A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

Nos 59,60,61

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR

Amnesty International Publications

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A Chronicle of Current Events

Numbers 59, 60, 61

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PREFACE

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

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

In February 1971, starting with number 16, Amnesty International began publishing English translations of the Chronicles as they appeared. This latest volume, containing Chronicles 60 and 61 (for Chronicle 59 see note on page 2 of the text) is, like previous ones, a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text (which reached London on 18 September 1981). The editorial insertions are the endnotes (numbered) and the words in square brackets. Also added, to help the general reader, are: the list of abbreviations, the illustrations and all material relating to the illustrations, the index of names, the bibliographical note and the material on the inside and outside of the covers. None of this material appeared in the original text.

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

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

Amnesty International, January 1982

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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 60 31 December 1980

Contents

The trial of Lavut. The trial of Meilanov. Persecution of the Working Commission: the arrest of Grivnina, the trial of Ternovsky. Case No. 50611-14/79: the trial of Sorokin. Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled. Arrests. Searches. The case of Osipova. Persecution of Crimean Tatars. Events in the Ukraine: the trials of Sas-Zhurakovsky; Krainik; Mazur; Khmara, V. Shevchenko and A. Shevchenko. Events in Estonia. Events in Lithuania: the trials of Janulis and Buzas; Navickaite and Vitkauskaite; Abrutis; Skuodis, Iesmantas and Peceliunas; Stanelyte. Persecution of believers: the trials of Zvyagin; V. Rytikov and Vilchinskaya. The right to leave. In the prisons and camps. In exile. In the psychiatric hospitals. After release. Extrajudicial persecution. Miscellaneous reports. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Addenda and corrigenda.

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

[Special Statement on Chronicle 59 and Turnover of Chronicle Editors]

On 20 February 1981 officials of the Administration for Moscow City and Moscow Region of the USSR Committee for State Security confiscated the manuscript of A Chronicle of Current Events No. 59 (15 November 1980) and all the materials used for preparing it, during a search at **Leonid Vul**'s flat (see 'A Search at the Home of Vul' in Chronicle 61).

Most of the text was written by L. Vul and **Yu. Shikhanovich**. It will probably not be difficult for the KGB to identify the handwriting of other editors, too. Those people who are now known by the Committee for State Security to be involved in the Chronicle consider it essential for them to stop working on the Chronicle, as their continued participation would jeopardize the publication's future.

The withdrawal of those who prepared Chronicle No. 59 and the loss of some of the materials It was based on make its appearance impossible. For these reasons the period from August to November 1980 is not covered fully in the present issue.

THE TRIAL OF LAVUT

From 24 to 26 December Moscow City Court, presided over by V.V. Bogdanov (who also tried Grimm - Chronicle 58), examined the case against Alexander Pavlovich Lavut (b. 1929; arrested 29 April - Chronicle 56), who was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator T.P. Prazdnikova (who also prosecuted Vyacheslav Bakhmin, Sokirko and Grimm - Chronicle 58). Lawyer E.A. Reznikova (Chronicle 53; she also defended Ternovsky - see below) defended Lavut.

The trial took place in the Babushkino District People's Court in Moscow. Apart from the specially invited public only relatives of the accused were admitted into the courtroom. His friends, who had entered the courtroom long before the beginning of the trial, were taken out. On the evening of 24 December officials tried to prevent **E. Alekseyeva**, who had gone right out of the court-house, from returning. On 25 December **I. Brailovskaya** managed to enter the courtroom. During the break she was taken from the courtroom to a police station 'to establish her identity' (she did not have her passport with her). On 26 December **P.A. Podrabinek** was detained while attempting to enter the courtroom, and taken to a police station.

At the beginning of the trial Lavut submitted these petitions:

1. Alexander Lavut and his wife Serafima Mostinskaya

- to make the trial an open one and to allow his friends who had come to the court building into the courtroom (here Lavut told the court that on 3 November, at an interrogation about the case of Osipova, Major Gubinsky of the USSR KGB had told him: 'We admit people who are capable of assimilating information objectively');
- to summon P. Yakir as a witness ('The indictment often refers to the evidence which he gave while himself on trial [in 1973]. He was not interrogated in connection with my case. In his evidence he called all the documents shown to him slanderous. Maybe he doesn't think so now, and maybe he didn't think so even at the time.'); - to summon also Enver Ametov, Eskender Razulov, Gulizar Abdulayeva, Mustafa Dzhemilev and Fuat Ablyamitov ('During the investigation of my case they were all interrogated in connection with Crimean Tatar documents'), L. Boitsova, S. Kalistratova and President of the Moscow City Bar K. Apraksin ('to demonstrate the absence of slander or deliberate fabrication in "On the Right to a Defence" - one of the incriminating documents'), I. Valitova (in connection with the document 'The Trial of Professor Orlov'), Yu. Shikhanovich, N. Konstantinov and Yu. Kiselev, and also the expert Garkavenko who had carried out an ideological assessment ('The expert's conclusions are dishonest and incompetent. They contain slanderous utterances about myself and others.');
- to attach to the case about 70 letters, statements and complaints sent by Crimean Tatars to various Soviet departments (in October Investigator Zhdanov had decided to remove these documents from the case and send them to the KGB), three 'Information Bulletins' from the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR and the typewritten commentary 'Results of the Enrolment Procedure at Moscow University's Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty';
- to obtain the written authorizations to disconnect my telephone, 284-36-93, in March 1978 and in January 1980, to obtain a complete list of the documents which have to be handed in with an application to emigrate ('From this list it will be seen that the restrictions described in one of the incriminating documents do exist'), a list of the number of Jewish applicants and Jews admitted to the Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty and the Physics Faculty of Moscow University in 1975-80, the instructions of the Uzbekistan MVD to revoke the residence permits of persons of Crimean Tatar nationality who had left for the Crimea, and a copy of the letter dated 28 December 1977 from Lt. Col. Tsapenko in which it is stated plainly that Crimean Tatars are forbidden to live in the Crimea (Chronicles 47, 48).

Lawyer Reznikova upheld all Lavut's petitions and asked for the head of the Central Administration for Geological Expeditions (CGE), A.S. Kashik, and the head of one of its teams, E.A. Sokolinsky, who were interrogated during the pre-trial investigation, to be summoned as witnesses. The Procurator asked for all the petitions to be dismissed, and the Court complied.

The Indictment [a summary]

Between 1968 and 1980 Lavut signed 21 documents (letters

and statements) containing 'deliberate fabrications defaming ...', helped to compile several of them and was involved in their circulation. These letters and statements were taken abroad and used by foreign radio-stations and anti-Soviet publishers. The slanderous nature of the documents signed by Lavut and the facts about their circulation were confirmed by the evidence [of 1973] of Yakir and Krasin. Yakir and Krasin also confirmed that these actions were injurious to the prestige of the Soviet Union. The fact that Lavut had signed several of the letters was confirmed by the evidence of Mostinsky, Dedyulin and Shemi-Zade.

Lavut's signature is to be seen on statements of the so-called Initiative Group to Defend Human Rights in the USSR. Witnesses Uritsky, Fridman and Kozharinov confirmed that Lavut was a member of the Initiative Group, as did a tape-recording on which Lavut's voice could be heard, which was confiscated during a search at the home of Tolts (Chronicle 56). Witnesses Mostinsky, Uritsky and Tertitsky confirmed that the voice on the recording was similar to that of Lavut.

Lavut is also charged with the circulation of the books The Gulag Archipelago ('this book was ruled by the Kaluga Regional Court to be anti-Soviet and slanderous, written from a hostile position and distorting the essence of socