desire to be useful to his people. Igor misguidedly embarked on the formation of an illegal organization, which brought on him an unjustifiably harsh sentence: deprivation of freedom for 20 years. Over the past 11 years, Igor has naturally rethought and re-evaluated many things.

What conclusions he has come to is not yet known, but it can be said with absolute certainty that if he lives to be released, he will follow only the path of a scholar and a littérateur ...

I. Shafarevich, Fr D. Dudko, I. Dyadkin: 'To the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet' (May 1979)

The letter calls for an 'easing of the situation' of the seriously ill **I. Ogurtsov.**

We derive hope for the success of our initiative from the recent release of a group of Ukrainian and Jewish prisoners — primarily Jewish nationalists sentenced in their time for attempting to hijack an aircraft. This act of clemency towards people convicted for actions arising from their national and religious beliefs should arouse sympathy all over the world. But one would hope that such actions are not based on perception of the prevailing political situation but on humane impulses, and that they are not restricted to the representatives of particular nationalities, but will be extended to others also — particularly to Russians.

I. Shafarevich received a reply to the effect that their request would be examined by the Clemency Department of the Presidium of the R S F S R Supreme Soviet if the authors gave I. Ogurtsov's patronymic and sent a copy of the judgment in his case.

I. Valitova, I. Zholkovskaya-Ginzburg: 'To U S President Carter' (26 April 1979)

The wives of **Yu. Orlov** and **A. Ginzburg** express the hope that the values for which their husbands fought are dear to the U S President. They hope that their husbands' fate will occupy its due place in Carter's discussions with Soviet leaders. (On the day this letter was dispatched A. Ginzburg was already on his way from Mordovia to the U S A — see 'Political Releases').

Irena Gajauskiene: 'To the President of the U S Union of Electrical Workers' (January 1979)

The wife of **Balys Gajauskas** writes that her husband was unbroken by his first 25-year sentence and that after his release he engaged in activities in defence of human rights. He was an honest worker. 'He did not learn how to get drunk and to steal state property'. He 'did not succumb to any provocation'. Now he has been given another sentence: ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

So a person is sentenced to 35 years' imprisonment and five years' exile solely for sticking to his convictions and fighting for the freedom of his people and for the rights of everyone.

I appeal to the Trades Union of Electrical Workers of the United States of America; I ask American workers, comrades in work, to raise their voices in defence of my husband, a man whose sufferings it is difficult to describe in words.

Releases

On 4 April **Justas Gimbutas** (b. 1925), a prisoner from Mordovian Camp 19, was released in Klaipeda.

Gimbutas spent the year 1945-46 in camp for collecting vegetables from the fields after the harvest. In 1948 he was arrested for belonging to the partisan movement. He was sentenced to death by the [secret police's] Special Board, but this was later commuted to 25 years in camp. In 1955 his sentence was increased, due to an escape attempt.

In 1974 Gimbutas sent a statement to the C P S U Central Committee in which he swore that he would not change his views. Gimbutas wrote that he was not and would not be a Soviet citizen, and

demanded permission to emigrate. In January 1979 he sent a similar statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet — this was confiscated.

On 29 June Gimbutas again sent a similar statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet — again he received no reply. In an attempt to obtain permission to emigrate, either to join his sister in the U S A, or to Israel, Gimbutas refuses to accept a Soviet passport. He is being threatened with criminal procedings for violation of the passport laws.

At present, Gimbutas is living with his sister: Klaipeda, ul. Debreceno 84, kv. 17.

* * *

On 21 February **Emil Sarkisyan** (*Chronicles* 46, 52) was brought in handcuffs from Camp 36 to Erevan, where he was eventually released on 2 March. Immediately after his release he was placed under surveillance for six months. His address is: Erevan — 9, ul. Tumanyana 42, kv. 1.

At the end of February **Šarunas Žukauskas** was brought to Vilnius Prison from Camp 36. On 27 March he was released at the end of his six-year sentence. Žukauskas was placed under surveillance for a year. His address is: Kaunas, ul. Mickevičius 14, kv. 4.

On 11 March Georgian Helsinki Group member **Grigory Goldshtein** was released at the end of his one-year sentence (for his trial see *Chronicle* 49; see also 'Letters and Statements' in this issue).

U Yao-Fen's (*Chronicle* 48) three-year sentence ended on 25 May. Late in May he was driven away somewhere from camp.

* * *

On the release of **A. Ginzburg, G. Vins, V. Moroz,** the 'aeroplane men' **A. Altman, M. Dymshits, V. Zalmanson, E. Kuznetsov, B. Penson** and **A. Khnokh** and the 'aeroplane circle man' **G. Butman,** see 'Political Releases'.

In Exile

On 5 April a court met to decide whether **G. Davydov** should be reinstated in his job (*Chronicle* 52). Davydov was reinstated in his post and paid for his enforced absence.

On the same day the police demanded that V. Isakova, G. Davydov's wife, leave Tulun. Isakova appealed for a temporary residence permit until 16 July, when her husband's exile term ended, but was told that

she could be given only a permanent residence permit, for which she would have to give up her permit to live in Leningrad.

Furthermore, the police threatened Isakova that a 'prophylactic case' would be brought against her for parasitism. (Isakova has worked for 22 years; she has two daughters, one of whom had not yet reached the age of eight.)

On 11 May Divisional Police Inspector Medvedskikh, who was 'overseeing' Davydov, made out an order for Isakova to have a medical examination to establish whether she was fit for work. At the end of May Isakova was forced to leave Tulun.

On 16 July Davydov was released at the end of his exile sentence.

* * *

Over a short period of time **V. Slepak** (*Chronicle* 50) was on two occasions in hospital in a serious condition.

However, Yu. K. Karagezyan, a department head at the M V D Main Administration, claimed in a letter to Slepak's wife that

> ... he has not been complaining, or sending statements to the local authorities; he is in good health.

M. Slepak appealed to Brezhnev for permission for herself and her husband to emigrate to Israel, where the rest of their family live.

* * *

A. Sergienko (*Chronicle* 52) spent a long time trying to obtain permission for his mother **O. Meshko** and his wife **Z. Vivchar** to visit him (his place of exile is in a border zone). They did not come until the end of June.

* * *

A. Podrabinek (*Chronicle* 50) was sent to serve his exile term in the settlement of Chuna in Irkutsk Region, where he arrived on 4 January 1979 (his term of exile would therefore end in December 1981). However, on 18 March he was unexpectedly transferred to a new place of exile — in the settlement of Ust-Mera in the Oimyakon District of the Yakut A S S R. He was taken under guard when 80 km away from home — he had not previously been informed that his place of exile had been changed.

On 4 May Podrabinek received an official note signed by Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Vladimirov, an official of Irkutsk U V D. The note stated that a mistake had occurred, as a result of which Podrabinek had gone to Chuna.

> When the mistake was discovered you were escorted to the Yakut A S S R. Your personal belongings and labour book were sent to you at your exile address on 25 April 1979.

On 18 May Podrabinek wrote a statement in which he demanded:

— information as to the resolution of the Irkutsk Regional U V D determining the change in my place of exile;
— the issuing of a resolution about my detention between 18 and 22 March 1979, or a resolution calculating my exile sentence from 23 March;
— in return for the relevant receipts — compensation for V. Sirotinin, V. Khvostenko and me for the cost of transferring my effects from Chuna to Ust-Nera;
— the punishment of those responsibe for omitting to inform me of what measures were taken to safeguard my possessions and my home;
— an apology for the 'technical mistake' committed by the Irkutsk U V D;
— a reply to my statement in the legally appointed time.

The reply was dated 30 May:

Re: your statement of 18 May 1979: the U V D of the Irkutsk Regional E C has nothing further to add to our answer to your letter of 4 May.

In the District Centre at Ust-Nera Podrabinek was refused a job in his specialty. The hospital's chief doctor, V. M. Marenny, stated that he and Podrabinek 'stand at different ideological poles'. Podrabinek sent a statement to the Oimyakon District Procuracy, protesting against discriminatory restrictions, on ideological grounds, regarding the right to work. Demin, Senior Assistant to the Procurator of the Yakut A S S R, replied that the refusal to employ Podrabinek was justified, since there were, in his case,

some restrictions as to employment, connected with educational and other purely moral considerations.

Podrabinek complained about this reply in a statement to the R S F S R Procurator:

No court has deprived me of the right to work in my profession; my qualifications are confirmed by an appropriate diploma. Until I am disqualified as a medical worker, I have the right to employment in state medical institutions, irrespective of the subjective evaluation of my personal qualities by the director of the institution!

In July Podrabinek obtained a job in his specialty (as a doctor's assistant [feldsher]).

* * *

Valentina Pailodze (for her trial see *Chronicle* 51) is serving her term of exile on the Saralzhin State Farm in the Uil District of Aktyubinsk Region. **Valery Marchenko** is also serving his term of exile there (see 'In the Prisons and Camps').

* * *

At the end of March **Zinovy Antonyuk** (*Chronicle* 52) was admitted to the urology department of the Irkutsk Regional Tubercular Clinic.

In May his doctor Z. M. Antonova, Head of the department, said that he must stay in the clinic for at least six months, for, despite treatment, his illness was in an active stage.

Soon after this, Senior Nurse L. A. Mashinskaya advised Antonyuk to stop writing to his friends and acquaintances, to correspond only with his wife, and to send away the two Irkutsk citizens who were regularly visiting him (the married couple V. Glybin and E. Trofimova, who worked at the Irkutsk Teachers' Training Institute — *Chronicle*).

She also advised him 'not to be friendly with anyone' since people had been placed in the clinic 'specially to observe you', and to destroy all letters and notes, since 'there might be a search'. Mashinskaya told Antonyuk that otherwise he would be discharged, yet he was still in need of treatment. He replied that he could not tolerate attempts to frighten him.

On 26 June Antonova informed Antonyuk that he would be discharged in two days' time. That same day Antonyuk went to buy a ticket for a flight to Bodaibo, but managed to get one only for 6 July. Nevertheless, he was discharged on 28 June, although patients are usually permitted to stay at the clinic until the day they have booked for their departure.

By way of farewell Antonova told Antonyuk that his illness was still in an active stage and that he would need treatment for another year. She said that he should get a light job, for example as a watchman.

In Bodaibo Antonyuk was admitted to the tubercular department of the district hospital.

* * *

State farm officials began to give **V. Chornovil** (*Chronicle* 52) work beyond his strength, and when he refused to do it he was issued a reprimand. He submitted a statement requesting to be dismissed 'at his own request' and two weeks later, on 23 July, he did not go to work. However, he was neither dismissed nor served with a dismissal notice, and his labour book was not returned to him. Chornovil tried through the courts and the Procuracy to make the state farm authorities observe the Code of Labour Law. Although he has only just stopped working and has not officially been dismissed, the police are already threatening him with prosecution for parasitism.

On 30 July Chornovil sent a statement to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Yakut A S S R. In the statement he describes the national antipathy between the Russians and the Yakuts, recalling the mass riots in Yakutsk in mid-June (six people were killed, many injured, fire engines were overturned and soldiers were called in because the police were unable to cope), and reports that Yakuts have attacked him.

... in such cases I am guided solely by my instinct of self-defence. The district to which I am exiled was chosen for me by the M V D. Despite the fact that I am legally entitled to live in any part of this district, the Lenin District M V D purposely sent me to a Yakut settlement. It is virtually impossible to establish friendly relations with the local population, due to the official policy of 'prophylaxis',* which is implemented constantly and was started even before my arrival ...

Chornovil asks for his place of exile to be changed for another, more 'Russian' district of Yakutia (see also 'Exiles on Holiday' in the section 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

* * *

When his exile term ended, in October 1978, **V. Gandzyuk** (*Chronicle* 51) prepared to travel home from Podgornoye, but he was forced to delay his departure. This is what he wrote in a letter while on his way home:

On the evening of 10 November, at home, a stranger from Kolpashevo hit me on the head with a bottle, knocked me out and robbed me. He took the 180 roubles I had saved for my journey. He decided that he had killed me. But on 11 November I somehow came to. When I reported the incident to the police, they began to push me about, insult me and brazenly blackmail me, making out that nothing had happened, that I had invented it all and was telling lies in order to give them work to do. I had hidden the money, they said, had staged the robbery myself and was now giving false evidence. They charged me under article 180, part 2 with giving false evidence and began to threaten me with seven years. On 14 November I was arrested and imprisoned. I remained there until the 30th. But then they caught the fellow who had hit me on the head and robbed me; after attacking me in Kolpashevo he had killed someone else and confessed about what he had done to me. I was released and placed under six months' surveillance and they began summoning me to Kolpashevo for a confrontation. And I was not allowed to leave Podgorny. Now in two or three months I will be summoned to court.

[*Ie the population was warned to keep away from Chornovil, who was described as a dangerous state criminal.]

In the Psychiatric Hospitals

This section has been compiled largely from the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, Nos. 15 (8 March 1979), 16 (30 April 1979), 17 (22 June 1979) and 18 (12 August 1979).

* * *

The Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes sent part of the material published in *Information Bulletin* No. 15 to the chief doctors of the hospitals listed in it. The material was accompanied by the following letter:

If, in presenting the facts, we have been guilty of any inaccuracy, please inform us and send us corrections ...

The Working Commission intends to continue informing relevant persons and organizations about facts it has made public (see also *Chronicle* 48).

In Special Psychiatric Hospitals

Alma-Ata S P H (town of Talgar)

In September 1976 **Anatoly Lupinos** (*Chronicles* 22, 30, 39) was transferred here from Dnepropetrovsk S P H. At the beginning of 1979 he was taken away somewhere.

* * *

Tashkent S P H

In the spring **Vladimir Rozhdestvov** (*Chronicles* 47, 48) was subjected to increased doses of haloperidol and trisedil. Evidently this is connected with the fact that Rozhdestvov received a letter which bypassed the hospital censorship.

* * *

In May **Vera Lipinskaya** (*Chronicle* 52) was transferred to an ordinary psychiatric hospital.

* * *

In mid-June **Nikolai Demyanov** (*Chronicle* 52) was transferred here. He came from Perm Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1, where at the end of April he had been prescribed a course of treatment with the drug motiden-depo. The chief doctor, Nelly Petrovna Mityagina, accused him of rude behaviour (Demyanov refused to answer questions which had no connection with medicine), of sending letters bypassing the censorship, and of contact with dissidents.

Demyanov's transfer to Tashkent S P H took place following a decision by a medical commission composed of Mityagina, the Head of the Sixth Section, Yulia Alexandrovna Sazhayeva, and court representative Selivanov, which met on 11 May. Demyanov refused to admit to the commission that he was ill and stated that he had also been sane before he was placed in a psychiatric hospital.

In connection with the transfer of Nikolai Demyanov to an S P H the Working Commission wrote to the World Psychiatric Association E C, to the British Royal College of Psychiatrists and to Amnesty International:

> The Working Commission draws this incident to your attention because it clearly illustrates the punitive functions of Soviet psychiatry and demonstrates that it is not the patient's mental state but his undesirable behaviour which is often the cause of both intensified compulsory treatment and indefinite isolation within the walls of an S P H.

* * *

Chernyakhovsk S P H

At the beginning of 1979 **Alexander Yankovich** (*Chronicle* 49) was transferred to an ordinary hospital.

* * *

Sychyovka S P H

Boris Kovgar (*Chronicle* 39) has been here since 1976.

* * *

After the war **Viktor Parfentevich Rafalsky** b. 1919) worked as a headmaster in Ivano-Frankovsk Region. In the 1950s he was arrested on political charges. He simulated mental illness and was declared not responsible at the Serbsky Institute, whereupon he was sent to the Leningrad S P H. In March 1956 Rafalsky escaped. Six months later he was arrested in Ivano-Frankovsk and taken back to the Leningrad S P H. Rafalsky also spent the period 1962-64 in an S P H.

In 1968 he was arrested in Ternopol Region by K G B officials. The manuscript of a book, written by Rafalsky in Ukrainian and entitled *The Travels of Three Spendthrifts in Wonderland* (a satirical work about three Africans in the U S S R), was confiscated from him. At the Serbsky Institute he was again declared not responsible and a court decided to send him to Dnepropetrovsk S P H. In 1971 Rafalsky was recommended for release, but the recommendation was rejected in court on the grounds that there was no guardian (Rafalsky has no relatives). Rafalsky was in Dnepropetrovsk from July 1968 until September 1976, when he was transferred to Sychyovka.

* * *

In Ordinary Hospitals

On 26 February **Arvidas Čehanavičius** was released from psychiatric hospital (*Chronicle* 52).

In May or June he was hospitalized again. He is now in the Sixth Section of Kaunas Psychiatric Hospital (ul. Kuzmos 75), where he is being given injections of tizertsin and stelazin. Arvidas's mother received a letter from the Chief Psychiatrist of the Lithuanian S S R, asserting that her son is dangerously ill and in need of compulsory treatment.

* * *

Sergei Purtov (*Chronicle* 52) is in the Fifth Section of the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital in Leningrad (Gatchina, Nikolskoye village).

On 8 May Purtov was examined by a medical commission (the Head of the Medical Department, Edward Grigorevich Semenyak, Section Head Vyacheslav Serafimovich Timoshin, and Purtov's doctor, Tamara Alexandrovna Bolotova) which recommended the continuation of compulsory treatment for another six months. He was prescribed aminazin (100 ml three times a day), bromide and camphor.

On 6 June Purtov was diagnosed as suffering from 'a paranoid-hysterical form of psychopathy' (the previous diagnosis was 'schizophrenia'). Sergei Purtov's new doctor, Sergei Semyonovich, told him that the main reason for keeping him in hospital were his letters to the German Embassy enquiring whether he had any relatives in Germany.

* * *

Vasily Grigorevich Shipilov (*Chronicles* 48, 51 — where he is erroneously called 'Ivanovich') is still in Krasnoyarsk Territorial Psychiatric Hospital No. 1.

Yury Belov (*Chronicle* 48), who himself had earlier been under compulsory treatment in this hospital, has written to the Head of the Section:

> Vasily Grigorevich Shipilov, an Orthodox believer, has been a patient in your section for over a year. During the past 40 years he has several times been arrested by the authorities for vagrancy and 'counter-Revolutionary propaganda'. Shipilov walked about Siberia preaching the work of God and speaking the truth about the lawlessness and severity of Stalin's regime. Shipilov is badly treated in your hospital; he is constantly beaten up by the orderlies, who mock his observance of religious rituals ...
>
> Shipilov does not consider himself a citizen of the U S S R,

since he has never been registered in any way, or had a passport. After his discharge he would like to shut himself away in the Zhirovitsy community for the rest of his days ... The continued confinement of Shipilov in a state institution is equivalent to a slow and agonizing death, and condemns him to new and numerous insults and beatings by the staff and the atheist patients.

I ask you to recommend to a court that he be released from compulsory treatment.

* * *

Alexander Sergeyevich Lyapin (*Chronicles* 51, 52), who is in the 11th Section of Leningrad Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 3 (Druzhnosele village) was examined by a regular medical commission on 18 May. Since he refused to reconsider his views, the commission recommended that he remain in the psychiatric hospital for another six months. The doctors consider that one of the symptoms of his illness is 'a subjective and negative perception of reality'.

* * *

Nikolai Vasilievich Levenkov (b. 1924), a participant in the Great Patriotic War, is in Gorky Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1 (Gorky, Prioksky District, Lyakhovo village).[15] After the war Levenkov graduated with distinction from the Gorky Medical Institute. He worked as a doctor in Gorky Regional Hospital, defended his Master's thesis and was a party member. As a result of his critical remarks about the economic situation in the USSR he had a series of conflicts with party organs. In 1968 the KGB took an interest in him. By 1969 Levenkov had prepared his Doctoral thesis, which he was not given the opportunity to defend. In July 1976 Levenkov was expelled from the party and forced to leave his job. Only after numerous appeals to official bodies was he given a job in a polyclinic on the outskirts of Gorky.

In 1976 Levenkov wrote a work entitled *Soviet Power and Medicine* in which, on the basis of his own experience and that of his colleagues, he concludes that there is a serious crisis in the Soviet health service. Levenkov was arrested as he tried to duplicate the manuscript. A medical commission at Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1, with Section Head Igor Ivanovich Buzuyev as chairman, declared him not responsible (the diagnosis was 'schizophrenia'). Since 1977 Levenkov has been undergoing compulsory treatment (his doctor is Klavdia Dmitrievna Tveritneva, and his Section Head is Aleksei Semyonovich Tveritnev). The address of Levenkov's wife is: Gorky, Kovalikhinskaya ul. 56, kv. 25.

* * *

On 1 June **Yakov Agafonovich Khutorskoi** was forcibly hospitalized in the town of Nalchik. He is in the Third Section of the Republican Psychoneurological Clinic (the chief doctor is Anatoly Kuzhbievich Shakov, and the Section Head is Valentina Petrovna Dyakova).[16] Earlier, on 26 January, Khutorskoi was detained by police officials at Moscow's Leningrad Station. Some private notes were taken from him when he was searched.

Khutorskoi (b. 1915) participated in the Great Patriotic War and is an electrician. He was first arrested in December 1967. The reason was his manuscript (written under the pseudonym 'Ya. A. Tarsky') on the subject of economics, which he had shown to a friend. A first medical commission in Nalchik declared Khutorskoi responsible; a second, which was conducted with Khutorskoi as an in-patient in the town of Ordzhonikidze, diagnosed that he was suffering from 'paranoid development of the personality'. From November 1968 to September 1971 Khutorskoi was in Kazan SPH, then he was transferred to his home town, to the Republican Psychiatric Hospital, from which he was discharged in 1973.

* * *

On 4 May **Salavat Gallyamov,** a student at the Bashkiria University, was placed in a psychiatric hospital in Ufa.[17]

In this connection the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR wrote to the Bashkir KGB Chairman, Chirikov:

On 4 May this year Salavat Gallyamov, a Christian believer who attended the Ufa Orthodox Church, was forcibly place in a psychiatric hospital in Ufa (Vladivostokskaya ul. 4) ...

As we have learned, this act of repressive psychiatry was carried out on your personal instructions.

The punishment for believing in God meted out to S. Gallyamov is not unique in Bashkiria ...

According to our information, over the past few years about ten newly converted Christians in Bashkiria have been arrested for their religious convictions, sent forcibly to psychiatric hospitals and declared mentally ill.

The Christian Committee intends to protest to the appropriate state authorities about the actions of the Bashkir KGB. We are also convinced that the international Christian public will not ignore the fate of its persecuted fellow-believers.

* * *

On 6 July **Gavriil Yankov** (*Chronicle* 51) was placed in Moscow Psychiatric Hospital No. 13.

Yankov had come to Moscow to try to get an annulment of the

decision ordering his expulsion from Moscow and depriving him of the right to live there. On 6 July he was summoned to the U V D and managed to arrange a meeting with Lieutenant Tyurin. After the meeting he was detained and taken to police station 69, where a psychiatrist had a talk with him. Yankov was then placed in the 24th Section of Psychiatric Hospital No. 13 (the Head of the Section is Valentin Afanasevich Pletnev, Yankov's doctor is Viktor Iosifovich Brutman). Yankov was immediately prescribed stelazin (two tablets three times a day). He was not examined during the 24 hours following his admission to hospital, which is a violation of the regulations.

When Yankov's sister talked to his doctor on 25 July, she was told that Yankov could be discharged if he left Moscow immediately. Yankov refused to do this.

* * *

On 5 March a medical commission recommended the release of **Plakhotnyuk** (*Chronicle* 52). At the beginning of June the Regional Court refused to release Plakhotnyuk from compulsory treatment; the refusal was based on the fact that the medical commission's recommendation contained no guarantee that Plakhotnyuk would not resume his 'illegal activities' after his release.

Releases

At the beginning of 1979 **Viktor Fedyanin** (*Chronicle* 51) was released from Kishinëv Psychiatric Hospital.

On 2 March **Alexander Kuzkin** (*Chronicle* 51) was released from Moscow Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 5 (Abramtsevo).

* * *

On 7 April the wife and son of **Boris Evdokimov** (*Chronicle* 52) appealed to the Chairman of the Leningrad City Court for Evdokimov's release from compulsory treatment. On 24 April Boris Evdokimov was released. Not long before this Evdokimov had been sent for tests to Leningrad Oncological Hospital, where he was given the preliminary diagnosis: 'bronchial cancer of the left lung, inoperable'.

Invitations from clinics and private people in many European countries were sent to Evdokimov. However, Leningrad O V I R has refused him an exit visa on the grounds that only a healthy person may go abroad at the invitation of a private individual (a doctor's certificate of health is required), and the U S S R Ministry of Health will not let him accept an invitation to go abroad for treatment, maintaining that his illness can be perfectly well treated in a Soviet hospital.[18]

* * *

Alexander Komarov went to the U S S R Ministry of Health in order to complain about the diagnosis he had been given — 'psychopathy with litigious tendencies' (*Chronicle* 51). There he was told that in order to have the diagnosis annulled he would have to undergo tests in Moscow Psychiatric Hospital No. 4 — the Gannushkin.

On 20 March Komarov arrived at the hospital with a letter of recommendation. He was admitted to the 19th Section (his doctor was Igor Igorevich Etinger, the Head of the Section Dina Yakovlevna Gofman).

On 17 April they began to give Komarov some sort of injections. At the same time he was placed in strict isolation: he was put in a separate ward, was no longer taken to the dining-room or outside for exercise with the other patients, and he was forbidden to make telephone calls. Neither Komarov nor his father was informed of the diagnosis arrived at or of the names of the drugs used in the injections. Komarov's father was told that Alexander would be sent for treatment to a psychiatric hospital in Saratov. He was transferred there at the end of April and on 12 May he was released.

Later it became known that Komarov had been given motiden-depo in the Gannushkin hospital. The diagnosis arrived at as a result of the tests was 'schizophrenia'.

* * *

In mid-1979 **Alexander Shatravka** (*Chronicle* 51) was released from a psychiatric hospital.

On 9 April **Vyacheslav Dzibalov** (*Chronicle* 52) was released from a psychiatric hospital.

* * *

On 15 February **Yury Valov** was released from the Central Psychiatric Hospital for Moscow Region (*Chronicle* 52).

On 1 March he was again forcibly interned in the same hospital. On 15 March he was released. Evidently this hospitalization was connected with the elections taking place on 4 March.

Persecution of Crimean Tatars

The Expulsion of Delegates from Moscow

In mid-March delegates from the Crimea came to Moscow once again, this time over 200 of them (in December 23 had come; in January-February about 120 — *Chronicle* 52). They brought with them a 'National Protest' against the continuing harsh persecution in the Crimea (it was signed by 3,988 Crimea Tatars living in the Crimea,

the northern Caucasus and southern Ukraine) and an appeal for the release of **Mustafa Dzhemilev** (1,927 signatures).

On 14 March the delegates went to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet to request a hearing.

On 15 March the Crimean Tatars again came to the reception room of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and began a two-day hunger-strike, announcing it in the following telegram addressed to Brezhnev:

> Crimean Tatars and their families in the Crimea are being subjected to inhuman treatment. Many of our compatriots are in prisons and camps, banished or in exile.
>
> Mustafa Dzhemilev is in danger of death. The fate of **Seidamet Memetov** is unknown. **Ebazer Yunusov** is being illegally detained in Simferopol Prison. Aishe Usmanova has been groundlessly convicted, her small children have been forcibly taken away from her and placed in a hospital for infectious diseases.
>
> Criminal charges are being fabricated against **Lyutfi Bekirov, Seiran Khyrkhara, Izzet Usta, Yakub Beitullayev,** and **Gulizar Yunusova.**
>
> Dozens of families have been evicted from the houses they bought and left to a cruel fate. Forcible evictions in the freezing cold are continuing.
>
> Cases are being prepared against the families of **Enver Ametov, Murat Voyenny** and many others.
>
> Illegal obstacles are being put in the way of Crimean Tatars wishing to leave Uzbekistan.
>
> The Crimean Tatar people have often appealed to party and state organs to stop the tyranny and violence perpetrated against Crimean Tatars. Our people's numerous appeals have remained unheeded.
>
> The 196 representatives of the Crimean Tatar people who are now in Moscow wholeheartedly condemn the practice of terror and express their angry protest against the illegal repressions by staging a two-day hunger-strike, beginning on 15 March at 9 am.
>
> We demand an end to national discrimination and the return of the Crimean Tatars to their national homeland.

At the request of the other delegates, pregnant women, invalids, old people and teenagers did not participate in the hunger-strike.

At 5 pm police and soldiers turned the Crimean Tatars out of the reception area, herded them into buses and drove them to various police stations and sobering-up stations. The following day the majority of those arrested were sent under guard to Tashkent (they were transported in specially designated carriages) and a group of 12, also under guard, were taken to Krasnodar, where they were registered before they returned to the Crimea. Both groups continued their hunger-strike in transit.

Those delegates who had escaped arrest tried to find out what had happened to their friends. They were not told anything in the reception room of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, nor at police stations. On 18 March they sent a telegram of protest to Brezhnev (21 signatures):

> ... the arrest of the hunger-striking delegates is a consequence of national discrimination against the Crimean Tatars.
>
> ... we demand the delease of our comrades. We ask you to receive the representatives of our people. Our people are waiting for a positive solution to the national question.

On 19 March they signed *Information Bulletin* No. 129 (the two previous ones were mentioned in *Chronicle* 52), and the lists of the delegates who had come from the Crimea were attached to it. As with the earlier ones, this *Information Bulletin* was sent to the Central Committee, to the Supreme Soviet and to the Council of Ministers.

Arrests, Searches, Interrogations

In the Crimea searches began on these very days, followed by arrests and other reprisals against those suspected of organizing protests and the 'processions' to Moscow.

On 14 March searches were carried out at the homes of **Mukhsim Osmanov, Zekki Muzhdabayev** and **Eldar Shabanov** in Belogorsk.

Mukhsim Osmanov (*Chronicles* 13, 31, 38, 42, 44, 47, 49), a Group 1 invalid (he is blind) was in hospital recovering after a heart-attack. On 14 March he was discharged, although the Head of the Section said that his heart was still weak. He was brought home, where the search was already under way. Soviet publications in the Tatar language and extracts from the Koran were confiscated (this was the seventh search of Osmanov's home — the first six took place in Uzbekistan, where he lived until 1976).

On 12 May Mukhsim Osmanov was visited by Pavlenko, Deputy Head of the Crimean K G B (*Chronicle* 51) and Grechikhin, Belogorsk District Procurator (similar visits had occurred previously — *Chronicle* 44). Osmanov was threatened with a trial and eviction unless he stopped 'stirring people up', especially the young. Pavlenko repeated almost word for word several expressions contained in an anonymous letter sent to Osmanov, in which activists in the Crimean Tatar movement were censured for having residence permits themselves and sending others to Moscow, stirring up the young people and exposing them to reprisals. Ebazer Seitvaapov and others had received similar anonymous notes, ostensibly written by Crimean Tatars. Pavlenko also talked to Osmanov about contact with dissidents and the organization of meetings with Western journalists in Moscow.

The search at **Muzhdabayev's** home was carried out in connection with a theft of which his juvenile son was ostensibly suspected. Several statements, lists of people (marked 'going') were confiscated. 50 roubles, a watch and a Japanese umbrella were also taken (and later returned). During the search **Usniye Ametova** came to see Muzhdabayev. She was searched and 150 roubles were taken from her. After the search she was taken away for a 'talk'. Investigator Lugovykh gave her an ultimatum: if she went to Moscow again (she went with the February delegation) she would be deported from the Crimea, where she had already lived for 18 months without a residence permit. If, however, she refused to go to Moscow, she would be given a residence permit. Ametova did not go to Moscow, but she was not given a residence permit (at least, not by the end of May). Her money was returned to her.

Z. Muzhdabayev has taken part in the national movement since the '60s; he was one of the 118 signatories of the 'Appeal to World Public Opinion' in the summer of 1968 (*Chronicle* 2). He has lived in the Crimea since 1968; he succeeded in obtaining a residence permit, but has been refused work in his profession (he is a teacher of Chemistry and Biology). He is unable to do physical work on account of his health. He worked for a while as a store-keeper, but is now unemployed, for the third year running.

The search at **Shabanov's** home began in the evening. Investigator Captain Gashko gave as the reason for it the fact that 'anti-Soviet material' had been found at the home of Shabanov's friend Muzhdabayev. When asked to hand over voluntarily 'texts defaming the Soviet political and social system', Shabanov replied that he did not have such texts. As a result of the two-hour search, a notebook containing some addresses and two separate pages with the address of **A. D. Sakharov** (the old one and the current one), a prayer, two private letters (one addressed to Shabanov's wife) and a text entitled: 'To the Poets Robert Rozhdestvensky and Evgeny Evtushenko' (four copies) were confiscated. Two weeks later E. Shabanov was arrested and charged with 'malicious hooliganism' (for his trial, see below).

* * *

After the searches, rumours circulated in Belogorsk that weapons, radios and a lot of money had been found in the Tatars' possession. A teacher at the local school told the older pupils about this and warned them not to go out at night, because the Tatars would be prowling and might kill them.

* * *

On 15 March searches were carried out at the homes of **Ebazer Seitvaapov** in Simferopol and **Gulizar Abdullayeva** in Zuya (Belogorsk District). Photographs of the funeral of **Musa Mamut** (*Chronicle* 51) and photocopies of several Soviet publications were confiscated from Seitvaapov (*Chronicles* 44, 51). On 25 April Seitvaapov was 'sorted out' during a meeting at his place of work. He was censured for 'anti-Soviet activities'. The charges included 'contact' with dissidents (P. Grigorenko and A. Lavut were named) and with other Crimean Tatar activists (**E. Shabanov**). Seitvaapov was even reminded of his participation in 'May demonstrations' (the last time was in 1970). One of those present said: 'Stalin did well to deport the Crimean Tatars'.

A watch was put on Seitvaapov's house. His brother, **Remzi Seitvaapov,** who got married and moved to a village near Simferopol (the two brothers had previously lived together) is not being allowed to legalize the purchase of his house or to obtain a new residence permit; he is threatened with eviction.

G. Abdullayeva (**Mustafa Dzhemilev's** sister) was in Moscow with the delegation on the day of the search. During the search, statements, *Information Bulletins*, the *Chronicle*, private papers and 600 roubles were confiscated. A month later she and other relatives of M. Dzhemilev were evicted (see below).

On 16 March a search was carried out at the home of **Mamedi Chobanov** in the village of Zhuravki, Kirov District (on orders from the Belogorsk Procuracy). Crimean Tatar documents, tape-recordings of Chobanov's conversations with K G B officials and of his conversation with the widow of **Izzet Memedullayev,** who committed suicide in November 1978 (*Chronicle* 51), were confiscated. A Koran belonging to his mother, and Chobanov's personal savings — 3,000 roubles (he was saving for his wedding), were also taken. A search was carried out at his brother's home, but nothing was found. On 3 April M. Chobanov was arrested (see below).

On 3 April searches were carried out at the homes of: **Osman Mamutov** in Belogorsk (a notebook, the text of a collective protest and tape-recordings of Tatar songs were confiscated); **Servet Mustafayev** (*Chronicles* 39, 41, 44) in the village of Vishennoye in Belogorsk District; **Riza Islyamov** and **Mukhtar Sofu** in Simferopol; **Remzi Seitvaapov** in the village of Kamenka, Simferopol District; and **Nariman Bekirov** in the village of Chistenkoye in the same district.

On 17 May a search was carried out in the village of Grushevka at the homes of **R. Dzhepparov** and **Sh. Bekirov.**

In the second half of May two searches were carried out in Melitopol (one at the home of Mukhsim Osmanov's brother), and **Enver Seferov's** home in the town of Genichesk, Kherson Region, was searched.

* * *

Professor **Refik Ibragimovich Muzafarov,** a Doctor of Literary Sciences, now works at the Gorlovka Teachers' Training Institute for

Foreign Languages. His wife **A. M. Korotkaya** is Russian and lives in Feodosia. Muzafarov was refused a permit to live in her flat. In September 1977 he was fined for living in his wife's flat without a residence permit.

On 3 February 1979, a day after his arrival in Feodosia, Muzafarov was escorted to the police station by a policeman and eight vigilantes, for 'personal identification' (on the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Bulavin). At the police station Muzafarov's passport was taken away and he was fined again.

Korotkaya and Muzafarov demanded that the Feodosian police officials be brought to justice under article 66 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Violation of the law on National and Racial Equality') for refusing a residence permit and detaining and fining Muzafarov — all solely on account of his nationality. In response to one of Korotkaya's statements the Feodosia Procurator replied (on 29 May 1979) that there had been no 'criminal incident', that Muzafarov had actually lived in Feodosia without a residence permit and had therefore been justly fined (the first fine had been annulled by the Feodosia Court, the second by the Gorlovka Court).

On 2 June a search was carried out in Korotkaya's flat in connection with Case No. 9516 (as it later turned out, the case of M. Chobanov); it was supervised by N. S. Zmeikina, Senior Assistant to the Crimean Regional Procurator.

The search began at 10.15 pm and lasted until the morning. The witnesses (one was from the village of Lenino — quite a long way from Feodosia) sometimes left the flat, and at other times by contrast, took an active part in the search, helping Captain Ovsyannikov and Investigator Khrapova. Before the search began Korotkaya was asked to surrender weapons, ammunition, explosives and 'documents relevant to the case' (she replied that she had none). There are 131 entries in the search record (some denoting one piece of paper, some a whole file of it). The confiscated items included:

— Muzafarov's works on the problems of the Crimean Tatar people, in particular: the outline of an article which had been accepted for publication but never appeared in print, entitled: 'The Active Participation of the Crimean Tatars in the Partisan Movement, as Reflected in Documentary and Artistic Literature'; 'From the Black Sea to Berlin'; and 'The Crimean Tatars in the Great Patriotic War: Fact and Fiction' written in conjunction with N. Muzafarov and typed); 'Their Opinions are Taken from Forgotten Newspapers ...' (written in conjunction with Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Fyodorov);

— a complete set of the newspaper **Red Crimea** for the years 1942-44 (it was circulated underground); material relating to the participation of the Crimean Tatars in the war;

— recordings of Crimean Tatar songs and other folk material;

— books, articles and manuscripts by Muzafarov on linguistics, for example his book *Russo-Turkic Folk Ties* (published by Saratov State University, 1966) and material for a Russian-Crimean Tatar dictionary;

— books and photocopies made in the Lenin Library containing information on the Crimean Tatars and the Crimea in general, for example U. Ya. Azizov's *Medicinal Herbs of the Crimea* (Moscow, 1941);

— books and journals: for example, E. Marsov's *Essays on the Crimea* (S P B, Moscow, 1904); *News of the Tauride Academic Archive Commission* (Simferopol, 1897); N. Kravtsev's *The Serbian Epos* (Moscow, 1940);

— Muzafarov's and Korotkaya's correspondence with official bodies about the harassment they were experiencing and also about the criminal charges against Kondranov, Director of the Crimean Regional Party Archive, under article 66 of the Ukranian Criminal Code;

— the text of this article of the Criminal Code (copied out).

Korotkaya complained to the U S S R Procurator-General about the actions of the investigators and demanded the punishment of those responsible for carrying out a groundless search at night and making illegal confiscations; she also demanded the return of the confiscated items, which were indispensable to her husband in his professional work.

On 8 June Muzafarov and Korotkaya were interrogated by Zmeikina. Only when they stubbornly persisted in asking did she tell them that Case No. 9516 was that of **M. Chobanov** (with whom neither of them is acquainted). Zmeikina asked Korotkaya: who visited them at home? What language did they speak? Did she know the Crimean Tatar language? Had her husband 'prepared slanderous material'? Was he her first husband? Muzafarov tried to argue that the questions being put to him had nothing to do with Chobanov's case. Zmeikina spent a long time questioning Muzafarov about his article 'The Active Participation ...', which had been confiscated during the search.

On 16 June a search in connection with Case No. 9516 was carried out in Muzafarov's own flat in Gorlovka. His own works (including published ones) were again confiscated, as well as other documents concerning the Crimea. At his trial in Omsk in 1976 **Mustafa Dzhemilev** asked that Muzafarov be summoned as a witness on the question of the state of the Crimean Tatars' language and literature (*Chronicle* 40, where his first name is given incorrectly).

The Arrest of Reshat Dzhemilev

On 4 April in Tashkent, following searches in his house and his relative's house, Reshat Dzhemilev (*Chronicles* 8, 9, 27, 31, 48, 51) was arrested. During the searches, articles and statements written by him, including the one about Musa Mamut (*Chronicle* 51), and other documents on the situation of Crimean Tatars and the national movement were found. Two typewriters were also confiscated.

Initially his arrest was officially called 'detention' and it was not until 7 April that Zera Dzhemileva was informed that her husband was being charged under article 191-4 of the Uzbek Criminal Code (= article 191-1 of the R S F S R Code). R. Dzhemilev is being held at the K G B Prison, although his case is being handled by the City Procurator's Office; Mustayev is the investigator.

Mustayev told one of the witnesses that because R. Dzhemilev had been meeting Western correspondents, this time he would not get three years (as he did on his previous arrest in 1972) but up to seven years; but no official information about the charge being changed has been forthcoming.[19]

Both Dzhemilev's wife and his middle son Nariman (20 years old) were called as witnesses. Nariman refused to testify and proceedings are being initiated against him.

By the end of May the investigation was drawing to a close and Zera Dzhemileva intended to engage a lawyer from Moscow. On 4 June she was, however, detained at the airport before boarding a plane for Moscow. The people who detained her (one was in police uniform) told her that she had no right to leave Tashkent while her husband's case was under investigation. (She had not of course been required to give a signed statement to the effect that, as a witness, she would not leave town, as there is no provision for this in the Criminal Procedure Code.)

* * *

In April searches were conducted in Uzbekistan at the homes of activists of the movement, a movement which has been growing over the last two years on the basis of the 'Appeal Statement' to Brezhnev (*Chronicles* 47, 51). **Rollan Kadiyev** (*Chronicle* 51) and **Idris Asanin** (*Chronicle* 51) in Samarkand, and **Yusuf (Yury) Osmanov** (*Chronicle* 2) in Fergane had their homes searched.

* * *

On 18 May, the 35th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars from the Crimea, leaflets commemorating the date appeared in Tashkent.

Deportations from the Crimea

Eiip Ablayev (born in 1914, served in the Army from 1938 to 1945, fought at the front) bought a house in the village of Bagotoye, Belogorsk District, and in December 1978 moved there with his wife and eight children. His efforts to get a residence permit took him to Moscow. On 21 December the general who interviewed him at the Soviet Committee of War Veterans promised to do what he could for him and advised him to approach the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. On 2 January Ablayev received a letter from the Supreme Soviet saying: 'The Regional Soviet E C will inform you of the decision reached.' On 16 January the Regional E C informed him: 'Your letter has been passed on to the Belogorsk O V D.' The Chief of the District O V D, Chernikov, replied orally: 'Leave of your own accord, it would be awkward for me to have to evict you.' E Ablayev went to Moscow again and this time got a straight answer at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet: 'You have no reason for being in the Crimea.'

On 21 March Ablayev was told that his residence permit had been approved and that all grown-up members of his family had to be at the district police station at 8 am the following morning. When they got there, the chief of the passport department, Pisklova, told them to fill in a registration form, while Major Chernikov led a detachment of 40 policemen and a large number of D O S A A F* trainees and started the work of eviction, assisted also by local leaders and vigilantes.

> Drunk and in the pouring rain they loaded our belongings on to open lorries, with no concern for the trouble taken in acquiring these belongings. Party organizer Sidorov, vigilante chief Ruban and carpenter G. M. Minin distinguished themselves in particular, breaking doors and windows with axes and crow-bars in order to get the furniture out, destroying our family home. There were valuables among these belongings: money, documents and a gold ring.
>
> While all this was going on — actions unworthy not only of the honour of a communist, but of the very principles of Soviet society — the following rash words were thrown at me, a war veteran, like a spit in the face: my medals and certificates, which I earned with my blood, were not real, but false. After this comment, my family and I were put in the Belogorsk detention cells with jeers of all sorts.
>
> In the afternoon, we were put in a police van and without the

[*Voluntary Society to Assist the Army, Air Force and Navy.]

Procurator's sanction taken to the Special Detention Centre in Simferopol where, with scant regard for our civil rights, we were held until 11 am on 23 March. That day we were put on the train and expelled under escort from the Crimea.

I appeal to you to set up a commission to examine all these amoral deeds, to restore my honour and my wrecked family home.

I trust that you will look into this and assist me in my misfortune.

This is what Eiip Ablayev wrote to Brezhnev on 27 March.

* * *

On 25 March, in the same village of Bogatoye, **Refat Muzhdabayev** and his family of four were evicted.

* * *

On 28 March in the village of Kurskoye, Belogorsk District, two evictions were carried out; **Enver Ametov** (*Chronicle* 52) and **Murat Voyenny** (*Chronicle* 52).

A Russian family was moved into Voyenny's house (it was difficult to find people willing to move in; the first family it was offered to refused). Ametov's house, a low, pre-war Tatar mud house, was demolished.

A few days before the eviction, Alexander Isayev, the collective farm electrician, refused to cut off the electricity from Ametov's house. For this he received a party reprimand and was demoted to fitter.

The demolition operation was prepared as an important political campaign. Even before it got under way the management of the 'Put Ilicha' collective farm held a meeting of the tractor brigades, at which chief agronomist Zatolokin stated: 'The government made a mistake in letting them into the Crimea.' Chief engineer Maksimov explained what had to be done to the tractor drivers and said that he himself would be responsible for the demolition of the house, and their business was to carry out orders. Tractor driver Malkhanov stated that he would not demolish the house, even under threat of dismissal. Driver Chernov demanded an explanation of why the tractor brigades were obliged to do it. The management threatened that a refusal to demolish the house would be punished in the same way as a refusal to do routine work, and named those who were to do it. Anatoly Rogozhin refused and a few days later was dismissed from the Komsomol.

On the day of demolition Enver himself was not at home; he had gone to see his five-year-old son in hospital. His wife and two-year-old daughter and his sister were at home. The police took them away, then threw out all their belongings, packed them into containers, then started to demolish the house. The next day, a bulldozer was brought and everything was completely flattened.

In 1976, shortly after E. Ametov moved to the Crimea, the house of which he had bought half turned out to be 'scheduled for demolition' (*Chronicle* 40). The house in Kurskoye had also been due to be demolished as early as August 1976, when his family was evicted for the first time (also in his absence), but at that time the neighbours had prevented the demolition order from being carried out (*Chronicle* 42). At that time the chief of the Belogorsk K G B, Ilinov, told Ametov that he would never be allowed to live in the Crimea.

The Ametov and Voyenny families, deported from the Crimea, are now living on the Taman Peninsula.

* * *

On 31 March **Amet Abduramanov** and his wife, both old age pensioners, were evicted from the town of Stary Krym. In the 1960s Abduramanov (at that time he lived in Angren, Uzbekistan) used to travel to Moscow as a representative of his people and was subjected to searches and arrests (*Chronicle* 31). In May 1978 he was sentenced to four years' banishment from the Crimea under article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (*Chronicle* 49).

* * *

On 3 April in the village of Lgovka (Kirov District) **Reshat Emirov** was evicted (in *Chronicle* 49 — Rashid).

* * *

In the middle of April relatives of Mustafa Dzhemilev were deported from the Crimea: his parents **Abduldzhemil** (81 years old) **and Makhfure** (69 years old) **Mustafayev,** his elder sister, **Gulizar Abdullayeva** and her husband and two children, and his younger sister **Dilyara Seitvelieva** (she also has a family). Before their deportation they were held for 24 hours at the Simferopol Special Detention Centre.

These three families came to the Crimea, to the Belogorsk District, in 1976-77, since when they had received many 'warnings' and fines (*Chronicles* 46, 47). Riza Seitveliev, after his banishment (*Chronicle* 49), registered for residence in Krasnodar Territory. They all settled there after the deportation.

When G. Abdullayeva received the containers with her belongings, which had been packed by the police without the owners present, there were a lot of them but none of them was full. Apparently this was done solely with a view to increasing the cost of transport, which the deportees themselves have to pay.

* * *

On 19 May in the village of Lesnovka, Saki District, the family of

Mamut Emirveliev (born in 1907) was evicted. Valuables were lost during the eviction and many things were ruined.

In June, in Stary Krym, **Amet Abduraimov** and **Aishabla Asanov** were evicted.

On 23 June in Lenino, a district centre, at 3 am, several vehicles, including fire-engines, drove up to **Zubeir Kalafatov's** house; there were about 100 policemen and vigilantes in the vehicles. But nobody was at home, so the eviction did not take place.

* * *

Private plots of land are being taken away from unregistered persons (and ploughed up or given to neighbours). In the village of Kurskoye, where in March eleven unregistered families lived (there are only 22 Crimean Tatar families there in all), the management of the 'Put Ilich' farm ordered their private plots to be sown with oats. Anatoly Puzyrev refused to do this and was dismissed as a result.

In Belogorsk a new system of paying for electricity has been introduced: the account has to be certified by the housing administration or the street committee. In this way unregistered people become defaulters and their electricity supply can 'legally' be cut off. This has already been done to nearly all the 35 unregistered families. In Belogorsk District a list of 280 families whose electricity is being cut off has been drawn up. Those whose houses also have a mains water-supply have this cut off as well.

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In the newspaper *Trud* on 5 May 1979 there was an announcement: the state-owned 'Vinogradny' farm-factory (Kolchugino village, Simferopol District) required workers with various skills. Several Crimean Tatars applied. The director talked with one of them, **Ennar Ibragimov.** He said openly: 'We need workers very badly, but your affair has not yet been settled. If Crimean Tatars are allowed to live in the Crimea, I'll take you on willingly. But for the time being I can't.'

* * *

In April-May registered Crimean Tatars were called to the District Soviet E C for a special kind of census: how many in the family? Who is working and where? It is known that a similar kind of census of Crimean Tatars (maybe a spot-check) was conducted in Uzbekistan.

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In March or April, seven families in the Kirov District were promised residence permits.

* * *

Since last winter, sentries have been on duty at points of entry into the Crimea, in particular on the Crimea-Caucasus ferry, to check whether home-grown produce is being carried (and perhaps to check whether Crimean Tatars are travelling?) On roads the police frequently stop buses, and suspicious passengers are asked to get off for their papers to be checked. If the passenger turns out to be a Crimean Tatar he is questioned about his route and the aim of his journey.

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The resolutions of the administrative commissions of District or Town Soviet E Cs concerning a warning or fine for living without a residence permit have, since October 1978, started to be written out on a special printed form — 'Form 32 concerning point 92 of the Instruction" (which instruction is not mentioned). The text has a reference to 'U S S R Council of Ministers' Resolution No. 700 of 15.08.78' (without its title or contents). In March-April 'offenders' were no longer handed these resolutions or even shown them. Apparently Resolution No. 700 (*Chronicle* 52) has become more secret.

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At the end of March, in view of the forthcoming official visit by French President Giscard d'Estaing to the U S S R, a group of Crimean Tatars wrote him a letter (without signatures). They write about the tragic situation of their people, especially about the persecutions of recent months resulting from the Decree of the U S S R Council of Ministers, and ask the President to intercede for them in his meeting with Brezhnev. A. D. Sakharov handed this letter to the French Embassy, together with a note from himself, vouching for the authenticity of the letter and adding his plea to that of the authors. He was told that the letter would reach the addressee. There has been no further reply.

Trials in the Crimea

At the beginning of March in Simferopol, **Ebazer Yunusov** was sentenced to one-and-a-half years' deprivation of freedom under article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Violation of Passport Regulations'). He was arrested in his own house in the village of Mazanka on 22 January 1979 after his family had twice been evicted (*Chronicle* 52).

* * *

The Trial of Seidamet Memetov

Seidamet Memetov was arrested on 12 February and, according to information which his relatives managed with difficulty to obtain,

was held under arrest 'for clarification of his identity' (*Chronicle* 52). They were told only on 14 March that the trial was to be held the following day in the Saki District People's Court. On the morning of 15 March it was announced that there was no way for the accused to be brought from Simferopol and that the trial would be held in Simferopol. Police officials put the Judge, the assessors, the Procurator, two witnesses and one relative into a vehicle and drove them away from Saki to, as it later turned out, Evpatoria.

Seidamet Memetov, who was sentenced in January 1978 under article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code to two years' banishment (*Chronicle* 48), was now charged under article 185 ('Unwarranted return of a banished person to places forbidden to him, or failure to complete the sentence of banishment') and article 214 ('systematically engaging in vagrancy and scrounging'). Sentence: one year's deprivation of freedom article 214), plus exile for four years (article 185). (The corresponding article, 187, of the R S F S R Code does not contain 'failure to complete the sentence of banishment' and the maximum penalty is the substitution of exile for banishment for the uncompleted period, ie in Memetov's case this would be for two years.) From the moment of his arrest S. Memetov went on hunger-strike. Whether or not he lifted it after the trial is not known.

Seidamet Memetov (b. 1941) lived in Margelan (Uzbek S S R) before he returned to the Crimea and worked as a welder. He was arrested in January 1968 and, together with three other participants in the national movement, sentenced under article 191-4 of the Uzbek Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code) to six months' deprivation of freedom (*Chronicle* 2). After his release he took part in meetings, travelled to Moscow as a representative of the people, and was subjected to searches, detention and arrests (*Chronicles* 31, 32). In January-February 1979 he again went to Moscow as a delegate, this time from the Crimea.

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Seidamet Memetov's address in camp is: 265452, Rovenskaya oblast, g. Sarny, uchr. OR-318/46-5.

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The Trial of Gulizar Yunusova

The trial was held on 19 March in the town of Saki. Yunusova was charged under part 2 of article 188 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Resisting a police official ... ') for having on 27 December — when the family of Seitnafi Borseitov was being evicted from the 'Pribrezhny' collective farm and technical school in Saki District — hit Major Krivolapov (*Chronicle* 52).

During the pre-trial investigation the 'victim' testified that he was nearly knocked down by the blow. Yunusova, when she read this testimony (on studying the case materials), laughed and was reminded of the Tatar saying: 'The sparrow swallowed the eagle'.

During the trial Krivolapov testified only that Yunusova 'shoved' him. The defence lawyer asked him how much he weighed. The chief witnesses were two policemen. The court did not call the witnesses for Yunusova. The sentence passed was two years' deprivation of freedom.

Yunusova, who had given a signed statement that she would not leave town during the investigation, was taken into custody in the courtroom.

(Major Krivolapov is the 'Major from the centre' who conducted evictions 'under Resolution No. 700' between December and February — *Chronicle* 52).

The Trial of L. Bekirov, I. Usta, S. Khyrkhara and Ya. Beitullayev

The case was heard on 27 March in the Krasnogvardeisky District People's Court. Lyutfi Bekirov (born 1928), Izzet Usta (born 1930), Seiran Khyrkhara (born 1942) and Yakub Beitullayev (born 1953) were charged under part 2 of article 188-1 of the Ukrainian Code. The first three are registered inhabitants of the village of Nekrasovo who came under the official labour recruitment system; the fourth lives in Simferopol, and is also a registered inhabitant. They were arrested on 3 February 1979 when the family of Sadyk Usta (Izzet's brother and and Lyutfi's father-in-law) was being evicted in the village of Nekrasovo (*Chronicle* 52). Bekirov was charged with hitting a policeman; furthermore, according to the prosecution, the accused resisted policemen in the car in which they were driven out of Nekrasovo.

During the pre-trial investigation Bekirov and Usta refused to testify. During the trial Bekirov testified that he had not hit the policeman but touched his shoulder as he was talking to him. All four pleaded not guilty. The sentences: L. Bekirov — four years, I. Usta and S. Khyrkhara — three years each, Ya. Baitullayev released from custody (it is not known whether he was acquitted or was given a punishment other than deprivation of freedom, for instance a suspended sentence).

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Before the investigation was completed relatives of the accused had engaged four lawyers from Moscow. The lawyers rang Simferopol on many occasions to find out when the investigation would be completed and whether it would be possible to study the case materials at the same time as their clients. They were not told. They were told the date of the trial only on 23 March, and as this was a Friday they had only half a working day to arrange their journey. However, the Presidium of the Moscow City Bar did not sanction their trip, telling

them that the accused would fare even worse if lawyers from Moscow defended them.

The relatives learned of the date of the trial only the previous day, and were told only on the day of the trial that the lawyers would not be coming. Under these circumstances they agreed to the participation of lawyers from Dzhankoi in the proceedings.

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Lyutfi Bekirov has been active in the national movement since the 1960s; in December 1966 he was arrested for 15 days (together with Eldar Shabanov) as one of the organizers of the meeting in Bekabad to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the Crimean A S S R.

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Lyutfi Bekirov's address in camp is: 287101, Vinnitskaya oblast, pos. Strizhevka, uchr. IV-301/81-21B; Izzet Usta's address is: 326244, Kherson, Gopry, s. Staraya Zburevka, uchr. YuZ-17/76-19A; Seiran Khyrkhara's address is: Zaporozhskaya oblast, g. Volnyansk, uchr. YaYa-310/20A-10 (V. Ovsienko is in the same camp[20] — see 'In the Prisons and Camps').

The Trial of Eldar Shabanov

On 4 May the Belogorsk District Court sentenced Eldar Shabanov under part 2 of article 206 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Malicious hooliganism') to three years' deprivation of freedom in strict-regime camps.

The charge was based on an incident in which Shabanov was involved at work on 22 March. Shabanov worked as a driver for a factory making construction materials and was driving workers to a quarry. On the day in question the mechanic Pavlov ordered him to make an extra trip. They argued — Shabanov maintained that he might not have enough petrol, as had happened previously, but went nevertheless. After the trip the quarrel restarted. Pavlov called Shabanov a 'lousy Tatar', at which Shabanov swore back and pushed him off the bus.

On 27 March Shabanov was arrested. Sanction for the arrest was made official only after eight days. During this period Shabanov went on hunger-strike. His wife Zera went several times during these days to see the Procurator, Grechikhin, who told her that Eldar would be set free and in her presence even gave the relevant instruction to the investigator on the telephone. After a week of this, Z. Shabanova wrote a complaint about her husband being kept illegally in custody. The Chief of the Investigations Department, Fyodorov, replied that Shabanov was under arrest legally and that the sanction of the Procurator's office had been received.

Investigator Lugovykh, who conducted Shabanov's case, held a meeting at the factory at which M. Sergeyev was nominated as a factory representative to speak for the prosecution. In conversations with workers, however, Sergeyev maintained that he would be speaking for the defence.

The court hearing of 4 May was held in the office of the factory. Only at the very last minute was the place of the trial announced. The building was guarded by a large number of policemen and also K G B officials (in the break they drove the Judge away for lunch). About 60 people came into the room to attend the trial, some of whom were taken away during the break.

The case was heard with Judge Klochko presiding; the District Procurator Grechikhin was the prosecutor and the defence counsel was advocate V. A. German.

According to the testimony of the 'victim', Shabanov swore at him, insulted him, shoved him and got putty on him. Shabanov's question to Pavlov about his interrogation by Ilinov (the Chief of the Belogorsk K G B) was disallowed by the Judge, who said that there had been no such interrogation (Shabanov quoted the case sheet when he asked the question). Shabanov related at the trial that Pavlov had called him a 'lousy Tatar' and a 'traitor'. He noted that Pavlov's statement had only been written seven days after their quarrel (ie after his arrest).

Witnesses testified that they had seen putty on Pavlov's moustache and had prior to this heard him and Shabanov arguing. Only one witness (previously he had told Zera that he had only heard a noise) stated that he had seen Shabanov pressing Pavlov against the bus and threatening him.

In his speech for the defence the lawyer said that Shabanov had been in the right in the quarrel with his superior, who had grievously insulted his national dignity. The lawyer asked the court to alter charge to simple 'hooliganism' (part 1 of article 206) and to give a punishment other than deprivation of freedom.

In his final statement Shabanov tried to explain that he was being tried on a trumped-up charge. He described the search conducted at his home on 14 March and said that the confiscated materials were apparently not sufficient for a charge of circulating 'deliberately false fabrications'. 'Therefore', he said, 'the intention is that I am to be dealt with as a criminal'. At this point the court stood up and left, without letting Shabanov finish his final statement.

The victim Pavlov looked extremely depressed after the trial and said that he would never get over the experience.

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In 1944, when the Crimean Tatars were deported, Eldar Shabanov

was four. His father was killed at the front. In the 1960s, when he lived in Bekabad, he joined the Crimean Tatar movement. In 1966 he was arrested for organizing the meeting to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the Crimean A S S R. At that time article 190-3 was not in existence and he 'got off' with 15 days. When Shabanov and his family came to Belogorsk in February 1969 they experienced the usual harassments. In 1969 he was sentenced to two years' banishment from the Crimea (*Chronicle* 31). In 1972 he received a residence permit. Shabanov was under constant surveillance by the K G B (*Chronicles* 34, 44, 47). His wife, a Physics teacher, cannot get a job in her field (*Chronicle* 47). The Shabanovs have five children, the youngest being one year old.

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Shabanov's address in camp is: 264810, Volynskaya oblast, st. Manevichi, uchr. OV-302/42-54.

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On 12 July the Crimean Regional Court sentenced **Mamedi Chobanov** (born 1944) under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (190-1 of the R S F S R Code) to three years' strict-regime camp.

This is Chobanov's third conviction for his part in the national movement. In 1968 he was given three years on the false charge of 'malicious hooliganism' (*Chronicles* 7, 31), in 1972 — one year under article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (*Chronicle* 31). He has twice been warned, in 1975 (*Chronicle* 38) and in February 1979 (*Chronicle* 52) 'according to the Decree' [of December 1972 about warnings concerning anti-Soviet activity].

Events in Lithuania

This section is based largely on material from the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, issue 38 (1 May 1979), and the journal *Aušra*, issues 15 (February 1979) and 16 (May 1979).

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On 6 April **Fr. Karolis Garuckas**, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, died. Large numbers of people came to his funeral.

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The Lithuanian S S R Ministry of Education has adopted a resolution according to which the teaching of Russian in Lithuanian schools will be increased in 1980 (see 'Samizdat News').

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In July 1978 246 inhabitants of Lithuanian villages in the Voronovo District [Grodno Region] of the Belorussian S S R sent a declaration to Masherov, First Secretary of the Belorussian CP, and Griškevičius, First Secretary of the Lithuanian CP, asking that conditions be created for the expression of Lithuanian culture in Belorussia, that Lithuanians should cease to be persecuted for maintaining contacts with institutions and organizations in Lithuania, and that a Lithuanian school should be opened in the village of Pelesa; the inhabitants of this village should have their church returned, the ruined bell-tower should be restored, and the local priest should be allowed to hold services in Lithuanian.

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On 25 December 1978 the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights sent their 'Document No. 5' to the Presidia of the Supreme Soviets of the U S S R and the Lithuanian S S R, to the bishops and diocesan administrators, as well as to P. Anilionis, the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs, giving the reasons why the Statute on Religious Associations, passed by the Presidium of the Lithuanian S S R Supreme Soviet in July 1976, was unacceptable to the Catholic Church of Lithuania.

Priests of all dioceses (552 altogether), together with Bishops Steponavičius and Sladkevičius, sent declarations to the authorities supporting 'Document No. 5'. The signatories are trying to have the Statute rescinded and state that they cannot and will not obey it, as it contradicts the canons of the Roman Catholic Church.

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According to the evidence of the Catholic priests, about 70% of the Lithuanian population are believing Catholics. There are now six Catholic dioceses in Lithuania. Three are administered by bishops, three merely by priests. Two bishops, Julijonas Steponavičius and Vincentas Sladkevičius, were retired about 20 years ago and exiled to remote villages.

In Lithuania there are 628 working churches; 95 of these have no rector. They are served by priests from neighbouring parishes.

There are 708 Catholic priests in Lithuania altogether. 175 of them are over 70 years old. In recent years over 20 priests a year die, while the seminary produces 7 graduates a year.

* * *

On 18 April the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights sent a document to the Presidium of the Lithuanian S S R Supreme Soviet, reporting on the insufficiency of prayer-books and catechisms in Lithuania. In the opinion of the document's authors,

it is necessary to publish 100,000 prayer-books, and as many catechisms, to satisfy the believers' needs. The Committee asks the addressee to give permission for their publication.

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Believers of Lithuania have sent a complaint to Brezhnev about the confiscation in 1961 of the church built in Klaipeda with believers' money, which was taken away from the Catholics and turned into a concert hall.

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In Mažeikiai Middle School No. 3 a questionnaire was passed round among the pupils, containing questions such as these:

1. What religious books have you read (title and author's name, if you remember)?
2. How many times have you been to church?
3. Do you believe in God?
4. Do your parents believe?
5. Why do you go to church? Is it interesting, or do you have nothing else to do, or does someone make you?
6. Which of the pupils in your class believe, don't believe, have doubts? (Give names).
7. Are there believers in the school? (Give surnames, mention those who serve as altar boys or sing in the church choir).

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On 29 January a 'week of atheism' was proclaimed at the Middle School in Pasvelys. An attempt to organize an exhibition of children's drawings on atheist themes was foiled by the pupils. On the night of 1-2 February a banner bearing an extract from article 50 of the Lithuanian S S R Constitution — 'Citizens of the Lithuanian S S R are guaranteed freedom of conscience ...' — was hung up on the notice-board. On 3 February there was an evening meeting of students and school pupils, attended by about 300 people. Pamphlets, tricolour flags (red-green-yellow, the national colours of the Lithuanian flag during the independent republic) and slogans such as 'Down with the Russian occupiers!' and 'Freedom for Lithuania!' were hung in conspicuous places in the hall.

In the course of February and the first half of March, the pupils were always being summoned by the school authorities, the police and the K G B — an investigation was in progress. Particular zeal was exhibited by headmaster Kanapeckas, K G B chief Ivaškevičius of the Pasvelys subsection and K G B official Roginov. **Rima Juzyte, Rima Varžinskaite** and **Rasa Pulkauninkaite,** pupils of the 11th (and senior) class, were subjected to the worst pressure. After lengthy

interrogation Varžinskaite confessed to having disseminated proclamations. She was given a strict warning. Pulkauninkaite had her conduct mark lowered and the official warning she received was included on her record. Juzyte was expelled from the Komsomol and her conduct mark was lowered to 'unsatisfactory'. Juzyte was told directly that the place for her was not a Soviet school but a psychiatric hospital.

* * *

On 18 April the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights sent a document entitled 'Violation of Children's Rights in the Lithuanian S S R' to U N E S C O and the international conference 'For peace and the happy future of all children'. The authors of the document write that children in Lithuania are deprived of the right to be educated according to their parents' religious convictions; they are forbidden to participate in church services; they are persecuted for going to church. In schools lists of religious pupils are drawn up; children are forced to join the atheist Pioneer and Komsomol organizations. The document presents evidence of persecution and mockery of religious pupils at school. For example, at Plunge Middle School No. 1 the school administration replied to the complaints of the mother of V. Semenauskas, who had been mocked by his unbelieving fellow-pupils, by threatening to deprive her of her maternal rights and expel her son from the school. The Committee also calls U N E S C O's attention to the fact that priests are forbidden to teach children religion.

On 20 April, in a declaration addressed to the Procurator of the Lithuanian S S R, the Committee also describes discrimination against religious pupils and calls attention to the Semenauskas Case.

On 25 May the Committee appealed to the Procurator of Lithuania and the Ministry of Enlightenment in the Lithuanian S S R:

> We are very worried by the increased terrorization of pupils in the schools of the Lithuanian S S R. On 15 May this year Irena Žilviene appealed to our Committee ... Her son Egidijus, a pupil at Telšiai Middle School No. 4, is constantly harassed. Teacher Pilipavičiene tied a Pioneer scarf round his neck by force and hit him in the face ... She and teacher Petraityte at the same time abused him in foul language ...

The appeal also cites other instances of believers being humiliated at Telšiai School No. 4 and Middle School No. 1 in Plunge.

Persecution of Believers

Orthodox Christians

In the Dobroye District of Lipetsk Region, 14 churches were destroyed after the Revolution. In 1974 believers began to ask that a church be opened in the village of B. Khomutets.

The believers went more than once to see the District Soviet E C — refusals were accompanied by insults. In December 1975 they handed in a request signed by over 1,200 believers to the Council for Religious Affairs. A month later officials Borodin and Yartsev from the district centre arrived in the village. Summoning the believers one by one, they demanded that they sign a declaration renouncing their signatures and threatened them with the sack. As a result, 15 believers renounced their signatures.

In June 1976 Commissioner Degtyarev of the Council for Religious Affairs came to the village from Moscow, accompanied by ten officials from the District Party Committee and the District Soviet E C. Their talks with believers resembled interrogations and were accompanied by threats. Two months later, the Council for Religious Affairs sent a refusal, basing it on the fact that there are three working churches in Dobroye District and two in Lipetsk. After this the believers wrote a series of complaints to the highest Soviet authorities and to the editors of newspapers and journals.

In April 1978 one of the most active believers, **Anastasia Kleimenova,** was seized on the street and taken to a psychiatric hospital. After examining her for two weeks, they released her, admitting that she was healthy.

* * *

In the village of Khinochi, Vladimir District, Rovno Region, the church was closed in 1963. The believers immediately began to ask that the church be reopened.

In the summer of 1973, while the peasants were harvesting, the church dome was removed by order of the district authorities and soon, by order of the chairman of the village soviet, grain began to be stored in the church. The complaints of the believers achieved only the removal of the grain from the church. Since then it has been locked.

In answer to the requests by inhabitants of Khinochi and neighbouring villages to allow the restoration and opening of the church, the local authorities reply that only a small handful of people need it and the other villagers have no need of the church.

In 1978, because of the complaints of believers, a commission consisting of representatives of the district, regional and republican authorities came to Khinochi. The chairman of the village soviet introduced only two believers to the commission and the discussion was again about the small number of people who needed the church. When the commission was leaving the village, a crowd of believers was waiting for it on the road but no one would get out of the cars.

* * *

Believers in the town of Kotovo, Volgograd Region, appealed in the summer of 1978 to the District Soviet E C to register their religious community and open a prayer-house. 216 people signed the declaration. The responsible officials of the E C refused their request, suggesting that the believers should go and pray in the neighbouring districts, where there were churches. Prudnikovich, Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs in Volgograd Region, to whom the believers travelled to complain, redirected them to the District Soviet, where they again received a refusal.

The believers have begun to be pressurized to renounce their signatures on the declaration. Old people have received threats that children and relatives will suffer.

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In the village of Mshany, Gorodok District, Lvov Region, the church — an architectural monument of the 18th century — was closed and turned into a store-house in March 1978. The church plate was removed.

This 'operation' was carried out under the leadership of Gamersky (First Secretary of the District Party Committee), K G B Captain Bogomolov, Malishevsky (Deputy Head of the District O V D), divisional police inspector Major Yurkov, the school headmaster Karaim, Vitkovsky (Deputy Chairman of the collective farm), Shelovilo (party organizer on the collective farm) and agronomist Bushko.

In March 1979, when the authorities wanted to fill the church with grain for the second time, the women of the village joined hands and would not let them into the church. The women were forcibly dispersed by the police; one, the most active, was imprisoned for 15 days for saying: '... They show on television what goes on abroad, and look what they do themselves ... '

Afterwards five women travelled to Zagorsk as delegates, to complain to Patriarch Pimen.

A complaint was signed by 200 believers, asking that the church be opened and the grain removed. There was no answer to the complaint.

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(See also 'The Trial of Makeyeva' and 'Letters and Statements').

Adventists

In the spring and summer, many members of the Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists [T F S D A] in the Northern Caucasus, Ukraine and Latvia were subjected to searches.

From 5 to 12 April in the town of Beregomet, Chernovtsy Region, there were searches at the homes of **Tatyana Dzhegol, Antonina Dzhegol** and **Anastasia Bendaryuk. Ivan Ivanovich Dzhegol** was arrested. Religious and human rights literature produced by the 'True Witness' publishing house, personal religious notes, and tape-recordings were confiscated.

At the home of Antonina Dzhegol the search was conducted by Procurator Tverdushkin. The officials helping him were drunk. At the house of Tatyana Dzhegol, an aged woman, Tverdushkin and his assistants knocked on the door at 10 pm. She refused to open the door to strangers at such an hour. The Procurator then lured her out of the house by deceit. Then one of his associates jumped on T. Dzhegol and started to twist her arms behind her back, while taking away the key to the front door. She tried to cry out, but they covered her mouth. In this way the key was seized and the door opened.

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On 6 April a search was carried out at the home of **M. M. Guli** in the village of Novo-Zhadovo, Chernovtsy Region. Nothing was confiscated.

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From 5 to 12 April searches were carried out in Dnepropetrovsk at the homes of **Pyotr Bunyak, Alexandra Bunyak, Kovalchuk, Pshechenko** and **Laptev.** After the searches **Olga Petrovna Bunyak** was arrested. She was charged with disseminating 'Open Letter No. 5' from the All-Union Church of T F S D A. Four days later she was released. She was told to sign an undertaking not to leave the district and to come when summoned. After O. Bunyak refused to sign the record, which contained fabricated evidence, the investigator beat her up. On releasing her the investigator laughed: 'Are you going to tell how you were beaten here? Which open letter will we appear in?'

* * *

At this same time searches were carried out at the homes of **Musanova, Kraider** and **Orlov,** residents of Terek in the Kabardino-Balkar A S S R. Literature published by 'True Witness' was confiscated.

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On 24 April the home of **N. L. Gromatyuk,** a resident of Kamenets-Podolsk, was searched. Religious literature and notes on religious themes were confiscated.

* * *

On 15 May in Kiev Region — in the village of Glevakha and the town of Yagotin — **Valentina Velichko, Solovyova** and **Shendrik** were searched. At Solovyova's home a few books published by 'True Witness' were confiscated. At the homes of Velichko and Shendrik a few packets of paper and several sheets of carbon paper were taken.

On 30 May in Lutsk, **Anna Bortnik** and **Dina Kirichuk** were searched. Books and pamphlets published by 'True Witness' (of a religious and human rights nature), exercise books containing religious texts, and used envelopes and postcards were confiscated. Three savings-bank books recording a deposit of about 1,000 roubles and 1,140 roubles in cash were confiscated from Kirichuk. A number of sheets of plastic and plastic material were taken from Bortnik's shed.

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On 31 May in the town of Kazatin, Vinnitsa Region, **E. S. Ignatev** was searched. 'Open letter No. 6' and personal religious notes were confiscated.

* * *

On 1 June, in the village of Nekrasovo, Vinnitsa Region, a search was carried out at the house of **Marina Volkodav.** Two pamphlets of a religious nature, and pages from the journal *Voice of Truth* were confiscated.

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On 27 June, in the village of Belorechitsa, Priluki District, Cherkassy Region, a search was carried out at the home of **Vitaly Bezdushny** and **Ivan Savchuk.** Nothing was confiscated.

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On 28 June searches were carried out in Kherson. In the homes of **Kondratsky** and **Gonchar** copies of pamphlets published by 'True Witness', notes and used post-cards were confiscated. At the home of the **Dimov** couple, apart from some 'True Witness' pamphlets, 17 cards congratulating them on their marriage and 14 tape-cassettes were confiscated.

* * *

On the same day in Belorechitsa **M. Yu. Rak** and **D. M. Florescul** (*Chronicle* 46) were searched. Nothing was confiscated from them.

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On 11 July a search was carried out at the flat of **Lyubov Ivanovna**

Galetskaya in Riga. As Galetskaya was not at home and her son Vladimir did not have the keys to two of her rooms, the doors to these rooms were broken down. The material confiscated from these rooms consisted of a notebook, some notes, a used envelope and the military card and work-book of Lyubov Ivanovna's second son Yaroslav Galetsky (see *Chronicle* 49). A bag containing 22 'True Witness' pamphlets was found in a shed and confiscated.

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On the same day in Riga **Ruta Andreyevna Byshevaya** was searched. Nothing was confiscated.

Pentecostalists

Alexander Orlik from the town of Nakhodka (Primorsky Territory) was sentenced on 12 March to one year in a labour camp for refusing to serve in the armed forces.

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In Vinnitsa the owners of houses in which religious marriage ceremonies take place, and the ministers who conduct the services, are being fined. For example, **Presbyter A. Melnik** has been fined three times this year (50 roubles each time).

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On 15 July in the village of Evseyevo, Moscow Region, the police and men in civilian clothes tried to break up the wedding of Pentecostal believer **Razumovsky.** The electricity was cut off in the house where the wedding was taking place, and when the electricity was quickly restored by connecting it to the next house, the power was cut off throughout the village. In spite of this, the wedding still took place.

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On 6 May in the village of Novaya Greblya, Rogatin District, Ivano-Frankovsk Region, the wedding of **O. Stefanishina** and **R. Shkavritko** was broken up. On the day before the wedding the bride's father was summoned to the District Soviet E C and warned by the local Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs that religious wedding ceremonies are forbidden. On the night of 5-6 May about 20 policemen and vigilantes broke into the Stefanishins' yard and demolished the wedding tent and the prepared tables. On 6 May the village was surrounded by police, M V D troops and vigilantes. All the roads were cut off and a quarantine on account of 'Siberian plague' was declared. The bridegroom and his guests (about 200 people) could not get into the village to see his bride, and the bride was not allowed out to see him. About 100 believers went to protest to the Rogatin District Party Committee. The Party official on duty wanted to call the police, but there were no policemen available — they were all involved in cordoning off the village.

Baptists

Largely based on material from the *Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives.*

Trials

Berdyansk, 2 February. **F. A. Korkodilov,** Presbyter of the Zaporozhe church, was sentenced to two-and-a-half years' imprisonment and evangelist **V. A. Bugayenko** to one-and-a-half years. They were charged with having conducted the wedding of A. Katrich and D. Rotova (*Chronicle* 52); Korkodilov was also charged with organizing the rite of baptism by immersion on 21 August 1977.

Donetsk. On 3 March **Nikolai Chekh** and **Alexander Chekh** were detained in Chuguyev for transporting the *Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives* in their car.

On 5 March a search was carried out at the home of **V. Naprienko** (*Chronicle* 49). Besides other things, 1,300 copies of the journal *Messenger of Truth* were confiscated. On the same day a search took place at the home of **G. Dzhurik.** On 12 April Naprienko was arrested. On *27 June* Naprienko was sentenced under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code) to three years' imprisonment; Dzhurik was given a suspended sentence of two years' imprisonment but 'with compulsory labour' (in slang — 'chemistry'). N. Chekh and A. Chekh were given suspended sentences of 11 months' imprisonment and had their car confiscated.

Gorodets (Gorky Region), 16 July. A case was heard in court to judge the submission by the Procuracy that **A. F. Runov** (*Chronicle* 52) should be declared mentally incapable. The submission declares that Runov [a shoemaker]

> ... imposes his faith on everyone without exception, calling on them to repent. He tries in every way to convert others — especially young people (pupils at the Gorky Polytechnic School No. 9 and children of pre-school age) — to the Baptist faith ... He takes part in dissemination of handwritten leaflets entitled 'The Word of God',

placing them in the shoes of his clients. He cannot control his actions. He does not deny that he has preached his faith in public places.

The court decided to send Runov for a psychiatric examination in the Gorky Regional Psychiatric Hospital. Since 1974 Runov has been sent to this hospital three times (each time for one to two months). He is diagnosed as having 'schizophrenia in paranoid form'. **A. Voloshanovich** (*Chronicles* 50, 51), who had recently given Runov a psychiatric examination at his own request, was in court as an observer.

Ryazan, 20 July. Choir conductor **N. F. Popov** was sentenced to three years in strict-regime camps under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and article 142, part 2 ('Violation of the laws separating the church from the state and the school from the church'); Presbyter **A. V. Nikitov** was sentenced to three years of 'chemistry'.

The Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR has appealed to the Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, Kuroyedov, to put an end to this unjust repression.

Kirovograd, 31 July. Presbyter **I. Ya. Antonov** (*Chronicles* 47, 48), a member of the [unofficial] Council of Baptist Churches, was sentenced to two years in strict-regime camps for 'parasitism'. He had been arrested as long ago as 19 December 1977. On 19 August 1979 Antonov will be 60 years old.

Arrests, Searchers, Warnings, Dispersed Meetings and Fines

Plavsk town (Tula Region), 12 February. **O. N. Popov,** a member of the Ryazan Baptist Church, and **E. V. Ershov,** a member of the Moscow Baptist Church, were detained while transporting religious literature in their private car (220 copies of Christina Roy's story *The Worker* and 320 volumes of *Revival Songs*). These books were burned on 17 March, together with religious literature confiscated from other people (Bibles, Gospels, collections of religious verses and copies of the journal *Messenger of Truth*) by Procurator Ognev, a senior investigator of Ryazan Region; a record was made of this.

Kharkov, 9 March. On this day **Vitaly Pidchenko** should have celebrated his wedding, of which he had already informed the local authorities. A condition was set for Pidchenko and his fiancée — that they should invite no more than 40 guests to the wedding. They refused. So, on the eve of the wedding, tables put out for the celebration were dismantled and taken away, and on 9 March the guests were forced to disperse; 26 people were arrested and detained for 15 days, six were fined 50 roubles each, and over 20 were detained

(some for two days). Policemen and vigilantes, so as not to make an error and arrest 'their own people', demanded that those they detained should use foul language, cursing God.

Merefa town (Kharkov Region), 10 March. **M. Krivko,** who has often been persecuted for his religious activities, had his home searched. Religious literature and tape-recordings were confiscated. Inspector Golovko of the Department for Combating Pilfering of Socialist Property and Speculation was present during the search (with others). Soon afterwards he reappeared, and this time conducted a search without a permit from the Procurator. On 4 May he came for the third time and interrogated Krivko's father-in-law, trying to force him to give the information he needed.

Kharkov, 15 April. Major Kurilo was in charge of breaking up a festive religious service. The believers were taken in a bus to the Vigilante Support Point, where they were all photographed and given summonses to an administrative commission. Five people were arrested.

Kamenets-Podolsk, 19 April. **F. V. Borinsky and A. G. Ursu,** residents of the village of N. Synterea, Lozovsky District, Moldavian SSR, were arrested here while carrying copies of *Messenger of Truth*. They were taken to Kishinëv Prison.

Kishinëv, 20 April. During a search at the home of **Prutyan** religious literature, personal notes, a camera and tape-cassettes were confiscated.

Enakievo, Donetsk Region, 30 April. A wedding was broken up, the guests were beaten and driven away, far from the house, and musical instruments were seized. Two people were sentenced to 10 and 15 days' imprisonment, two others were given corrective labour and fined 20% of their pay.

Odessa, 2 May. A religious service in a registered prayer-house was broken up. KGB men, police and Gavrilov, local commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs, warned that a service must be only two hours long. They constantly shouted through a megaphone how much time was left. As soon as the time was up, the officials broke up the service. A fire-engine and fire-pump were summoned to assist the police. Several people were arrested.

Kharkov, 31 May. A festive religious service in the **Kozedubovs'** house was broken up; at the same time a search was carried out without a permit from the Procurator. All the believers (about 130 people) were taken to the police station and kept there all night. Many were fined 30-60 roubles; 28 people were sentenced to 10-15 days' imprisonment. Those arrested went on hunger-strike in protest.

Troitsky town (Moscow Region), 3 June. A religious service was broken up. Four people were charged with resisting the police.

Khartsyzsk (Donetsk Region), 13 June. **E. N. Pushkov** was officially warned by the K G B. Pushkov was told that he would not be put on trial for his religious activities, but that a pretext would be found to try him on a criminal charge. On 15 June **V. I. Yudintsev** (*Chronicle* 41) was summoned to the K G B office. There he was warned that his religious activities were against the law. On the same day his wife, **S. A. Yudintseva,** was given a warning 'according to the Decree' in the soviet E C offices. This was her second warning (the first was in 1976).

Makeyevka (Donetsk Region), 16 June. The police broke into a house where believers had gathered. **P. V. Rumachik** (*Chronicle* 51) and **F. V. Gordienko** were sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment, and criminal charges were brought against them (against Rumachik — who has been sentenced four times for his religious activities — the charge was parasitism). **M. T. Shaptal** was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment.

Novoshakhtinsk (Rostov Region), 17 June. Officials disrupted a religious service and took the names of those present. **I. Prikhodko,** who had recently been released from prison, was fined on 26 March and 15 June for allowing his house to be used for services.

Rostov-on-Don, July. After prayer meetings were broken up, three women — **Kolbantseva, Zakharova** and **Goncharova** — were arrested and detained for 10-15 days.

Poltava. Three people were fined 50 roubles and one was fined 25 roubles, for allowing their houses to be used for religious services.

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Lvov. A criminal case has been laid against **A. A. Kostenko,** who allowed his house to be used for religious services.

Moscow, 13 March. Police officials arrived at the house of **N. Pozdnyakov** (*Chronicle* 45)[21] to prevent a religious service being conducted. Some believers were fined; a criminal case was brought against **V. Zinchenko** under article 142 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Krivoi Rog. The Military Procuracy has laid a case against **Alexander Pavlenko,** who refused to take the military oath on religious grounds.

Attempts are being made to add a charge of conducting agitation among soldiers.

Ryazan. Criminal charges have been brought against **A. S. Redin.** He is accused of disseminating knowingly false fabrications, of violation of the legislation on religious cults, and of parasitism. (Redin has a work record of 31 years).

Settlement of Zharyk (Dzhezkazgan Region), 24 February. **G. Shmidt** was accused of teaching children religion. He was also charged with the fact that the religious community is not registered. After many protests a reply was received on 11 April stating that the case against Shmidt had been closed and the District Procurator asked to return the exercise books and notebooks confiscated from him.

Kiev. After a public attack on **N. V. Lebedeva** in the newspaper *Evening Kiev,* her fellow-workers at the Consumer Bureau demanded her dismissal at a public meeting.

Lisichansk (Voroshilovgrad Region). **G. Ivashura's** former husband, a policeman, who had divorced her, took her son from her. In spite of all her efforts, the child has not been returned to her. In her absence, the police chief of Lisichansk settled the family of a colleague in her flat, but as a result of her complaints the flat was returned to her.

Confiscation of Houses

Rostov-on-Don, 14-15 February. A court decision was taken to confiscate the house belonging to **Sergei and Vera Muzychenko,** built on a piece of land bought in 1976. The former owner had permission to build a house on it, but when the Muzychenkos applied to the Bureau of Land Registration, it turned out that the relevant documents had been mislaid. Nevertheless the officials advised them to build. In autumn 1978, when the house was completed, they were summoned by the administrative commission and fined. After this an investigation was carried out by the Department for Combating Pilfering of Socialist Property and Speculation, which showed that all the construction materials had been legally obtained. A case was then laid against S. Muzychenko under article 199, part 2 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Unwarranted seizure of land and unwarranted construction'). Defence Counsel was told that if Muzychenko had not been a Baptist, no case would have been brought. The court sentenced him to the maximum penalty — one year of corrective labour and confiscation of the house.

Shakhty, 21 February. The District Soviet E C brought an action in the People's Court concerning the confiscation of **I. I. Popov's** house,

in which religious services had been held. In December officials from the Fire Prevention Department and the Sanitary Inspection Unit came to Popov, suggesting that they carry out necessary (according to them) repairs. All their instructions were carried out, but without any inspection or warning Popov was taken to court.

Dedovsk (Moscow Region), 14 Apil. The Soviet E C decided to confiscate the house of **N. Kruchinin** and **P. Monakhov,** as religious services were being held there.

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Fryazevo (Moscow Region), 14 April. **O. I. Sevalneva** was forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital. When her mother tried to defend her, her arm was broken. In the hospital O. Sevalneva is asked about internal church matters. She is threatened when she refuses to reply.

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(See also 'The Trial of Skornyakov').

Catholics in Moldavia

As the Catholic churches in Moldavia have been closed (*Chronicles* 47, 48), Catholics meet for prayer in private houses. They have often appealed to the Kishinëv and Moscow authorities to allow the registration of church 'councils of twenty'. However, even where the local authorities have promised to allow registration, this has still not been done.

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In May this year the only Catholic priest in Moldavia, **Vladislav Zavalnyuk,** was once again allowed to go to Rashkovo (*Chronicles* 47, 48) after being forbidden to do so for two years. The commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs gave this permission on condition that the believers would no longer meet for prayer without the priest, and that young people and children would not participate in the service at all.

On 6 July the commissioner summoned Zavalnyuk and forbade him to go to Rashkovo, as the conditions were not being fulfilled. On the same day the local authorities in Rashkovo destroyed the altar built by Catholics in the yard of a private house for the priest's service, and the awning where the believers had sheltered from bad weather.

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On 29 July the feast day of St. Martha, the patron saint of Rashkovo, was to be celebrated. On 26 July, in Kishinëv, the commissioner summoned the church 'council of twenty' and warned them that Catholics from Kishinëv were not to go to Rashkovo for the feast-day, or criminal charges would be brought against the priest.

From 27 July, a 'plague quarantine' was proclaimed in Rashkovo, which lasted for three days. Policemen and troops were patrolling all the roads into Rashkovo. Patrols were even set up in the fields. Many Catholics from Moldavia and Ukraine had planned to come to the festival, thus supporting their fellow-believers in Rashkovo. According to the calculations of the believers, about 4,000 people tried to get through to the village. Only a few succeeded, but even these were not allowed to take part in the festive service — the local authorities and visiting K G B officials checked their documents, interrogating and threatening them.

As St. Martha's feast-day was not properly celebrated in Rashkovo, it will now take place on 16 September in Kishinëv.

The Right to Leave

The Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 91 of 5 June 1979 says that tens of thousands of people have been trying for years to obtain permission to leave the country. The absence of a law governing the right to emigrate, the arbitrariness of the authorities, and also the established tendency to consider those wishing to leave the country as semi-criminals, all this leads to the result that thousands of people not only do not receive permission to leave but are also subject to persecution and oppression. They are forced to resign from their work, they are dismissed from educational establishments, and frequently criminal proceedings are taken against them on falsified charges. An effective improvement in emigration policy can be achieved only by the adoption of a law on emigration which will accord with the international obligations assumed by our state. This law must include clearly stated grounds on which permission to leave the country can be refused, a detailed procedure for dealing with cases of emigration, and a system of appeal in case of permission to leave being refused. The basic points which this law should cover are enumerated.

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In Moscow an 'Initiative Committee to Fight for the Right of Free Exit from the U S S R' has been formed. The committee publishes an information bulletin (issue No. 2 came out in June 1979 and has been used for this report).

Members of the committee are **Vladimir Shepelev, Georgy Shepelev, Lyudmila Agapova, Evgeny Komarnitsky, Yury Koloskov** and **Ivan Lupachev. Vsevolod Kuvakin** (*Chronicle* 48) is legal adviser to the committee.

The committee includes, as a collective member, a group of Iranians (more than 200) who live within the territory of the USSR with 'residence permits', not passports, and who are not citizens of the USSR. They have been trying for a long time to return to their homeland, but the authorities refuse them permission to leave. The representative of the group, **Beibut Saman,** lives in Dushanbe. The aims of the committee are as follows:

— to collect and disseminate information on cases in the USSR of clear violations of the right freely to leave and return to one's own country;

— to provide assistance to all persons who wish to put into practice their right of free emigration from the USSR not on the basis of reunifications of families, but for other reasons — social, religious, or economic;

— to strive for a radical change in the emigration policy of the authorities and for the adoption of a law on emigration.

In June the committee sent to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet draft 'Statutes on Procedures for Citizens Leaving the USSR'. The accompanying letter pointed out that the 'Law on citizenship' which came into effect on 1 July 1979 omits a section as important as 'Procedures for citizens leaving the USSR'. The draft is intended to serve as a help for Soviet government bodies in filling the gap in existing legislation.

In June the members of the committee and others (49 signatures in all) sent an open inquiry to the Human Rights Committee of the US Congress:

> ... Is Jackson's Amendment, as applied to the Soviet Union, really concerned only with the repatriation of Jews? Or has its wider original intention — freedom of emigration — gradually been narrowed to mean only the right of one national minority to leave?

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V. Nekipelov applied for permission to emigrate in March 1977 and since then has received several oral refusals. In August-September 1977 he announced that he had renounced his Soviet citizenship and sent his passport to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (*Chronicles* 46, 47, 51).

On 11 April 1979 Nekipelov received the following note from the UVD of the Vladimir Regional EC:

> On behalf of the authorities concerned I inform you that your request to emigrate to the State of Israel for permanent residence and to renounce your Soviet citizenship cannot be met, as your relative, living in the State of Israel, is not a member of your family, and surrendering your citizenship is contrary to the interests of the USSR.
>
> *A. F. Petrov,* Chief of the Vladimir Regional Soviet EC UVD

This is the first *written* refusal of permission to emigrate known to the *Chronicle.*

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Ivan Kandyba (*Chronicle* 52) has been refused permission to leave.

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Kiev. **Grigory Tokayuk** (*Chronicles* 48, 51), who has been trying since 1977 to get permission to leave for Israel, was summoned to OVIR on 27 July. He was received by four KGB officials. He was taken to a park in Kiev for a 'chat'. He was told that there were no grounds for his emigration, but that if he agreed to an arranged marriage with a woman proposed by the KGB, he would be in Vienna within two weeks. Tokayuk wrote a complaint about this to Brezhnev and Rudenko.

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Odessa. **Leonid Sery** (*Chronicles* 42, 47, 49, 52), is still trying to get permission to leave.

On 27 June, in the ship repair shop where he works, a meeting was organized, at which his letter to American Trades Unions, which was published in the Parisian [Russian-Language] newspaper *Russian Thought,* was read out. Sery had written about the non-observance of safety measures, about the poor food in the works canteen, about the very difficult material situation of his family (he has eight children). The organizers accused Sery of slandering the Soviet system; they even reached the point where they said that with his letter Sery was wrecking Soviet-US negotiations on arms control and the 1980 Olympic Games. He was also accused of bringing up his children wrongly: they do not wear Pioneer scarves or know the words of the national anthem. The organizers demanded that Sery be forcibly treated in a psychiatric hospital. The resolution of the meeting was: to petition for Sery to be deprived of his parental rights and isolated from society. 'Unknown persons' present at the meeting made a tape-recording.

One of Sery's acquaintances was told at the KGB that the Serys would of course be allowed to leave, but that meanwhile it was imperative to 'tell people the truth about them.'

On 25 July 14 people signed a letter 'In Defence of Leonid Sery'

demanding that 'the persecution of this family should stop and they should be allowed to leave the Soviet Union.'

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Belaya Tserkov. **Tamara Los** is still being subjected to pressure from the K G B (*Chronicle* 52). The Chief of the Belaya Tserkov K G B, V. A. Batrakov, demands that Los renounce her 'anti-Soviet' activities and her intention to leave the country. The inhabitants of the town have been forced to sign declarations stating that Tamara Los has been engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda. A third-year student at the Agricultural Institute, **Aleksei Breus,** refused to sign the text dictated to him. Batrakov promised that Breus would be expelled from the Institute as a result. Some inhabitants of the town wrote declarations to the K G B saying that Los was not engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda but fighting against violations of the law.

Pressure is also being put on Tamara Los's relatives. On 14 June an attempt was made at the K G B to force her brother Georgy to state in writing that he did not intend to leave the U S S R. On 18 June Antonina Iosifovna, Tamára's mother, was persuaded to 'influence' her daughter, or else prison was in store for her.

T. Los is continually being summoned to the K G B and threatened with article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code); at the same time, it is being suggested that she cooperate with the K G B after reaching the West.

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Riga. **Yury Maksimov** (*Chronicle* 51) sent a letter on 24 May to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet in which he asks, for a second time, to be released from Soviet citizenship and for permission to leave the U S S R. The first letter of this kind which he sent was in 1975, and as a result he was subjected to forcible internment in a psychiatric hospital for two-and-a-half months.

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Kalinin. **Anna Kotelnikova** and her ten-year-old daughter are trying to get permission to leave for England to join her adoptive father N. A. Budulak-Sharygin (*Chronicle* 51).[22]

The formal obstacle is that her former husband, from whom Kotelnikova has been divorced for 10 years, has not given his consent. (After Budulak-Sharygin's arrest, the husband's family insisted on a divorce, evicting her from the house with her young daughter.) All Kotelnikova's attempts to make contact with her former husband are unsuccessful. His father (a K G B officer) replies that he is abroad on business and will not give the address.

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The Moscow non-conformist artist **Iosif Kiblitsky** (see 'The Arts Festival which did not Take Place'), who has been persecuted for organizing unofficial art exhibitions (at present he is living in Podolsk), married in April 1978, in Moscow, a German citizen who lives in Düsseldorf (West Germany).

For over 18 months Kiblitsky has been trying to get permission to leave for West Germany to join his wife, who is now expecting a child. Kiblitsky has not received one written reply to any of his numerous enquiries.

O V I R refuses to give him permission to leave, referring orally to 'secret work' while he served in the Army. I. Kiblitsky was demobilized eleven years ago. He has never signed any statement about access to secret work, either while he was in the Army or afterwards.

I. Kiblitsky and his wife Renata agreed to stage simultaneous protest demonstrations (she in Germany, he in Moscow) on 15 June 1979. Kiblitsky informed the party, the M V D, the K G B and the Moscow Soviet in writing of his intention to demonstrate outside the C P S U's Central Committee building. On 14 June Kiblitsky was detained by police in Moscow, taken to Podolsk and kept under house-arrest until 20 June (Renata Kiblitskaya conducted her demonstration in Germany).

The Kiblitskys decided to hold a second demonstration on 31 June. Again I. Kiblitsky was put under house-arrest for two days.

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Krasnoyarsk. **A. Zimin** has twice applied to O V I R to emigrate out of political and economic considerations. Both times he was refused because of 'lack of reasons for emigration'. Then the K G B tried to exert pressure on his mother. On 13 June he was taken from his home to the K G B. He was planning to go to Moscow that day. They tried to persuade him not to go, and threatened to arrest him for anti-Soviet activities if he met any dissenters. That evening he set off for Moscow.

Novosibirsk. **Yu. Skomorovsky** on 4 June 1978 and 20 March 1979 handed in to O V I R applications to join his relatives in Israel. He was refused both times on the grounds that he had closer relatives still living in the U S S R. His appeals to various authorities have been unsuccessful. On 8 May 1979 he sent a statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet renouncing his Soviet citizenship.

Jews

Several letters have been sent to the U S Congress by Jewish refuseniks who are activists in the movement for emigration. In reply to

statements by American officials claiming that the emigration policy of the Soviet government has become significantly more lenient (statements based on the increase in the number of Jews leaving the U S S R), they say that the increase in the number of those allowed to leave reflects a sharp increase in the number of applications, and show that the number of refusals has increased to a far greater degree than the number of permissions.

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On 19 April in Moscow a group of women refuseniks (about fifty) who are trying to get permission to leave for Israel (*Chronicles* 47-51) went to the Central Committee of the C P S U, but were not received. Then nine women from the group: **Natalya Khasina, Faina Kogan, Batsheva Elistratova, Elena Chernobylskaya, Mila Lifshits, Natalya Rozenshtein, Galina Kremen, Alla Drugova** and **Marina Vigdarova** (with two children) stood at 4 pm in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building with placards saying 'A Visa to Israel!'. A crowd of curious onlookers gathered. Policemen and several people in plain clothes soon arrived. Their leader incited the crowd, with insulting shouts, to show indignation. Shouts of 'Damned Jews!' 'Hitler didn't finish you off!', etc, were heard. The demonstrators were driven away to police station 5. The women pressed their placards against the windows of the vehicles in which they were driven away.

Vigdarova and the two children were released from the police station after an hour. After four hours the women started to demand noisily to be released. Chernobylskaya was fined 20 roubles, Kogan 10 roubles, and the rest, except for Batsheva Elistratova, were given an oral warning and released. Elistratova was taken to the Kiev District People's Court, where Judge Panina charged her with using unprintable language, shouting anti-Soviet slogans, resisting the police, and other sins. The sentence — 15 days. She was taken back to the police station and the next day was taken to a detention cell in the City U V D Investigation Prison (Petrovka 38). There she was put to work as a cleaner. She was due to be released on 4 May at 4.30 pm but at 1.30 pm she was taken out of town to the Special Detention Centre 'Birch-trees' and released only at 8 pm.

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On 24 April Batsheva's husband **Viktor Elistratov** (*Chronicle* 50) was detained by police on the street and taken to the Moscow K G B, where two K G B officials (one was Major Pavlov) 'talked' with him for two hours. During this talk Elistratov was threatened with cautions 'under the Decree' and with criminal charges if he continued his activities in defending the right to leave.

On 1 May Elistratov went to Kiev to celebrate Israel's Independence

Day with refuseniks in Kiev. Elistratov stayed with **V. Kislik** (*Chronicles* 45, 47). In the afternoon, while his host was out, the telephone rang and Elistratov answered it. Somebody speaking English said he was a tourist from America and asked if he could come and visit Kislik. A few minutes later the doorbell rang and Elistratov opened the door. Two people in plain clothes stormed into the flat, and ordered him to put on his coat, take his things and go with them. Elistratov refused. Then they dragged him out just as he was, put him in a car, took him to the airport and sent him by plane to Moscow, demanding that he never come to Kiev again.

* * *

The Kiev K G B is trying to put an end to the regular meetings of Jews for seminars on Jewish culture and history, held in refuseniks' flats, as well as the consultation meetings at O V I R on Saturdays.

At the beginning of April the K G B obtained signed statements from several refuseniks who attend these meetings that in future they would not go to the seminars or O V I R, nor meet activist refuseniks (**Sergei Rotshtein,** his sister **Elena Oleinik, Vladimir Kislik**).

On Saturday 21 April, when the Kiev refuseniks gathered as usual in front of O V I R, a group of people in plain clothes and in police uniform, led by Kiev K G B officials Odintsov and Novikov, started to disperse them: 'You're not allowed to be in this area!'

S. Rotshtein, **D. Raizman,** V. Kislik, **Yu. Knizhnik** and **Ya. Beskin** were detained and taken to a police station, where they were held for about an hour. Novikov declared: 'I will not allow any more gatherings!' S. Rotshtein's arms were twisted when he was detained.

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On 25 April **S. Rotshtein's** flat, where a seminar was due to be held, was cordoned off. The same two K G B men were in command.

On 27 April S. Rotshtein was apprehended on the street and at the police station presented with a charge-sheet ('pestering passers-by, swearing, resisting the police on being detained'), dated 21 April and signed by 'witnesses' testifying that he had refused to sign himself. Judge I. G. Sys gave him 15 days. S. Rotshtein was held in a detention cell, not with the '15-dayers', but, by turns, in solitary and in a cell with criminals under investigation.

On 28 April during a routine dispersal of a refusenik gathering outside O V I R, Odintsov said to **Vadim Rotshtein:** 'Your brother's inside, so you see we can do anything!' On 8 May **Elena Oleinik** was summoned to the K G B. K G B official V. I. Polevoi promised her a visa within a month if she stopped her 'activity'. On 24 May Polevoi summoned the Rotshteins' father and demanded that he 'bring influence' to bear on his children.

* * *

Kiev. **Leonid Varvak** has suffered from diabetes from the age of five. Now he is a Group 2 disabled person. A sharp decline in his health, and the hope inspired by new methods of treatment used in the West, made Varvak and his wife decide to apply for an exit visa. (Varvak is a Master of Physical and Mathematical Science; his wife does not work, as she looks after their three children.)

Their documents were not accepted at OVIR as Varvak's mother-in-law had not given her consent to her daughter's leaving. Then Leonid Varvak decided to notify her of their intention to leave for Israel through a notary, but in the No. 6 notaries' office they refused to accept his letter for forwarding to her (he was told that in accordance with instructions from the Ministry of Justice they were forbidden to accept letters in which the words 'Israel' and 'OVIR' were mentioned). They also refused to put their refusal in writing, and refused to pass his complaint about their refusal to a court (according to the Criminal Procedure Code a complaint of tihs kind must be handed over by the notary office in question. At the court it was suggested to Leonid Varvak that he hand over his complaint to the Judge in person, which he then did. A week later OVIR accepted his documents applying for emigration without the 'paper' from his mother-in-law. After this the court returned his complaint, with the Judge's refusal to accept the case, as the complaint had not come through the notary office.

* * *

Kharkov. Refusenik **Alexander Paritsky** (*Chronicles* 47, 48, 52) was talking on the telephone to New York on 10 June from a telephone in post-office 91. Several minutes after the call was connected two men threw open the door of the telephone booth and started to shout that Paritsky was a spy and a traitor and at that very moment was transmitting intelligence information in English to the USA. One of them called the police. Lieutenant Statsenko came in and insisted that Paritsky terminate the conversation. One of the people who caused the scene is an employee of the newspaper *Kharkov Evening News* called Shteinberg. The other said he was a student. From what he said it was clear that he knew what Paritsky's previous telephone conversations had been about. Paritsky wrote a statement about the incident to the chief of the Frunze District OVD and also a statement of claim to the people's court of Kharkov's Frunze District.

* * *

In Leningrad on 8 March **Boris Kalendarëv** (born 1957) was arrested. He was charged with evasion of military service, although he had requested deferment while his application to leave for Israel was being considered.

Kalendarëv first applied for an exit visa to Israel in November 1973, together with his parents. The family's application was refused. His sister applied separately with her husband; they received permission and left.

Kalendarëv, a third-year student at the Kalinin Polytechnic Institute in Leningrad, was excluded from courses in the Military Department. His grant was then withdrawn, and in December 1976, before the beginning of examinations, he was expelled from the Institute.

In January 1977 he applied to OVIR to leave to join his sister, but had not received permission when he was called up for military service. The District Military Commission told Kalendarëv to get a certificate from OVIR confirming that he had applied to leave, but OVIR refused to issue such a certificate. As its reason for refusing permission OVIR referred to the enterprise where his mother E. Lutskaya worked until 1973. This enterprise, however, states that it has no claims on B. Kalendarëv and no objection to his leaving. In May Kalendarëv was sentenced to two years in camps.

* * *

The **Gitelman family** (five members) from David-Gorodok, Brest Region, applied in 1972 to leave for the USA on an invitation from their close relative. So far permission has been refused, the reason being the military service of one member of the family, which he completed in 1973.

* * *

Moscow. On 20 April **E. Ya. Gabovich,** Master of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, asked the Director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Deep-Sea Fishing and Oceanography [VNIRO], A. S. Bogdanov, to send OVIR a certificate stating that there were no financial claims against him. On the same day Bogdanov issued an order dismissing sector chief Gabovich because of 'staff reductions' as from 23 April.

On April (a Sunday!) Bogdanov issued an order

> to cut out ... in the sector of the automated system 'raw material supply' the position of sector chief and chief research officer.

On 23 April the VNIRO Trades Union Committee approved Gabovich's dismissal.

On 21 May Gabovich filed a suit with the Sokolniki District People's Court for reinstatement. When he received a copy of the statement of claim and a request to send his representative to court, Bogdanov issued, on 22 May, an order reinstating Gabovich in his previous position as from 23 May and authorizing payment for his enforced absence.

On 14 June Gabovich sent another statement of claim to the same court:

It is now clear that the reinstatement was purely fictitious. The management has not taken measures to reinstate my post on the staff list. For three weeks I have been given no work to do. The management has tried with threats and intimidations to force me to leave V N I R O voluntarily. An attempt was made to obtain approval from the union committee for a second dismissal in ignorance of an essential legal requirement — that attempts must be made to find a new job for me.

Although there are two posts vacant at V N I R O, the management is again trying to dismiss me on account of 'staff reductions ... '

Gabovich asked the court to examine his suit of 21 May and to oblige V N I R O to take the necessary steps for him to be reinstated in a genuine way.

On the morning of 15 June Gabovich handed in a statement to the administration office addressed to the Acting Director of V N I R O, P. A. Moiseyev (Bogdanov had retired on 1 June), in which he pointed out the two vacancies at V N I R O. The same morning there was a telephone conversation between Judge Novikov and the Deputy Personnel Director, Yu. A. Korzhovaya. In the afternoon Moiseyev asked Gabovich to come to see him and offered him the post of senior research officer which he had mentioned in his statement. Gabovich accepted.

On 19 June Moiseyev issued an order to this effect. Gabovich wrote on it: 'I agree to the conditions as set out in my memorandum of 18 June.'

In his report on this whole story (42 pages) Gabovich writes:

After this, as a sign of reconciliation ... I was invited to have tea in the Personnel Department, where some women employees thanked me for my lesson to them on legal matters and asked me about the procedure for applying for an exit visa to Israel (in particular about the payment of alimony to former spouses remaining in the U S S R).

* * *

Yaroslavl. The artists **Alexander and Irina Pasmur** have been trying for three years to get permission to leave the U S S R. On 23 May they sent a letter to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet in which they express in sharp terms their disapproval of the official ideology and demand to be allowed to go abroad.

Germans

On 4 December 1978 about 50 Germans held a demonstration in Dushanbe. They proceeded from the 'Tadzhikistan' hotel to the square

where the Presidium of the Tadzhik S S R Supreme Soviet is located, carrying a banner saying 'Let us out to our Motherland!' On the square something resembling a public meeting took place. Bobosadykova, first secretary of the City Party Committee, talked with the demonstrators. Bobosadykova said that before holding a demonstration they should have informed the authorities. In answer to complaints that people seeking permission to emigrate had been trying unsuccessfully to obtain interviews with leaders of the republic, or at least to obtain firm answers to their applications, Bobosadykova promised that in future they would be received.

The next day about twenty people went to the Central Committee. They were seen in ones and twos by the head of O V I R, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Tadzhikistan Supreme Soviet, Kholov, and the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Dzhonov. In December and January the number of people who received permission to leave was higher than usual.

In February and March 15-20 people conducted a demonstration outside the building of the Presidium of the Tadzhikistan Supreme Soviet. They stood there from 7-8 in the morning until 8 in the evening, seeking an interview at the Presidium.

On 5 March, early in the morning when the demonstrators were just beginning to gather, about a hundred vigilantes cordoned off the square; the police kept on one side. As they arrived, the Germans were shoved into a car and taken to a police station. The women were held until the evening and then released, with bills made out for a 20-rouble fine for hooliganism and disturbing the peace. Two men, **Iosif Bergel** and **Lozing,** were given 10 days, and **Robert Gulm** 15 days.

Pentecostalists

At the beginning of January 1979 K G B Major Rudnitsky from Nakhodka summoned **Boris Perchatkin** (*Chronicles* 45-48, 51) and suggested he should persuade the Vashchenko family, who have been in the U S Embassy since June 1978 (*Chronicle* 51), to leave the Embassy. A week later K G B Lieutenant-Colonel Velkov from Vladivostok asked Perchatkin to travel to Moscow for this purpose. At that time the Pentecostalists of Nakhodka were trying to find a way of sending to the U S Embassy a letter for President Carter and lists of the members of their community who wish to emigrate. So Perchatkin agreed to go. Velkov took him and **Vladimir Stepanov,** Presbyter of the Nakhodka Pentecostalists (*Chronicles* 47, 48, 51) to Vladivostok Airport and handed them tickets to Moscow. In Moscow, Perchatkin and Stepanov entered the Embassy without any obstacle

and gave the letter and the lists to the Embassy officials. Then they were taken to Vashchenko. As he was convinced that the Embassy rooms were bugged, Perchatkin advised the Vashchenko family aloud to leave the Embassy, but wrote down on a piece of paper that they should not leave. After his return to Nakhodka Perchatkin was taken to an hotel, where Lieutenant-Colonel Velkov rebuked him for deception.

* * *

In June Boris Perchatkin and **Yury Zherebilov** came to Moscow. On 19 June they were seized on the street by agents of the K G B and taken to police station 30, where Perchatkin was detained for interrogation, while Zherebilov was put in a cell but sent home the following day. Perchatkin was told by a man in civilian clothes at the end of his interrogation: 'It has been decided that you have no right to travel beyond the limits of Nakhodka without the permission of the local K G B. If you take no notice of this decision, watch out.' Afterwards Perchatkin was deprived of his passport and money and taken to Domodedovo Airport, where he was put on a plane for Magadan. The passport and about sixty roubles were given back to him only on the plane. When the plane landed in Krasnoyarsk, Perchatkin escaped. Searches took place at the airport, and over the radio he was asked to call in at the police station. Perchatkin hitched a ride in a passing car as far as Achinsk and spent two days in a forest there, then got back to Moscow by train.

Perchatkin's wife Zinaida, with their eight-year-old son and **Valentina Poleshchuk,** an active fighter for the right to emigrate, left by train on 18 June to take declarations, letters and photographs to Moscow. On 21 June they were detained at the Petrovsky Zavod Station. Junior Lieutenant Ivanov of the Criminal Investigation Department told them that an anonymous letter had been received, which contained the information that B. Perchatkin was an American spy and Z. Perchatkina was his associate and was taking espionage documents to Moscow. First the compartment was searched (at this point Perchatkina's purse, containing 500 roubles, disappeared), then both women and the boy were taken to the station office, where a body-search was carried out. Both women were made to strip, squat down and jump over a skipping-rope in the presence of the little boy.

The boy had hysterics and began to vomit, but there was still an attempt to search him. Ivanov boasted: 'We're not fools, we listen to all the telephones.' (Z. Perchatkina had informed her husband by telephone that she would be bringing to Moscow documents on Pentecostalists who wanted to emigrate.) After the search, the women were sent back to Nakhodka.

* * *

Vilnius. **Viktor Vasilev** is trying to emigrate to the U S A (*Chronicles* 48, 49). On 28 March 1979 Žemgulis, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs in Lithuania (in *Chronicle* 49 his surname is misspelled) declared that Vasilev and his family had been refused permission to emigrate, as they had not been invited by relatives and 'we don't allow people to go to acquaintances'. Vasilev has been deprived of his residence permit and is being threatened with prosecution for violating the residence regulations. At school his children are called traitors to the Motherland and 'Americans'. They are always being beaten up, even in the presence of teachers, who encourage the insults and beatings. The school authorities refuse to punish those responsible.

A Journey to Visit Friends

Kalinin. In May **Iosif Dyadkin** (*Chronicles* 45, 47, 52) and his wife applied to O V I R to make a private trip to Czechoslovakia in response to an invitation from friends. In Dyadkin's character reference, signed by the 'triangle' [three top officials] at his Research Institute [V N I I G I S], the following was written after the personal details (geophysicist, Master of Technical Science, senior research officer, length of service — 27 years, scientific papers — 50):

Modest, never subject to administrative or legal proceedings, has not participated in secret work.

Sometimes speaks and acts in questions of politics and religion in ways not considered appropriate in our society.

His application to travel abroad is not supported.

Dyadkin attached a statement to his application papers in which, referring to the Covenants on Human Rights, he expressed the opinion that his right to travel abroad privately could not be affected by this character reference. Dyadkin substantiated this reference with a quotation from a speech by the Soviet representative on the U N Human Rights Committee, Sudarikov: 'Soviet citizens can refer directly to the Covenants in courts'.

Two months later Dyadkin was summoned to O V I R, where he was seen by M V D Colonel Vinogradov.

I have been instructed to tell you that your wife is allowed to travel, but not you.

Why?

Because you conduct anti-Soviet conversations!

What makes you think that?

Your character reference. Haven't you read it?

Of course I have. 'Not appropriate' is not the same thing as 'not legal'.

The question then arose whether a Soviet citizen was obliged to

adhere to communist ideology. 'Maybe I am more attracted by the teachings of Lev Tolstoy!' Dyadkin's wife (who also works at the Institute) and son made their trip to Czechoslovakia.

Have Left

On 1 April **Romas Giedra** and his wife left the USSR. He is the first of the seven former political prisoners who appealed to Brezhnev and Carter in September 1977 (*Chronicle* 47) to receive permission to emigrate to the USA.

Former political prisoner **Dmitry Mikheyev** (*Chronicles* 21, 44, 49), **Valery Gerasimov** (*Chronicles* 47, 52), the workers **Vadim Baranov** (*Chronicles* 45-47) and **Vladimir Pavlov** (*Chronicles* 43, 46, 50, 51), **Ambartsum Khlgatyan** (*Chronicles* 47, 48, 51, 52) and the younger son of Vladimir Slepak (*Chronicle* 50), **Leonid Slepak** (*Chronicle* 47), have left the USSR.

The Jewish refusenik couple **Khait** (*Chronicles* 50, 51) has left the USSR.

For the departures of A. Altman, G. Butman, V. Zalmanson, B. Penson, and A. Khnokh, and for the compulsory 'departures' of G. Vins (and his family — L. M. Vins, N. I. Vins, Pyotr Vins and others), A. Ginzburg, M. Dymshits, E. Kuznetsov and V. Moroz see the section 'Political Releases.'

In April **Marina Voikhanskaya's mother and son** were allowed to leave (*Chronicle* 47).

Defence of the Rights of the Disabled

Despite persecution, the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR is continuing its activity (*Chronicles* 51, 52).

* * *

On 28 December 1978 KGB officials went to see not only group member **Valery Fefelov** (*Chronicle* 52), but also his parents, to try to persuade them to influence their son into stopping his 'anti-Soviet activity.'

Also in December persons presenting themselves as disabled people from the Moscow Committee of War Veterans came to see Group member **Yury Kiselev.** They expressed themselves extremely rudely. One of them explained why they had come: 'Your standard of living is too high. We have to examine your flat, so that in accordance with the latest Moscow Soviet decision another family can be sent to live here as well.' Kiselev did not let them into the flat.

* * *

In March the Initiative Group sent two statements to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers calling on them to restore the right of people disabled either from childhood, or at work, or from disease or accident, to acquire personal motor vehicles at preferential prices (at present in the USSR only the war disabled have this right); and to compensate disabled people who own motor vehicles for the recent increases in the price of petrol, repairs and spare parts.

When they received the following oral reply from an official at the Committee on Labour and Social Questions at the USSR Council of Ministers, Skvortsov: 'The state at the present time does not have the means to do this as everything is spent on the war disabled,' the Initiative Group again sent the two statements to the same addresses in April (Document No. 11).

* * *

On 16 March another 'delegation' came to Fefelov's flat (*Chronicle* 52): the President of the Vladimir Regional Court, the Head of Regional Social Welfare, Luchkov, and Glushchenko, Head of District Social Welfare. The President of the Regional Court was holding a duplicated copy of the Initiative Group report 'On the Position of the Disabled in the USSR' (*Chronicle* 51), and tried to find out from Fefelov who had written it. It was again suggested to Fefelov that he stop spreading 'antisocial fabrications' about violations of the rights of disabled people in the USSR.

* * *

In April the Initiative Group published an open letter, 'Disabled People in the USSR and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights' (Document No. 10, signed by Yu. Kiselev and V. Fefelov). The letter indicates which articles of the Declaration are violated 'with regard to disabled people' in the USSR.

On 24 April the Initiative Group produced *Bulletin* No. 5. In addition to Documents 10 and 11, V. Nekipelov's article 'Erased from the Façade (*Chronicle* 52), the letter to Acton and to presidents of societies for the disabled (*Chronicle* 52), information about the visit to Kiselev from the 'war veterans' and Document No. 77 of the Moscow Helsinki Group (*Chronicle* 52), this issue contains an 'Open Letter' from Yu. Kiselev describing the situation of disabled people in the USSR, and information about Yu. Valov (see 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals').

* * *

On 22 April the Chief of the Kolchugino District Division of the Vladimir K G B Administration, Lieutenant-Colonel Korovushkin (*Chronicle* 52) had a 'chat' with V. Fefelov while he and his family were in the country for a day. The 'chat' opened with the words 'Greetings in the open spaces, Valery Andreyevich. So we meet without witnesses and without tape-recorders' (*Chronicle* 52). It continued with threats, insults, demands to 'stop', and bribes ('But we could give you even more if you stop your activity. We could give you a three- or four-roomed flat, as you wish, a new car, give back your driving licence ... ' [*Chronicle* 51]. The talk ended with presentation of a summons from Captain Chernov, Chief of Yurev-Polsky State Vehicle Inspectorate, who fined Fefelov's wife (she was driving) 10 roubles for driving without a licence.

* * *

In May Yu. Kiselev sent a letter to Gutman, President of the Committee for Olympics for the Disabled, asking him to arrange the disabled Olympic Games in Moscow at the same time as the 1980 Olympics.

* * *

On 9-10 June the police searched Yu. Kiselev's house in Koktebel (*Chronicle* 52) on the pretext of looking for hippies. It was stated that nobody had the right to live in the house, as a demolition order had been issued. The same night, in Moscow, Kiselev's Zoporozhets car was broken into and damaged.

* * *

On 12 July the Initiative Group produced *Bulletin* No. 6. An article by architect Patskin 'Houses with Flats for the Disabled on the Ground Floor', which appeared in the magazine *Housing Construction* (No. 1, 1979), is reprinted in this issue. For purposes of comparison, Document No. 12 of the Initiative Group about the housing problems of the disabled in the U S S R also appears (the Document is signed by three people: Yury Kiselev, Valery Fefelov and **Olga Zaitseva**), as well as the article by Yu. Kiselev, 'The Attitude of the Administration to a House Built with the Disabled's Needs Taken into Account (Reply to a Decision to Demolish)' (*Chronicle* 52).

The Bulletin also prints a letter sent by the Initiative Group to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet and the U S S R Council of Ministers about the unjustifiably high fines imposed on disabled people for the loss of driving licences or registration certificates.

Also featured in the Bulletin are letters from the Initiative Group to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet and the U S S R Council of Ministers about the unjust way in which the amount of

aid for the Group 1 disabled is calculated (15 roubles from the minimum pension of 70 roubles are allotted for maintenance allowance), about their need for additional living space (for a housekeeper, for working at home and for remedial exercise) and for the abolition of triple payment for space above the norm.

The reply to these letters from the Social Welfare Department of the U S S R State Committee on Labour and Social Questions dated 14 June, together with comments on this reply entitled 'Philanthropy' (Document No. 13), also appear in the bulletin.

The Bulletin also contains an appeal for help for Group 2 disabled person **Maria Brovchenko** (258578, Cherkasskaya oblast, Shpolyansky raion, selo Zhuravka, Khutor Shnury), Fefelov's account of his 'chat' with Korovushkin (see above), and an account of Kiselev's misfortunes.

Extrajudicial Persecution

Papers sent by **R. Papayan,** who teaches in the [Erevan University] Department of Russian Literature (see *Chronicle* 48 on a search) to the Higher Degrees Commission [H D C] for confirmation of the title of senior lecturer, were returned to Erevan. Officially the title has not been refused; the papers were returned because of a mistake in the documentation and because of the need to verify some facts set out in a letter informing H D C that R. A. Papayan is systematically involved in anti-Soviet activity.

The following 'mistake' was found in the documentation: in one document the number of members of the university council was given as 67 and in another as 68. Apart from the fact that this in no way affected the relevant quorum, it should be noted that the second number had been written in over another number, which was inefficiently erased and probably correct.

R. Papayan's repeated attempts to answer H D C's queries and to send the documents back have met with no success. Papayan was excluded from the list of participants for the Conference on Ancient Armenian Literature held in June in Leningrad.

* * *

Eduard Chamlik, in whose department **Vladimir Sirotinin** (*Chronicle* 51) used to work, would not testify against Sirotinin when the K G B interrogated him, and refused to 'condemn' him at a meeting.

The Director of the Institute, D. G. Mashukov, started to hound Chamlik: commissions were sent to the department, checks were made. Chamlik could not stand it and resigned on 19 March. Before

his resignation, he was offered the alternative of 'repenting' and being promoted to the post of chief project designer.

Chamlik went to work at the computer centre of the Siberian Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. On 23 March the Director of the centre approved his application for the post of group chief and on 28 March Chamlik started work. However, on April 3 Chamlik was told that the personnel commission 'did not recommend' him for the post and that the order employing him was cancelled. A few days later it transpired that the order in which the paragraph about Chamlik's appointment appeared had been retrospectively rewritten and that the relevant paragraph had been omitted.

Chamlik was given to understand that he would not be accepted for work until he expressed repentance to the District Party Committee (Chamlik is not a party member), and that the Territorial Party Committee was overseeing his 'case'. Chamlik was able to find work shortly afterwards.

Sirotinin had to change his place of work, or he would have been dismissed on account of 'staff reductions.'

* * *

E. Danne (*Chronicle* 35) was released from prison in 1975, and in 1978, after marrying, registered for residence in Moscow. After a while he was summoned to the KGB and invited to collaborate. He categorically refused. Then on 21 December 1978 he was dismissed from work on the pretext of not having completed his probationary period (he had worked for five days and received no complaints about his work). Danne was threatened with arrest for parasitism. He managed to find work, but was again dismissed on 9 April 1979 on the demand of the police. His residence permit was withdrawn, because, as he was told by the police, he had 'concealed his previous conviction.'

A Labour Conflict

On 6 March the Leningrad KGB conducted a search at the flat of **A. B. Roginsky** (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations'), a teacher of Literature at No. 148 Evening School. On 28 March the Head of Leningrad's Moscow District Department of Education [DDE], N. I. Kurochkin, summoned Roginsky to tell him that the KGB had informed him of the search, and to suggest that Roginsky left the school 'of his own accord.' Roginsky refused. The next day the Director of the School, V. V. Popov, asked the Trades Union Committee for the dismissal of Roginsky to be approved. The

Committee approved Roginsky's dismissal according to paragraph 3, article 254, of the RSFSR Code of Labour Laws ('commission by an employee engaged in education of an amoral misdemeanor which is incompatible with his continued employment in the given job'). The same day the DDE order of dismissal came through.

Roginsky submitted a statement of claim to a court, in which he demanded reinstatement and compensation for enforced loss of wages. The Moscow District People's Court started to consider the case on 25 April 1979, but the hearing was immediately postponed until 8 May, and then again until 11 May. On 11 May the hearings were renewed; the third and final court hearing was on 14 May. (Usually cases of this kind are dealt with in two to three hours.)

Present at the court hearings were Roginsky, a lawyer to represent his interests, a legal adviser representing the interests of the respondent, and the Procurator. Teachers who had been present at the Union Committee meeting of 29 March, the Director of the School and the Head of DDE were questioned.

As the whole process of Roginsky's dismissal had gone through without anything at all in writing which could serve as a basis for a dismissal decision (the Director had informed the teaching staff, he had received this information orally from the Head of DDE, who in turn had passed on what he had been told orally by KGB officials), the court sent an inquiry to the KGB. In the middle of the last hearing a 'certificate' was received, signed by the Head of the Investigations Department of the Leningrad KGB, V. I. Tretyakovsky:

> In February 1977, on instructions from the Kaluga Region KGB, a search was conducted at the home of A. B. Roginsky, during which documents were confiscated — the so-called compilation *A Chronicle of Current Events*, two volumes of the book by the writer Platonov, *Kotlovan*, published in the USA, and a series of other works of a politically harmful nature. On the basis of the materials confiscated, A. B. Roginsky, in June 1977, was issued with a caution by the organs of the KGB as a precautionary measure, and the Leningrad Procurator was informed of this.
>
> In March 1979 another search was conducted in Roginsky's home by the Investigations Department of the Leningrad Regional KGB on the instructions of the Moscow Procurator's Office, regarding criminal Case No. 46012, in the process of which materials of a harmful nature were discovered and confiscated.

The position of the administration of the School in the dismissal of Roginsky is typified by two remarks made by Director Popov at the Union Committee meeting on 29 March. In reply to Roginsky's question as to what activity the Director considered incompatible with the position of teacher he said: 'The two searches conducted at your home'. To clarify his position Popov said: 'Searches do not happen

to honest people'. It is typical that the Director and the teachers discovered only at the court what had in fact been confiscated from Roginsky.

Representatives of the School stressed in court Roginsky's efficiency in carrying out his teaching obligations. The Director, who had attended his classes more than once, agreed that the presence of 'harmful' literature in Roginsky's home had not been reflected in his work as a teacher. The 'amorality' of Roginsky's actions had also not extended to circulation of this literature. (The president of the court, agreeing with the representatives of the defendant, told Roginsky: 'If it were a question of circulation, you would be up for trial under the relevant article.') The subject under dicussion was, in the main, whether a teacher has, or does not have, the right to own in his personal library 'harmful' books; the criteria governing 'harmfulness' were also discussed.

The lawyer defending the interests of the respondent defined Roginsky's guilt as follows: 'The books confiscated from him do not meet the K G B's demands concerning literature'. The D D E Head, called as a witness, expressed the opinion that the only books a Soviet teacher needs are those available in school libraries. Another witness, a teacher, made a less categorical statement: every person knows which books are politically harmful and which are not; this intuitive knowledge, in the witness's words, 'was formed in the 1930s and 1940s'

At the request of A. B. Roginsky the president of the court read out the record of the search of 6 March. Roginsky pointed out that the overwhelming majority of the books confiscated were freely available in any research library in the country. He showed the court some of these books, which he had taken out the previous day from libraries in Leningrad, and also published works by Soviet authors containing quotations from the works of Berdyayev, Antsiferov and Gippius. He stated that in addition to his wrok at the school, he studied Russian history, his articles had been published, and as a professional historian he needed a great variety of books. He also expressed his conviction that regardless of anyone's profession, just to pose the question of what a person does or does not have the right to read is absurd and illegal. It is all the more illegal to evaluate serious literature on the basis of 'certificates' issued by one or another institution.

Roginsky's lawyer stressed the illegality of a dismissal procedure without written documentation, based on oral instructions, with the teaching staff kept totally uninformed. She also noted that the ideological evaluation of literature cannot come from the 'organs of the K G B', rather than a special team of experts nominated by the court.

The Procurator, in her speech, expressed her total unanimity with the respondent. In her opinion, the 'harmfulness' of the literature confiscated from Roginsky was fully proven by the 'certificate from case sheet 34' (ie the K G B certificate — *Chronicle*), as 'whatever Roginsky and his lawyer may claim, the court has no reason not to trust the judgment of the organs of the K G B'. The claim that the dismissal procedure was undocumented was also, in her opinion, unsubstantiated — 'the Head of D D E was obliged to trust the K G B officials'.

The court's decision says, in part:

> From the certificate on case sheet 34 it is evident that A. B. Roginsky committed misdemeanors incompatible with the morality of a Soviet teacher. The court considers that the termination of the work contract with the plaintiff is in strict accordance with the law.

The Leningrad City Court rejected Roginsky's appeal, It also rejected Roginsky's request that the note in his work-book should be changed to spell out the nature of his 'amoral act'.

* * *

Arseny Borisovich Roginsky's repeated attempts since then to gain employment as a teacher have been unsuccessful.

Miscellaneous Reports

According to *Information Bulletin* No. 4 of the Free Inter-trade Association of Working People (F I A W P), which came out in May-June, following a 'talk' at the K G B (*Chronicle* 51, 'F I A W P'),

> under threat of imprisonment, **Ivanchenko,** who has two dependent sons born in 1975 and 1978 and a wife, who is a Group 1 disabled person, has been obliged to announce that he will cease his activity in F I A W P. Alexander Ivanchenko has now left the F I A W P Council of Representatives.

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Kiev. The authorities are continuing to persecute **Raisa Rudenko** (*Chronicle* 48). They are trying to provoke a quarrel between her and her husband **N. Rudenko** (trial — *Chronicle* 46), by withholding her letters to him and telling him that his wife has left him and has lovers. For several months a man importuned R. Rudenko, trying to declare his love for her. In February he knocked at the door of her flat and said that he had been summoned to the K G B and had started to have trouble from them. She let him in and they went into

the kitchen. Immediately there was another knock at the door and police and witnesses appeared. The police stated that the man 'discovered' in her flat was living there without a permit. A statement was drawn up which said that when the police arrived this man was in bed. The neighbours in the building did not sign. But some woman calling herself a 'witness' put her signature to the statement.

* * *

Kiev. On 6 March K G B official N. F. Sheremet (*Chronicle* 51) summoned **Lyubov Murzhenko** and gave her a note from her husband, whom he had seen when on an official trip to Mordovia. He said that she and her husband had no hope of emigrating as they were not Jews, and that if **Aleksei Murzhenko** tried to apply for emigration after his release he would end up back where he came from.

On 28 March Sheremet expressed his displeasure with Lyubov Murzhenko for having, during a telephone call to Israel, mentioned his trip to Mordovia and his meeting with her husband. Sheremet claimed to be quoting 'the statement of an angry citizen, who had overheard the conversation by chance'.

Beatings-up in the Ukraine

Kiev. On 23 March at 12 noon **Pyotr Vins** (*Chronicle* 52) was grabbed by K G B officials on one of the main streets in the centre of Kiev. Two men came up to him, twisted his arms behind his back and shoved him into a car which had driven up, pushing his mother away. Then they drove him to a forest more than 25 kilometres from Kiev. One of the men holding Vins showed him a K G B card. Pyotr was taken out of the car and ordered to stop receiving dissidents at his home and to stop seeing the American consular representative D. Swartz. If he failed to do so, they threatened, he would be 'put away'. They left him in the forest and drove away. Pyotr returned to Kiev, phoned the American Consulate and agreed to meet Swartz in an hour. At the meeting-place the same car was waiting for him. The same men grabbed him and drove him more than 60 kilometres from Kiev to a field. There he was taken out of the car, thrown on to the ground, and threatened with being kicked and punched in the face. They left him in the field and drove away. He got back home in the evening.

On 27 March in the evening several people attacked P. Vins not far from his home, including one of the men who had driven him to the forest. Pyotr was beaten on the back of the head with a rubber truncheon. When he fell down he was kicked, beaten with truncheons and metal objects, and his leg was twice cut with a knife. Passers-by

rushed over to help him. The attackers grabbed Pyotr's bag and hat and made off in their car.

P. Vins submitted a statement to the police. The police officials who came to investigate said they were obliged to track down criminals, but that in his statement he had described the attack as the work of K G B officials and they did not intend to look for these officials. They also stated that Vins was in no position to complain as he had received a warning from the K G B. The investigator from the Criminal Investigation Department, Chunikhin, wrote in his report that Vins had been warned not to meet dissidents. The investigator did not want to include in his report the name of the man who had come to help Vins, but was extremely interested in whom Vins had been with before the attack took place.

* * *

Kiev. On 16 July **Mark Belorusets** (*Chronicle* 48) was assaulted by an unknown man in the entrance hall of the building where he lives. There are grounds for thinking that this attack was an attempt by the authorities to intimidate a sympathizer with the movement to defend the rule of law and a friend of many Ukrainian dissidents. It has been noted more than once that Belorusets's flat is watched by K G B agents. In the past, K G B officials have had 'talks' with Belorusets, and he has been warned 'under the Decree' [of December 1972].

Lvov. The wife of **Mikhail Osadchy** (he was recently released from Mordovian Camp No. 1 and sent into exile — *Chronicle* 52) was assaulted on the street. She was 'accused' during the assault of these facts: that the exile **Stefania Shabatura** had been to see her while in Lvov on leave; that she corresponds with prisoners; that she has a bad influence on Osadchy himself; and that she has received letters and parcels from abroad.

* * *

Kremenchug (Poltava Region). In June the former political prisoner **Grigory Mokoviichuk** (he spent 27 years in the Mordovian camps) was warned 'under the Decree'. The main accusation was that in a letter to Kuzma Matviyuk (*Chronicle* 48) he described the trial of Ovsienko (*Chronicle* 52).

* * *

In the village of Luchi, Rozhnyatov District, Ivano-Frankovsk Region, on 4 March, the election day for the U S S R Supreme Soviet, a leaflet appeared on the announcements board, calling on people not to vote 'for the Bolsheviks' and promising the village inhabitants an 'independent Ukraine' in the near future. Several of these leaflets were scattered in the village.

K G B officials checked the handwriting of everyone in the village, even children of school age; barns, store-rooms and houses were searched.

* * *

Aslan Rustamov from Severodvinsk, Arkhangelsk Region, decided to seek out human rights activists to help him fight for his rights. He tried a number of ways to make contact with them; for instance, he made inquiries at the Citizens' Advice Bureau and at the police station. But he was not given their addresses. Finally, in November 1978, in the fifth year of his unsuccessful attempts, he decided, after coming to Moscow, to ask everyone he met about the dissidents. The first person he approached, by the G U M department store, as soon as he had got over his shock, called the police.

At the police station a K G B official explained to Rustamov that the dissidents were good-for-nothings who sent all sorts of fabricated stories abroad in exchange for jeans and chewing-gum. As for Rustamov being taken to the police station, this was of course a mistake and there would be no repercussions. There were repercussions, however. Immediately after he returned home the conversation had to be resumed at the local police station.

The next time Rustamov came to Moscow somebody waiting in the reception room of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet informed him how to get in touch with the Helsinki Group.

* * *

Moscow. On 11 March the People's Court of the Moskvoretsky District of Moscow started to hear the case of **Ermolayev** and **Polyakov,** who were charged under part 2 of article 206 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism'). They were arrested on the night of 13-14 January (*Chronicle* 52).

There was a notice on the door of the courtroom saying that the case was being heard in closed session. Friends and acquaintances of the arrested men sent a protest. The session lasted about one hour. The court sent both accused for psychiatric examinations as out-patients.

On 23 May another court hearing was held, this time in open session. Only Polyakov was brought into the courtroom. The examining team of psychiatrists had ruled him responsible. They could not reach a decision about Ermolayev. The Judge again stopped the hearing and sent Ermolayev for an in-patient psychiatric examination.

The diagnostic team at the Serbsky Institute (Ermolayev was there from 1 June to 12 July) ruled him responsible. On 12 July Ermolayev was taken back to Butyrka Prison. By 1 August the court had still not met.

Sergei Ermolayev (born 1959 — *Chronicle* 52 was inaccurate) was until his arrest a student in the extra-mural department of the Philosophical Faculty at Tartu University. After his arrest he was expelled for 'lack of progress'.

Igor Polyakov (born 1954) graduated from the Bauman Higher Technical School in Moscow and worked as a designer in the All-Union Research Institute for Metallurgical Machine Construction [V N I I M E T M A S H] until his arrest.

* * *

In May 1978 **Zviad Gamsakhurdia** was sentenced to three years' deprivation of freedom and two years' either of exile (*Pravda*, 21 May 1978, and *Chronicle* 50) or banishment (*Pravda*, 7 May 1979). Gamsakhurdia did not have to spend a single day in camp. Either the Georgian Supreme Court responded to an appeal (although Gamsakhurdia did not lodge an appeal, the Supreme Court, according to the Criminal Procedure Code, had to examine both sentences as an appeal had been lodged by **Merab Kostava**), or the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet granted a pardon and altered the sentence (either changing the part of the sentence still to be served to two years' exile, or 'deeming it possible to consider the period still to be served in prison as suspended' — see *Chronicle* 52). On 26 July Gamsakhurdia was already in exile in Dagestan (*Chronicle* 50).

According to *Pravda* of 7 July, Gamsakhurdia applied to the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet for a pardon and his request was granted. *Pravda* published a quotation from Gamsakhurdia's request. When the pardoned Gamsakhurdia was in Tibilisi he phoned some friends in Moscow and said that something in the *Pravda* article was distorted.

The Khavin Case

On 19 April, right outside the building where Skobov's trial was being held (see 'The Trials of Tsurkov and Skobov'), Aleksei Khavin was arrested. He had just given evidence as a witness.

During the pre-trial investigations in the Skobov-Tsurkov Case Khavin had admitted to being the author of several items in *Perspective* and gave some testimony against Skobov and Tsurkov. During Tsurkov's trial he had withdrawn this testimony, saying he had given it under duress. He apparently did the same at Skobov's trial.

Khavin was charged with possessing drugs. He was searched on arrest but no drugs were found. Then his clothes were taken away for a second search and in his absence packets of drugs were found sewn into them.

On 20 April a search was conducted at **Reznikov's** flat, where Khavin had recently been living, but no drugs were found. On 23 April they came again to search Reznikov's flat. This time the investigators immediately moved a cupboard and brought out from under it a packet of drugs. Reznikov is convinced that this packet was planted; he has sent a complaint to the Leningrad Procurator. During the same search, a record of the Tsurkov trial was confiscated.

In the initial days of the Khavin Case several scores of people were interrogated, including drug addicts known to the police. Nikitin, an investigator of the Leningrad Dzerzhinsky District U V D, was in charge of Khavin's case.

On 26 April A. Reznikov and **I. Fyodorova** appealed to the public in an open letter:

> So now it's drugs. What a great idea! A tiny packet dropped into a bag in a crowded bus, a couple of false denunciations, and three years are taken care of. If we cannot somehow take some action about this now, if everything now proceeds without any fuss, then we and our friends will all soon be in prison. K G B officers tell us this straight. We are tired of the constant threats. In the last six months we have had four searches at home and been detained on the streets 15 times by police and K G B officials. We have been asked to emigrate; it would, they say, be better both for you and for us. We have stayed. We were born here, our friends are here and here we shall live.
>
> We are obliged to ask for help from public opinion both in our own country (we hope that there is such a thing here) and abroad, from all honest people. Help us to defend ourselves from false accusations! If they want to get rid of us, let us be tried for what we have in fact done, if they dare charge us with it! Save our friends, save Aleksei Khavin, imprisoned in the Crosses Prison on an unjust, trumped-up charge!

Aleksei Viktorovich Khavin (born 1955) was a first-year student at a medical institute. He has suffered from epilepsy since childhood. He has to take hexamidine every day. In prison, however, this medicine has been refused him, despite medical certificates. His father, Viktor Petrovich Khavin, is a professor in the Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty of Leningrad University.

Shortly before his arrest, Aleksei had applied to the Registry Office to register his marriage to Irina Vereshchaka. The ceremony was to be held on 25 May. In July Khavin was sentenced to six years in hard-regime camps. His marriage has been registered.

* * *

Kharkov. **Yury Dzyuba,** who served a five-year sentence from 1973-78 for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' (*Chronicle* 51), has again

submitted an application to renounce his Soviet citizenship. He is also trying to be reimbursed the state tax (500 roubles) he paid into the State Bank the first time he submitted an application. An official statement from the Finance Department of the Kharkov City Soviet E C states that as more than seven years have elapsed since the tax was paid, the bank is not accountable for the sum. On 23 February Dzyuba again paid 500 roubles into the State Bank.

* * *

On 16 November 1978 the artist **Vyacheslav Sysoyev,** member of the Moscow City Committee of Graphic Designers, was subjected to two searches — one at the flat where he is registered and the other at the flat where he in fact lives. He was ordered to hand over jewels, weapons and pornography. All Sysoyev's completed and unfinished works were confiscated, as were drawing-materials, slides, letters and most of his personal library, including books by Tsvetayeva, Pasternak, Berdyayev and Solzhenitsyn, and albums of Gauguin and Beardsley. Despite Sysoyev's repeated complaints to the M V D and the Procuracy, the confiscated material has still not been returned. In a reply dated 2 February 1979 from V. Karpov, head of the [Procuracy] department for supervising M V D investigations and inquests, it is stated about Sysoyev's work that 'according to the findings of specialist art historians they are not works of art but pornography'.

After the search, Sysoyev was taken in for questioning, where he was told that a large number of pornographic items and drawings made by Sysoyev had been confiscated from his friend, the collector Yu. P. Belov.

On 6 and 7 March Sysoyev's 70-year-old mother and his former wife were called in for questioning by Investigator Stoyanovsky. The Investigator was interested in whether they had ever seen pornographic articles in Sysoyev's possession.

On 26 March Sysoyev received a letter from the Kirov District Procurator's Office in which it was stated that a criminal case against him under article 228 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Producing or selling pornographic items') had been sent for investigation to the Investigations Department of Cheremushki District U V D. Since then, Sysoyev has been sent various summonses for interrogation in connection with this case — in, however, the capacity of a witness. He did not go for questioning. On 16 April Yu. Belov was summoned for questioning by Investigator Chuyev as a witness in the Sysoyev Case. The investigator was rude, and shouted and threatened. At the end of the questioning he showed Belov a resolution to appoint a team of experts to establish whether the drawings confiscated from him [Belov] and belonging to Sysoyev, as well as the slides confiscated from Sysoyev, were pornographic.

On 19 April a friend of Sysoyev's, E. Bode, was brought in for questioning by Chuyev, who told her about the appointment of a team of experts. In reply to Bode's question about why a team of experts was to be appointed when an expert decision had already been made, the Investigator said that he would produce the findings of the experts reached in February 1979 'later'.

Sysoyev applied for help to the officials of the City Committee of Graphic Designers and was 'relieved' to be told that when the trial was held the Committee would send along members to speak in his defence ...

Sysoyev produces satirical drawings and cartoons. He has participated in exhibitions in Moscow at the Exhibition of Economic Achievements and in flats, and his work has been shown in Paris and London. His drawings appear in Western periodicals, and a monograph on him is being prepared for publication in France and in West Germany.

The Arts Festival which did not Take Place

A group of Soviet artists, together with some artists who have recently left the country, decided to organize a festival of art. The festival was planned for 28-29 April and was to be held simultaneously in Moscow, Leningrad and Paris.

On 21 February in Leningrad the collector **Georgy Mikhailov** was arrested. The day before his arrest there was a meeting in his flat of Leningrad artists who were to take part in the festival. Mikhailov was charged under article 162 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Conduct of a prohibted trade') and article 153 ('Private enterprise activity and activity as a commercial middleman').[28]

The Leningrad artist **Vladimir Ovchinnikov** was taken to the KGB and questioned about the forthcoming arts festival. On 12 April the artist **Valentin Mariya** was questioned by KGB officials in a car on waste ground near Smolny, on the banks of the Neva.

In Moscow in the last two weeks of February and in March, members of the painting section of the City Committee of Graphic Designers — suspected participants in the festival — were summoned by officials. Pressure was put on them by means of threats and bribes.

* * *

On 28 March at 11 am a press conference was held at the flat of the Moscow collector **Lyudmila Kuznetsova** (B. Sadovaya 10, Flat 44). Seven members of the group organizing the festival (the hostess was one) were present. At 10.45 the police arrived 'to check papers' but when foreign journalists arrived they went away, only to appear again

immediately after the press conference ended (at 12.30). Kuznetsova was ordered to come for an interview. She refused. Then she was dragged from the building by force and thrown into a police 'jeep'. Kuznetsova was sentenced to 15 days. She served her sentence at Butyrka prison in solitary. She declared a hunger-strike.

In protest at Kuznetsova's arrest members of the group **V. Akks, I. Kiblitsky, V. Provotorov, V. Dlugy, V. Savelev** and **V. Sysoyev** barricaded themselves into her rooms. To repeated pleas and orders to leave the premises immediately, the artists replied that they would not.

On 30 March at 9.30 pm the court-yard, back entrance and corridor of Communal Flat No. 44 were filled with police officials and plain-clothes men (about 50 people). The room where the artists were sitting was taken by storm and everyone was carried off to police station 83. They were then taken to detention cells in different police stations.

On 31 March the Krasnopresnensky District People's Court sentenced Dlugy, Provotorov, Savelev and Sysoyev to fines of 20 roubles for resisting the police. Kiblitsky and Akks were given 15 days in jail. Kiblitsky was in prison until 3 April, when he was sent to hospital with acute hypertension for three days. He was then released.

Valery Akks served his sentence from 31 March to 14 April in the Special Detention Centre 'Birch Trees'. He held a hunger-strike for the whole period.

On 12 April Dlugy, Provotorov, Savelev and Sysoyev were summoned to the City Committee of Graphic Designers. They were threatened with dismissal from the Committee if the festival took place. The threat was also made that 'material will be handed over to the relevant legal bodies'.

* * *

On 13 April four more suspected participants in the festival, **Gindlin, Gidulyanov** and **Abramov** (the *Chronicle* does not know the name of the fourth), were summoned. They were required to put in writing that they would not take part in the festival.

During the same period similar interviews were being held with members of the Moscow Artists' Union who were planning to take part in the festival. On 18 April an article appeared in the newspaper *Moscow Artist*, entitled 'In an Alien Voice'. It was claimed in this article that the activities of the participants and organizers of the festival had been incited from outside, and that to participate in the festival was incompatible with the calling of a Moscow artist.

In mid-April some unknown people broke the lock on **V. Provotorov's** studio. An antique frame was stolen and several works were

vandalized. On 25 April, with no explanation, **V. Dlugy's** telephone was cut off.

Because of the unremitting pressure it was decided to postpone the festival and hold instead a small exhibition at L. Kuznetsova's flat. It was decided to meet there at 11 am on 27 April (a day before the festival had been planned to open). On the evening of 26 April Kuznetsova went out. When she came home in the morning she saw that the doors were broken in, the windows were open and everything inside was burned. As was discovered later, at 5 am neighbours had noticed smoke pouring through the closed door to her room and had called the fire-brigade.

In Kuznetsova's two rooms the partitions and doors had burned, some of the furniture was charred, the ceiling and walls were covered in soot, about 30 works were completely ruined and 20 badly damaged. Several things had disappeared — a crucifix, icons, a bas-relief depicting Christ, some of the sculptures... Investigators and firemen who examined the rooms were unable to explain how the fire had started.

* * *

Yury Belov (*Chronicle* 48) was in Smolensk Regional Psychiatric Hospital for two weeks from 25 June for expert examination. Belov's bosses had asked for this, as a certificate had come from a Krasnoyarsk Psychiatric Dispensary to say that 'for reasons of health he is not capable of occupying a materially responsible post'.

The examination was carried out by doctors I. A. Ilin, V. I. Fokin, A. I. Labok and a professor from Smolensk Medical Institute, Nina Ivanovna (her surname has not been ascertained — *Chronicle*). Nina Ivanovna insisted that any criticism of the Soviet regime was psychopathological and refused to sign the report on the inadvisability of putting restrictions on Belov's work. She signed when she learned that Belov was planning to emigrate.[24]

The commission concluded that there was no need to restrict Belov's working activity because of his previous hospitalization for compulsory treatment and diagnosed 'endogenous disease'.

* * *

In 1979 there were 87 applicants for places in the Mechanical and Mathematical Faculty of Moscow University from the six best physics and mathematics schools in Moscow (Nos. 2, 7, 19, 57, 179, 444). Of these 87 applicants, 47 'had had no Jewish relatives for two generations' (quotation from an anonymous samizdat document 'Results of entrance examinations at the Mechanical and Mathematical Faculty of Moscow University for leavers from six Moscow schools') and 40 did not fulfil this condition. In the written examination in Mathematics (the papers are handed in without mention of the surname but with a code) one person in the first group failed, and in the second group — 23. 40 people from the first group were accepted, from the second — six.

Of the six school-leavers in the second group who were accepted, three were initially failed in the examinations. Of the other three one, a medal winner, got maximum marks in the written examination and was, in accordance with the regulations, accepted; the other two were children of professors of Mechanics and Mathematics.

The Jewish school-leavers who 'got through' to the oral examination in Mathematics were given extremely difficult problems to solve (see 'Samizdat News') and were given only 20 minutes for each one. The names of some of the examiners who set these problems for the school-leavers are known: reader in the Department of Mathematical Analysis S. N. Olekhnik, reader in the Department of Numerical Theory Yu. V. Nesterenko, reader in the Department of Higher Geometry and Topology V. V. Fedorchuk, senior lecturer in the Department of Wave and Gas Dynamics V. F. Maksimov, assistant in the Department of Mathematical Analysis E. T. Shavgulidze, post-graduate in the Department of Wave and Gas Dynamics A. Galimov, post-graduate in the Department of Differential Equations I. Sergeyev, and research officer of the Institute of Mechanics R. A. Vasin.

The exam boards, in their report of Ilya Kogan's oral examination, committed two forgeries: the time of completion of the examination was put back (only one hour is allowed after completion for an appeal to be lodged) and the terms of the problem he was set were altered. Ilya's father went to see the president of the Central Exam Board, Pro-rector Ternov, on 27 May, and after this had a stroke. On 2 August Deputy Pro-rector Nikitin told Nudelman's father that if he had been struck by paralysis the question of his son's acceptance would have been decided favourably. When, after this, Ilya Kogan handed in a complaint to Nikitin, quoting these words, the latter replied: 'In fact I was thinking of an incident last year when both parents of a school-leaver died'.

* * *

In May the priest **Vasily Fonchenkov** started to work as a member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR.

Vasily Vasilevich Fonchenkov was born in 1932 in Moscow into a family of Old Bolsheviks. In 1955 he graduated from the History Faculty of a Teachers' Training Moscow Institute, then worked in the USSR Central Museum of the Revolution, and in the Moscow District Museum of Regional Studies (in the New Jerusalem Monastery).

Fonchenkov was christened when he was 18. From 1964 he worked

as a Reader in Moscow churches. In 1969, having completed the full course of studies of the Ecclesiastical Seminary as an external student, he went to study at the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy. After graduating from the Academy in 1972 Fonchenkov was appointed a consultant in the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate and a lecturer in the Ecclesiastical Academy in the Department of USSR History. Since 1974 Fonchenkov has been a Reader.

In 1971 Fonchenkov became a deacon and in 1973 a priest. In 1976-7 Fonchenkov was dean of the Sergievsky Cathedral in Karlhorst (Berlin) and editor of the journal *The Voice of Orthodoxy* of the Central European Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

At present Fonchenkov teaches Byzantine studies at the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy and the USSR Constitution at the Seminary.

In his statement on joining the Committee, Fonchenkov writes that the immediate reason for his decision was the CPSU Central Committee's Resolution 'On the further improvement of ideological and politico-educational work'. He notes that the Resolution talks openly of the Central Committee's intention to alter the position of religion in the country by using the all-embracing state apparatus. Fonchenkov considers that this Resolution will have serious consequences for believers.

Commenting on the many useful activities of the Committee, Fonchenkov writes:

> The juridical position of religious organizations in the USSR already provides a foundation for fruitful contact between people of different faiths. The Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights embodies in its activity the principles of genuine ecumenism.

Vasily Fonchenkov expresses the hope that his membership of the Christian Committee will not be condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities, just as the Committee's open and public activity, and the repeated appeals of its members to the leadership of the Moscow Patriarchate, have not been condemned.

* * *

A professor from the Institute of Oriental Studies in Rome, M. Arrantsa, discovered, when he was in the USSR, in a book by former Inspector of the Council for Religious Affairs I. Bonchkovsky, *The Kingdom of this World* (Moscow, 'Young Guard', 1976), extracts from his personal letters to Metropolitan Nikodim. Employees of the Department of External Church Relations also found extracts from their private reports in the same book.

The book was removed from sale. The Deputy Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, KGB Major-General V. N. Titov, was dismissed and retired.

In an open letter to the Pope, dated 2 April, Gleb Yakunin, a member of the Christian Committee, writes:

> It is a fact that relations between the Council for Religious Affairs and the Moscow Patriarchate are such that copies of all documents and correspondence (including personal correspondence) of employees of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate are sent to the Council for information — so that the Council can lay down the future foreign policy of the Moscow Patriarchate. In fact, the Department is less a department of the Moscow Patriarchate than a department of the Council for Religious Affairs, fulfilling as it does the wide function of translating foreign literature and of providing expert advice and counsel (the Council itself does not have the necessary staff for this).

* * *

At a general assembly of the **USSR Academy of Sciences** held in April the statutes of the Academy were amended. Two amendments concerned the citizenship of members.

In paragraph I, after the existing description of who can be a member, the words 'citizen of the USSR' have been added; and paragraph 35 of the new version reads:

> Full members and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, if they lose their USSR citizenship, lose their membership of the Academy of Sciences. (The previous text then continues.)

Academician **A. D. Sakharov** proposed that votes on these two alterations should be separate from the others. He supported his proposal by saying that by introducing these two amendments the statutes were substantially altered, as in some cases they in fact handed over decisions on membership of the Academy of Sciences to outside bodies. Three votes favoured Sakharov's proposal. In the vote for the list of amendments (as a whole) Sakharov's vote was the only one against.

* * *

The number of issues of the British scientific journel *Nature* and the American popular scientific journal *Science* which are placed in 'closed stacks' is increasing.

Thus in the Lenin State Library the percentage of issues removed is as follows:

	1966	1969	1972	1975	1978
Nature	0	2	10	66	72
Science	3.7	5.6	15	33	40

This confiscation procedure is centralized — the same issues have been removed in other libraries of the Soviet Union. Until 1975 the journals arrived in small libraries with no 'closed stacks' with various pages cut out and with a note saying 'Pages 15-20 removed'. With this note and the table of contents it was possible to establish which article had been removed. But since 1976 issues containing articles unacceptable to the censorship have stopped being sent to many libraries altogether.

* * *

In May the telephones of **Bella Koval** (*Chronicle:* 48, 49) and the translator **Vadim Kozovoi** were — after Eduard Kuznetsov (see 'Political Releases') had phoned them from abroad — cut off. Kozovoi was in the same camp as Kuznetsov the first time he was convicted.

Letters and Statements

S. Khodorovich: 'Appeal to the Press'.

One of the administrators of the fund to aid political prisoners writes about the threats to which I. Zholkovskaya, E. Sirotenko, E. Bonner and A. Sakharov are being subjected. They are all being threatened with physical reprisals from 'persons unknown'.

Publicity could avert this danger. But there is no such thing as publicity in our country. I therefore ask for assistance in publishing this appeal. Any radio-station in the world, any newspaper or magazine which publishes these facts will help to prevent a crime.

* * *

On 2 April **Gleb Yakunin,** member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR, sent the following 'Protest' to Patriarch Pimen:

Twenty-five years have passed since Stalin's death. The 'personality cult' has been condemned, even by the communists themselves. But the Moscow Patriarchate has not only not repented for burning incense to 'God's Chosen Leader', but now you, High Priest of All-Russia, a quarter of a century later, in your congratulatory address of 21 December (*Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* No. 2) again throw a pinch of incense to our present leaders ...

You write 'Your radiant image', using an expression reserved only for saints or the deceased.

In your message, what is most striking is the date: the 99th anniversary of Stalin's birth. What is this — the irony of fate, or a persistent congratulatory reflex looking forward to the centenary year?

Your Holiness, by taking part in the name of the whole Russian Orthodox Church in the revival over the last few years of the 'personality cult', you are causing deep concern among believers and further encouraging the discrediting of the leadership of the Moscow Patriarchate.

* * *

On 24 April the **Christian Committee** for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR sent a protest to the Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, Kuroyedov, and to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Shchelokov, against the persecution of believers in places of detention. The document contains the following:

In places of detention believers are subjected to discrimination with regard to their right to practise their religion. They are deprived of access to religious literature, cannot see a priest for the performance of essential sacraments, and furthermore have no chance of receiving information in any way connected with religion ...

The authors of the document demand that Soviet laws relating to believers in places of detention be observed and that those guilty of violating these laws be punished.

The Committee simultaneously appeal to Pope John-Paul II, to the Patriarchs of other Orthodox Churches and to the World Council of Churches. They explain the situation of believers in places of detention and ask for all possible help to alleviate their fate.

* * *

G. Goldshtein: 'Open Letter to American Scientists' (28 March 1979); 'From the Memoirs of a Refusenik Prisoner' (15 April 1979); 'To the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs' (18 May 1979); 'To the USSR Procurator-General' (18 May 1979); 'To the *Izvestia* Editorial Office' (21 May 1979).

The author (trial — *Chronicle* 49; release — this issue) talks of the trumped-up charge of parasitism for which he was sentenced to one year's deprivation of freedom, and of the living conditions of prisoners in camp and transit prisons.

The compartment of the prison carriage, intended normally for four people, held 17-20. The only food between transit prisons, which are usually two or three days' journey apart, was dried herring and bread. Water was obtainable only if the guard so allowed, as was using the toilet ... In the transit prisons a cell intended for 26 prisoners frequently held 60-70. Conditions were extremely unhygienic. The mattresses were crawling with lice ...

A corrective-labour camp is Soviet society seen through the wrong end of binoculars; it is its microcosm; but vices are accentuated ...

Goldshtein is seeking full rehabilitation and asks the *Izvestia* editorial

office to organize a press conference for him so that he can draw the attention of the public to the difficult position in which a Jew can find himself in the USSR when subjected to persecutions after applying to the authorities for an exit visa for permanent residence in Israel.

V. Nekipelov: 'To the President of the French Section of the PEN Club, G. E. Clancier' 18 March 1979).

V. Nekipelov writes in defence of the 83-year-old Ukrainian writer **N. V. Surovtseva,** who spent more than 30 years in prisons, camps and exile. Since she came back from prison she has been subjected to constant persecutions.

The most recent search ...was carried out on 28 September 1977 (*Chronicle* 47 — *Chronicle*). This time the investigators announced — such is the degree of fantasy in our Soviet reality! — that they were searching for forged bank-notes. They announced that there were grounds for believing that the 80-year-old writer was engaged in forgery! It hardly needs saying that they found no bank-notes, and indeed this was not why they came. They confiscated her typewriter, her manuscripts and her entire archive accumulated over many years, including her unfinished memoirs.

It has to be said that the case of N. Surovtseva is only one more link in a long chain. Literary archives have been confiscated in political searches and never returned in our country throughout the 60 years of Soviet history, probably starting with the archive of N. Gumilyov ...

V. Nekipelov: 'When there is no "Contest between the Parties" ... An Open Letter via the Paper *Die Welt*' (11 July 1979).

This letter is a reply to Leo Budzin, who claimed in connection with the publication of Nekipelov's appeal in defence of E. Buzinnikov (*Chronicle* 51) in *Die Welt*, that civil rights are constantly being violated in West Germany. Budzin claims to be the victim of a miscarriage of justice and declares that for ten years he has been unable to get a reversal of an unjust sentence.

I am not inclined to believe that every miscarriage of justice is a violation of human rights ... For a mistake to become a crime, there has to be a conscious desire to do harm for the sake of certain aims or doctrines ...

The opportunity itself of having forms printed as you have done, with a drawing of barbed wire, convict shackles, interlaced with a serpent and a monstrous, sinister bird, even the possibility of creating a society(!) for the victims of miscarriages of justice, of distributing letters in your own defence, of making frequent and sharp criticisms of state justice, strikes us as utterly fantastic.

Further, Nekipelov writes that E. Kuleshov was sentenced merely for having criticized the trial of Buzinnikov, and that M. Kukobaka was given three years in camp for telling the truth in an open letter to the Minister of Health about people being put into psychiatric hospitals for their political and religious beliefs. Nekipelov continues:

What happened to you is indeed tragic, but a nevertheless a mistake. What has happened to E. Buzinnikov, E. Kuleshov, to scores and hundreds of their compatriots, was not a mistake, but a feature of our lives, the very structure of our existence ...

V. Nekipelov: 'Are the Dissidents Complaining?' An Open Letter to the Editors of Deutsche Welle radio station (25 April 1979).

'Viktor Nekipelov *complains* about the violations of human rights in his country' was how Deutsche Welle commented on my appeal 'Repressions of Workers in the USSR' ... It is sad, but the broadcast reminded me of the language used in Soviet complaints departments!

'I protest against my letters going missing!'

'I demand that my confiscated diaries be returned!'

'I protest against the prisoner in the next cell getting beaten up!'

I demand, I protest! And in reply: 'In answer to your complaint ... ', 'Having examined your statement in which you complain ... '

No. Our statements and protests, our appeals to world public opinion *have never been complaints* ...

There is no need to feel pity for us. But we do need your understanding. And, if possible, your moral support.

F. Serebrov: 'To employees of the German Press Agency [DPA] and the Russian Section of Deutsche Welle'.

What are your most interesting broadcasts? Works and documents which have not been published in the USSR, facts not released by the authorities and the broadcast 'Post box 100444' ...

The Russian listener, brought up on falsifications, evasions and from time to time straightforward lies, appreciates above all the untarnished word of truth ...

A. Sakharov: 'To the Director of the radio station Voice of America; To the Chief Editor of its broadcasts in Russian' (5 April 1979).

Unforgivable inaccuracies and clumsy cuts unfortunately occur rather frequently in 'Voice of America' broadcasts (as, moreover, in those of other radio stations broadcasting to the USSR) and cause great harm to people suffering from persecution, to the authority of dissidents and to the work of defending human rights ... Perhaps the 'Voice of America', with the support of the State

Department, could seek the right to send its correspondent to Moscow (this would be in the spirit of détente) and also the right to broadcast unedited information of prime importance — articles and other material from the Soviet press, the full statements of dissidents and people suffering from persecution, the exact texts of information bulletins from various well-known dissidents; even a partial implementation of these requests would be helpful.

E. Orlovsky: 'To the Editorial Office of the newspaper *The Week* [*Nedelya*]'.

I have read the essay 'Congratulations!' in issue No. 26 of your paper and am deeply shocked by this vile lampoon. On first reading, the impression is given (which is no doubt what the authors of the piece and those behind it intended) that Academician **A. D. Sakharov,** his wife and her son drove a poor girl (she is referred to as N. in the piece) to attempted suicide by exploiting and persecuting her. If the article is read with greater care, however, it is clear that the author makes no such claim (although the facts are put together in such a way as to make the reader think he does). The author and the editor, in publishing a private letter in no way addressed to them, have committed a criminal act ...

E. Orlovsky: 'To the Editorial Office of the newspaper *Trud*'.

The author comments on Order No. 315-K of 26 June concerning the Mendeleyev All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Meteorology:

I order in agreement with the trade union committee that a commission for industrial disputes be formed consisting of the following ... (According to 'The Regulations on the Procedure for Examining Industrial Disputes' the head of an establishment has no right to vote on the appointment of the trade union representative to the commission.)

E. Pashnin: 'To His High Holiness, the Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia' (18 March 1979).

The author, in exile in Vorkuta, complains to the editors of the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* for refusing to send him the Orthodox Church calendar for 1979 and five issues of the journal.

M. Zotov: 'Conversation with Witnesses Present: An Open Letter to V. Kassis and P. Kolosov, Special Correspondents of Izvestia' (June 1979).

On 31 May 1979 the paper for which you work published your article entitled 'Meeting Without Witnesses' ... You have got everything the wrong way round! The people who are moved by Russia's sorrows, the publishing houses which illuminate the painful problems of the Russian land, are called traitors, whereas you, special correspondents of Izvestia ... try to portray yourselves as patriots and benefactors.

You were permitted to sit down in the editorial office of *Possev*. If I had been an editor of the journal I would never have let you cross the threshold! I would not have let you in as being dregs of the worst kind, who betray the needs of our people for the sake of your own material comfort.

M. Zotov: 'Requiem' (March 1979).

The author (*Chronicle* 51) tells of the confiscation of three of his paintings and appeals to people in Western countries to take all the canvases he has painted as a gift — canvases which can never be exhibited in the U S S R.

In refusing to come to our assistance you are betraying the last outpost which defends your independence and in general your freedom ... By leaving us to a silent death in our dreadful helplessness, you are giving the totalitarian system the chance to capture your peoples with its beautiful lies ...

O. Solovyov: 'Speech of Greeting to the European Parliament' (April 1979).

The present-day Russian Empire is opposed to the process of integration, as were in their time the power-seeking Russian princes to the creation of the Russian State. The Kremlin would not object to integration if the whole world were in its hands. The future Russia will find within itself the strength to attach itself to this vital process ...

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group[25]

Document No. 82 (15 March 1979): 'Another wave of repressions: gross violations of freedoms and human rights in the Ukraine in Leningrad, Moscow and Tashkent' (See 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations', 'Persecution of Believers', 'Trial of Volokhonsky', 'Trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev', 'Trials of Adventists').

Document No. 83 (5 April 1979): 'Trial of Iosif Zisels' (See 'Trial of Zisels').

Document No. 84 (14 April 1979): 'On the Persecutions of Pyotr Vins' (See 'Beatings-up in the Ukraine' in the section 'Miscellaneous Reports').

Document No. 85 (21 April 1979): 'Violation of socio-economic Human Rights in the U S S R: The Right to Work'.

Document No. 86 (25 April 1979): 'Threat of New Repressions for Free Speech' (See 'The case of the Journal *Searches*' in the section 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

Document No. 87 (25 April 1979): 'On the Situation of Prisoners in the Camps of the USSR'.[20] A report compiled by the political prisoners Yu. Orlov, N. Matusevich, Z. Antonyuk and V. Marchenko.

Document No. 88 (13 May 1979): 'Life of political prisoner Igor Ogurtsov in danger' (See 'In the Prisons and Camps').

Document No. 89 (20 May 1979): 'On the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes' (See 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals').

Document No. 90 (20 May 1979): 'A new threat against A. D. Sakharov'. V. Nekipelov and V. Fefelov received an anonymous letter: 'On 3 June an attempt on the life of A. D. Sakharov is planned'. The Helsinki Group expresses its alarm.

Document No. 91 (5 June 1979): 'On emigration from the USSR' (See 'The Right to Leave').

Document No. 92 (5 June 1979): 'Persecution of the editors of *Searches* continues' (See 'The Case of the Journal *Searches*' in the section 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

Document No. 93 (11 June 1979): 'Freedom for all the Helsinki Group members imprisoned in the USSR!'

The question of trust towards the Soviet side will obviously and not so obviously play a significant role in the deliberations on SALT-2 in the Senate ... We consider it absolutely essential that the signing of SALT-2 should be accompanied by a minimal display of good-will such as the release of all Helsinki Group members in the USSR ...

Document No. 94 (15 June 1979): 'Persecution of the participants of independent associations to defend the socio-economic rights of working people continues. Founder member of the Free Inter-trade Association of Working People (FIAWP) Lev Volokhonsky sentenced by a Leningrad court' (See 'Trial of Volokhonsky').

Document No. 95 (16 June 1979): 'Persecution of believers. The suppression of freedom of conscience, freedom of beliefs, freedom of speech and freedom of the press in the Soviet Union is not ceasing. Trials of Adventists' (See 'Trials of Adventists' and 'Persecution of Believers').

Document No. 96 (20 June 1979): 'Human rights activists barred from work in their profession'.

Document No. 97 (26 June 1979) 'In defence of political prisoner Sergei Kovalyov' (See 'In the Prisons and Camps').

Document No. 98 (8 July 1979): 'Political trials of workers in the USSR' (See 'Trial of Kuleshov' and 'Trial of Kukobaka').

Samizdat News

E. Orlovsky: 'Self-interview' (1979, 10pp).

1. Do you consider yourself a dissident? Who are dissidents? What do they want?

Yes, I consider myself a dissident.

... a dissident is a person who disagrees with some or other important aspect of the political and/or economic system in the USSR and openly expresses his disagreement.

... there are several demands which all or nearly all dissidents put forward. First of all, they demand that the chance to discuss freely the basic problems of the country's economic and political development be assured. They also demand that Soviet laws governing human rights be strictly observed and that they be brought into the line with the international commitments the Soviet Union has made. These demands also imply, as a natural consequence, an end to repression for political motives.

3. What, in your opinion, is the nature of the political and economic structure of the USSR? Do you consider the USSR a socialist country?

The question of the nature of the system in a given country can be answered intelligently only after criteria for classification have been established and the various types of system defined. Moreover, there is no generally accepted definition for a concept like socialism.

... if we take Marxism as a starting-point (in its Soviet version), then undoubtedly there is socialism in the USSR. It should be noted, however, that according to this criterion China should also be classed as a socialist country ... Kampuchea under Pol Pot should also undoubtedly be classed as a socialist country ... Moreover, according to this criterion several countries with a market economy which are usually classed as capitalist should be included among the socialist countries. For instance, in Austria the state sector plays a leading role in the economy.

4. Which aspects of the economic and political system of the Soviet Union are, in your opinion, most in need of improvement?

A lot needs improving. But if we are to isolate the most important, then it would be, in the economy, the evaluation of the work of enterprises and the criteria for making planning decisions, and, in politics, the participation of the broad mass of the population in government.

5. What is your attitude to emigration from the USSR?

The *Chronicle* omits the answer to this question as it is explained in the author's writings as summarized in *Chronicles* 49, 51.

M. Zotov: 'To Be or Not to Be' March 1979, 6 pp.).

The author talks about himself and about the latest searches (*Chronicle* 51). He reflects about our life. He also writes:

> Attracted by the dream of equality, justice and happiness communism is supposed to provide, they (the pro-communist elements in the West — *Chronicle*) stubbornly will not believe the evidence from communist countries.

'Selected Questions from the Oral Examination in Mathematics (Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty, Moscow University, 1979)'.

The compiler selected 25 problems set for those especially talented high-school leavers whom it was necessary to 'fail' (for a similar compilation in 1978 see *Chronicle* 51).

One of these questions was given at the 12th International Mathematics Olympiad for Schools (1970); one version of another was given at the All-Union *student* Olympiad in 1977; a variation of another at the All-Russia Olympiad of 1965; a considerably simplified variant of another at the Republic Olympiad in 1979; one question at the final round of the Kiev Olympiad in 1978; two questions are to be found as 'starred' problems in the book *Selected Problems and Theorems in Plane Geometry* by D. O. Shklyarsky, N. N. Chentsov and I. M. Yaglom (Moscow G I T T L, 1952); a particular case of one problem appears in *Geometrical Evaluations and Problems from Combinative Geometry* (Moscow, 'Science', 1974) by D. O. Shklyarsky, N. N. Chentsov and I. M. Yaglom; one problem features in volume I of *Geometric Transformations* (Moscow, G I T T L, 1955) by I. M. Yaglom, where to solve it you have to refer to several previous theorems in the same book; two problems can be found in *Problems in Elementary Mathematics* (Moscow, 'Science', 1969) by V. B. Lidsky, L. V. Ovsyannikov, A. N. Tulaikov and M. I. Shabunin, one of them being accompanied by guidelines and the other being the final problem in a subsection (within each section the problems are given in increasing order of difficulty); and finally, half of another problem is given as a 'starred' problem in *Collection of Problems in Solid Geometry* (Moscow, Uchpedgiz, 1959) by L. M. Lopovok.[27]

Summary (No. 1, 1979, 72 pages)

The editorial announcement of this new 'reference journal' states:

> The modest aim of this publication is to help the reader to find his way in the turbulent and contradictory spiritual life of our country; a less modest aim is to search for ways of S Y N T H E S I S. This aim is the main principle governing the contents of the journal.
>
> The editors will strive, as far as possible, to be up-to-date and to cover the whole range of samizdat ... we also intend to give synopses of of publications abroad [tamizdat], to include information on literature of lasting worth which has been passed for publication by the censors, and gradually to discuss the most interesting publications of previous years. Relevant material from other publications may be reprinted. The journal will appear four times a year ...
>
> The editors would be interested in receiving abstracts and other relevant material. If, when you read some work, you feel like reacting, arguing, or copying out an extract — do not put it off; write it and send it to us. All pseudonyms are acceptable; the absence of a signature will be seen as permission to edit the text received at our discretion.

The journal consists of three sections: A ('Synopses and Extracts'), B ('Points of View. Reviews') and C ('Contents of Recent Publications'). Section C gives only tables of contents (or even only titles).

Sections A and B of this issue contain 51 articles. 44 articles relate to material in the samizdat publications *Concerning the Draft Constitution* Nos. 1, 2, 3 (*Chronicles* 46, 47); *Searches* Nos. 1/2, 3 (*Chronicle* 51); *Community* No. 2 (*Chronicle* 51); *The Watch* [*Chasy*], Nos. 14, 15; *Tarbut* (*Culture*) No. 11; *Jews in the U S S R* Nos. 14, 18; and journals published abroad: *Kontinent* No. 15; *Syntaxis* No. 1; *Russian Revival* No. 1; *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* No. 124; and *New Journal* No. 126.

These sections also contain synopses of the following books: V. Gershuni, *Superepus* (Samizdat, 1976); L. Regelson, *The Tragedy of the Russian Church, 1917-1945* (YMCA Press, 1977) and K. E. Bailes, *Technology and Society Under Lenin and Stalin* (*The Origins of the Soviet Technical Intelligentsia, 1917-1941*) (Princeton University Press 1978); reviews of *Metapolitics* by A. Moscovit (*Chronicle* 38) and of the anonymous and anti-Semitic *Appeal of the Russian Liberation Movement to the Russian and Ukrainian People*; and extracts from V. Ozolis's article 'Questions and Answers' and L. Kopelev's article 'The Lie Will be Conquered Only by Truth'.

Section C gives the tables of contents of the following samizdat publications: *Kaluga, July 1978* (*Chronicle* 50); *Searches* Nos. 1/2, 3; *Community* No. 2; *The Watch* No. 15; *Jews in the U S S R* No. 18; *A Chronicle of Current Events* No. 50; and the journal *37* No. 15.

Summary No. 2, 1979 (75 pages)

Sections A and B of this issue contain 45 articles. 36 articles concern material in the samizdat publications *Searches* Nos. 1/2, 4 (*Chronicle* 52); *The Watch* Nos. 16-18; *37* Nos. 16, 17; two issues of the collection *Memory*, which came out in samizdat and was reissued abroad; the almanac *Metropol*; and the journals published abroad *Kontinent* Nos. 15, 16; *Syntaxis* Nos. 1, 2; *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* No. 125; and *Twenty-Two* Nos. 1, 3.

These sections also contain synopses of the collection of articles and speeches by A. D. Sakharov, *Hopes and Fears* (Khronika, 1978); the book by R. Kennedy, *13 Days. The Cuban Missile Crisis* (Macmillan, 1969); the book by M. Baitalsky (pseudonym of M. Domalsky); *Russian Jews Yesterday and Today* ('Aliyah 20' Publishers); and the article *The Situation in Soviet Mathematics* (*Chronicle* 51). They also contain information about F I A W P (*Chronicle* 51) and the poetry almanac 'Voice' (10 issues have already appeared), reviews of the book by A. Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks' Road to Power* (New York, 1976) and of the article by L. S. Pontryagin, 'A Short Biography of L. S. Pontryagin Compiled by Himself' (in the journal *Progress in Mathematical Science*, 1978, No. 6), and extracts from the article by Yu. Orlov, 'Is Non-totalitarian Socialism Possible?' (*Chronicles* 38, 50).

Section C contains the tables of contents of the samizdat publications *Searches* No. 4; *The Watch* Nos. 16-18; *Jews in the U S S R* No. 19; the journal *37* Nos. 16, 17; and the almanac *Metropol* (*Chronicle* 52).

Section D ('Supplement') gives the tables of contents of issues 1-3 of the collection *Memory* (*Chronicles* 42, 51, 52) and summaries of issues 1 and 2.

Lithuanian Samizdat

Perspektyvos, Nos. 8-12

This journal has been coming out since 1978. There are notes on Nos. 1-4 in *Chronicle* 51, and on Nos. 5-7 in *Chronicle* 52.

Alma Mater, Nos. 1-3.

The journal has been coming out since January 1979. It includes both literary and socio-political articles. Each issue is about 100 pages long.

Vytis (*Knight Errant*), Nos. 1-2.

Issue No. 1 (June 1979, 105 pages). The place of publication is given as 'occupied Lithuania'. The introductory article designates 'enemy number one' as the 'occupying administration'. Excerpts are published from the articles of Jonas Jurašas (*Chronicles* 39, 52) and his wife Aušra, criticizing the Lithuanian creative intelligentsia for their indifference to the fate of the Lithuanian people; there are also two articles on the attitude of the Lithuanian Communist Party towards the national question, articles dating from 1949 on the partisan movement, an article on the murder of the ethnologist Untulis and a declaration by the former prisoner Brukštus, in which he promises to collaborate with the K G B (1964). Another article criticizes the journal *Perspektyvos* for opening its pages to the 'Union of Lithuanian Communists' (*Chronicle* 52).

Issue No. 2 (July 1979, 46 pages) prints a complaint to the Lithuanian S S R Supreme Soviet about the Petkus Case (150 signatures), an article by Mart Niklus, 'The Trial in Vilnius through the Eyes of an Estonian', and 'An open letter to Viktor Kalninš by A. Terleckas (*Chronicle* 52).

Aušra (*Dawn*), No. 15 (55), February 1979.

The issue opens with the article 'An Unforgettable Day', dedicated to the 61st anniversary of Lithuanian independence (16 February 1918). This is followed by the article 'The Russians are Colonizing Latvia', a declaration by Angele Paškauskiene (*Chronicle* 52), a biography of Klimašauskas (*Chronicles* 44, 51), a declaration protesting against the arrest of Ragaišis (*Chronicle* 52) and the articles 'The bestial outrages in Juodupe' (before the arrival of the Germans the local communists killed the people they had arrested) and 'A Shameful Attack by the Soviet Union' (about the attack on Finland in 1939).

Aušra, No. 16 (56), May 1979.

The article 'On the Approaching Jubilee' is dedicated to the 40th anniversary of Lithuania's incorporation into the U S S R, which will be in 1980. Then come: excerpts from the letters of political prisoner Paulaitis (*Chronicles* 46, 49, 51), a letter from Fr. Garuckas to the First Secretary of the Lithuanian C P Central Committee, written three weeks before his death (see 'Events in Lithuania'), a letter to the chief editor of *Tiesa* protesting against the publication of a libellous article about Gajauskas (trial — *Chronicle* 49) and an excerpt from the biography of Petkus (trial in *Chronicle* 50).

The article 'A new wave of Russification' describes the impending reforms in teaching the Russian language (see 'Events in Lithuania'). After 1980 Russian will be taught in kindergartens, Pioneer and Komsomol meetings in schools will be conducted in Russian, the social sciences will be taught in Russian secondary and higher educational establishments, the *Scholars' Journal* issued by the various republic universities is to be published in Russian, as well as student journals and wall-newspapers.

There is also an excerpt from the decree of the Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of the U S S R, V. Elyutin, 'On the further improvement of the teaching of the Russian language in the Union republics' (6 October 1978).

Addenda and Corrigenda

The Deputy Chief of the Central Statistical Board, G. V. Ostankovich, lied to the Crimean Tatar delegates (*Chronicle* 52); in fact, both in 'The instructions for enciphering census sheets ... for the All-Union population census for 1970', Moscow, 1969) and in the document 'A dictionary of nationalities and languages for enciphering answers to questions 7 and 8 of the All-Union population census of 1970' (Moscow, Statistics Publishing House, 1969) the nationality 'Crimean Tatars' does appear (code — 081).

* * *

Shagen Arutyunyan (*Chronicle* 48) was born in 1937.

* * *

In *Chronicle* 51, among the authors of the letter to Andropov and Brezhnev concerning Yu. Orlov's scientific papers confiscated in Lefortovo, the name E. Barabanov was given in error; it should have been **A. Barabanov** (*Chronicle* 47) [already corrected in English edition]. A. F. Barabanov is a Master of Physical and Mathematical Sciences and a student of Yu. Orlov.

* * *

The searches at the homes of **S. Ermolayev** and I. Polyakov were on 18 January, not 18 February (*Chronicle* 51).

The Ruban Case

The *Chronicle* is now able to expand and clarify its reports on the case of Ruban (*Chronicles* 44-6, 48).

In 1968-1973 Pyotr Ruban spent five years in Mordovian camps under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) and article 222 ('The illegal carrying, possession, acquisition, manufacture or sale of weapons, ammunition or explosive substances'). While in camp, Ruban became a specialist in intarsia woodwork. The camp administration encouraged him to do woodwork and gave him orders to complete.

After his release in November 1973 Ruban was sent to the town of Priluki, Chernigov Region, where his wife had been sent to work in a factory after completing her higher education. In reply to her request for living quarters, the director of the factory said: 'We won't even let your anti-Soviet husband over the threshold of the hostel'. The Rubans, with their six-year-old daughter, had to rent a room. Only

after appealing to the President of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet were the Rubans allotted a plot of land on which to build a house. They started to build the house, living for the time being in a shed.

Pyotr Ruban found work as a wood-carver at the Priluki furniture combine. He managed to interest the management in his artistic woodwork and in the possibility of using previously useless waste. Applying a technique he himself had worked out (he even made his own tools) he was put in charge of a mass-produced line of souvenirs.

After business trips to the Chernigov musical instrument factory and to Kiev, Ruban brought home a lot of rejected (ie free) veneer walnut which he needed for his intarsia work. At the same time, with the permission of the Ukrainian Artists' Fund, Ruban handed in some pieces which he had made at home in his own studio, to the Artists' Salon-Shop in Kiev.

His work was a success: more than once he completed orders from the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, he produced the souvenir 'Chernigovshchina' at the request of the Party Regional Committee as a present to the 25th Party Congress, and he completed orders from the Foreign Trade Organization [Vneshtorg]. His work 'Chess Book' won the second republic prize in 1974.

The present 'Ruban Case' started after he produced in 1976 an album with wood-carved covers, entitled 'Freedom', as a present to the American people for the 200th anniversary of American Independence (he spent eight months working on it). People unknown broke down the door of his studio at home and stole this album. At the Procurator's office Ruban was advised to 'forget it': 'The trail would lead to a place where we we are not competent to carry out a search. There is no law giving you the right to do this work, but there is no law against it. The authorities found it necessary to take this step to prevent the presentation of the gift.'

On 13 October 1976 Ruban was arrested (*Chronicle* 44). On 29 December 1976 the Priluki Town People's Court heard the case of Ruban (in *Chronicle* 45 there is an inaccuracy here), charging him under part 3 of article 81 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Misappropriation of state ... property by theft') and article 150 ('Private enterprise activity ... '). Under article 150 Ruban was charged with handing in to the Artists' Salon 73 souvenirs which had been 'made at work with no account rendered'; furthermore, the investigation claimed that during his trips for veneer wood Ruban 'used the cover of an existing socialist enterprise for free enterprise activity'. Under article 81 Ruban was charged with stealing material to the value of 72 roubles 10 kopecks from the furniture combine, as well as five completed souvenirs. Judge Shekera said to advocate E. A. Zanko, when he demanded Ruban's acquittal (a demand which caused

applause in court): 'You'll soon be in the dock yourself'. The court sentenced Ruban to eight years' deprivation of freedom and five years' exile.

After the trial Ruban was not allowed to see the record of the court hearing, and distorted entries in the record were then used by the prosecution at the following trial under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSRSR Code). For example, in his final statement Ruban said that he was being tried because he had 'struggled for the separation of the Ukraine from the USSR'; in the record this was given as 'I have struggled and will continue to struggle for the separation of the Ukraine from the USSR'.

Ruban put in an appeal to the Chernigov Regional Court — the sentence was repealed and the case sent for re-examination. On 10 February 1977, ten days after the repeal, the deputy Procurator of the Ukrainian SSR, Skopenko, pointed out the need to 'verify whether a charge should be brought under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code'. Included in the new investigation group of five people were two KGB officials, Lieutenant-Colonel Lisovets and Captain E. I. Polunin.

Ruban, in protest against a trumped-up case, sent a letter to Andropov. As a result of this letter, a talk was arranged with a Major from the Chernigov KGB, who promised that Ruban would get a reduction of sentence to the minimum if he admitted that the trial in Priluki was held in accordance with the law and the KGB organs had no hand in it; if he said that his utterances of a slanderous nature made at the trial did not correspond with his inner convictions; and if he made sure that the Western mass media did not use his name for anti-Soviet purposes. Ruban declined the deal.

On 20 April 1977 the Chernigov Regional Court heard the case charging Ruban under the same two articles as at the first trial, and also under article 187-1. The prosecution based its charge under article 150 on the impossibility of making such articles at home. The court took no notice of statements from witnesses to the contrary or of Ruban's offer to do a 'demonstration for the investigators'. Photographs of the lathe and the twin-screw press owned by the accused were not included in the case-file, but there were a lot of photographs to prove how little space he had for them at home. The prosecution used the testimony of the president of the street committee, Tereshchenko, who had once been inside the Rubans' house and 'had not seen' a lathe or press in the house. Investigator Maksimenko had (during the first investigation) attributed to witness A. Logvinov the testimony that the souvenirs handed in to the salon had been made at the combine. In answer to Logvinov's

objection that he did not know where the souvenirs had been made, Maksimenko said: 'Just say what I told you in court — they'll believe you'. The court also did not want to take into consideration the difference in size between the mass-produced articles and those handed in to the Salon.

The Chernigov court withdrew the charge against Ruban of stealing material. The theft of five souvenirs was based on an expert chemical examination which showed that the lacquer was the same both on them and on the mass-produced souvenirs. The court refused to allow the advocate to have an expert artistic-biological examination carried out. Another distortion of evidence in the pre-trial investigation came out in court: the Chief of the Investigation Department of the Regional Procuracy, Krivolapov, wrote down the testimony of the porter Sonets as stating that, on checking Ruban's brief-case, he had seen in it paints, brushes and 'pictures on wood'. In court Sonets mentioned only paints and brushes. When the Judge read him the entry in the record of questioning during the pre-trial investigation, Sonets stated categorically: 'There were no pictures in the brief-case'. Nevertheless, in his speech for the prosecution the Procurator referred to the porter's evidence and to the brief-case as an instrument of crime.

Ruban was charged under article 187-1 because of notes he had made while in the Mordovian camps (eight notebooks) and letters to his wife from camp (both, in their time, had gone through the camp censorship). His oral opinions were also brought into the charges. For example: 'As an artist he is being restricted, he does not have the chance to do his work properly' (witness I. P. Kukhabik), and looking at defective products Ruban said: 'Made in the USSR' (witness Yurchenko). The distorted record of what he said at the trial in Priluki (see above) was also used.

The court sentenced Ruban to six years' detention in a special-regime camp and three years' exile, ordered him to return 5,330 roubles of 'illicit income' (the value of the articles sold through the Salon), and confiscated his property — the unfinished house. (Ruban's family have been living in the shed for nearly three years.)

When Lydia Ruban was on her way to Kiev, where the appeal was to be examined, she was detained at the Priluki Station 'on suspicion of theft of money'. During the search documents relating to her husband's case, which she was taking to the appeal hearing, were confiscated.

On 28 June the Ukrainian Supreme Court examined Ruban's appeal and let the sentence stand without alteration (*Chronicle* 46).

In camp (Voroshilovgrad Region, Corrective-Labour Colony-60) Ruban made souvenirs by hand (he did not even have a fretsaw but

used a metal saw instead) similar to those he had given in to the Salon. Major Egorov of the Voroshilograd K G B, when he saw the place where the work was done and the finished products, asked to see the case report. When he had looked at it he said: 'I have examined your case. As an expert in legal matters I consider that infringements of articles 81 and 150 have not been proven, but that is not my business' (See also *Chronicle* 48).

On 10 November 1977 Pyotr Ruban sent a letter to the President of the U S A:

> The case against me is not a miscarriage of justice but a deliberate act by the authorities against those who speak out in defence of human rights in the U S S R.
>
> I appeal to you, Mr President, as a principled defender of human rights throughout the world, and as the head of a government to whom I wished peace and freedom on the 200th anniversary of your independence, these wishes being the reason for the imprisonment which has reduced my family to total poverty — to help to ensure that human rights are observed in the U S S R.

On 13 August 1978 Ruban sent a 'letter of protest' to the Procurator-General of the U S S R:

> It is with great pain that I learn of invented cases against defenders of human rights, one of these being the case of Lev Lukyanenko ... I protest with anger and indignation against the flouting of human rights in the U S S R. I call for the release from camps, and an end to the persecution, of members of the 'Groups to Implement the Helsinki Agreements' — who are true patriots of their fatherland!

On 8 December 1978 Ruban sent a complaint to the Procurator-General of the U S S R:

> Since my arrest ... my wife and I with two small children (one is three and the other ten) have had to appeal to various state and party organizations for protection and justice. In this web of evasions, deceptions, and all kinds of mystification and shuffling, the only reality remains the articles I created with my own hands and talent.
>
> I do not agree with everything in the present state of affairs and relations in our society, not by a long way, but all my thoughts, actions and intentions were aimed at better human relationships in our society.
>
> All this became the reason for starting criminal proceedings against me for crimes I had not committed.
>
> I am appealing to you in the hope of an unbiased investigation of my appeal and of the essence of the case against me.

On 9 December 1978 Ruban sent another 'letter of protest' to the same person (with a copy to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group):

> Various acts of harassment by the authorities, provocations, blackmail and psychological torture have ruined the health of my wife Lydia Fedoseyevna Ruban — at present she is in the municipal hospital seriously ill (with tuberculosis). On the occasion of Human Rights Day, having considered my situation, the actions taken by the law, and the situation of my family, I voice my decisive protest against the flouting of human and civil rights by the Soviet authorities.
>
> I demand the immediate release of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union.
>
> I am reinforcing my protest with a one-day hunger-strike on Human Rights Day — 10 December 1978.

Corrigenda to the English Edition

Chronicle 51, p. 121: the first line on the page was omitted in error and should read: 'On 20 June police investigator Captain Ponomaryov told M. Mamut'.

Chronicle 51, p. 131: an editorial note should have been added regarding Č. Krivaitis, to point out that he was not in fact Bishop of Vilnius but the administrator of the Vilnius diocese (as *Chronicle* 52 correctly calls him). The Bishop of Vilnius is the exiled J. Steponavičius.

Endnotes

1. Samuil Zalmanson, sentenced in June 1976 in Riga to 10 years in camps 'for bribery'. See Reuter dispatch from Moscow, 13 June 1976.
2. In fact the group consisted of one Senator and 17 Congressmen. The visit was from 13 to 22 April 1979.
3. Zholkovskaya eventually left the USSR with her children, but without Shibayev, on 1 February 1980.
4. Murkin is mentioned in an article by A. Zabrovsky in *Pravda Vostoka*, Tashkent, 11 March 1979.
5. Shelkov died in a Siberian camp in January 1980.
6. Most of the documents referred to in this report are available at Keston College, Kent, UK. They total several hundred pages.
7. The article mentioned in note 4 is about this trial.
8. Appendix 9 in *Information Bulletin* No. 18 of the Working Commission on Psychiatry (12 August 1979).
9. In April 1979 Melnichuk was sentenced to four years in strict-regime camps.
10. *Chronicles* 27 and 28 indicate the Institute of Philosophy. In No. 27 she is spelled 'Kyrychenko', as at that time transliteration was done from Ukrainian, not Russian forms. No. 28 was wrong to correct the spelling of her name to 'Klushchenko'.
11. As Gorbovoi claimed Czechoslovak citizenship, he served part of his 25 years in Mordovian Camp 5, which holds foreigners. Here he became friendly in the late 1960s with the London lecturer Gerald Brooke.
12. According to *Chronicle* 33 his first name was Stasys.
13. In December 1978 Imnadze was sentenced to five years in strict-regime camps plus four years of exile, under the Georgian equivalent of article 70.
14. See details in the booklet *Christian Prisoners in the USSR 1979*, Keston College, Kent, 1979, p. 23.
15. Later in 1979 Levenkov was released.
16. Later in 1979 Khutorskoi was released.
17. Later in 1979 Gallyamov was released.
18. In October 1979 Evdokimov died.
19. In December 1979 R. Dzhemilev was sentenced to three years in strict-regime camps under article 191-4 of the Uzbek Code (190-1 of the Russian).
20. This is not in fact clear, as Ovsienko appears to be in Camp YaYa-310/55 and Khyrkhara in YaYa-310/20, both camps being in Volnyansk. Possibly, though, there is a mistake in one address, and there is in fact only one camp, and this holds them both.
21. It is not clear whether N. Pozdnyakov and Anatoly Pozdnyakov are two people, or a mistake has been made over one of the first names and they are the same person.
22. In September 1979 they were allowed to leave, and joined Budulak-Sharygin (English form 'Scharegin') in Britain.
23. In September 1979 Mikhailov was sentenced to four years in ordinary-regime camps.
24. Belov emigrated to West Germany in December 1979.

25. Documents 57-99 (with a few exceptions) have been published in Russian in vol. 6 of *Sbornik documentov Obshchestvennoi gruppy sodeistviya vypolneniyu khelsinkskikh soglashenii,* Khronika Press, New York, 1979.
26. Published in English in *Survey,* London, No. 107, 1979 (vol. 24, No. 2).
27. See also Dr Sakharov's statement about this whole episode in *Khronika zashchity prav v SSSR,* New York, 1979, No. 35.

Bibliographical Note

The original Russian text of *Chronicle* 53, 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 16-52 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 Russian 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: *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 2BR 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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UK £3 USA $6.75 ISBN 0 86210 008 9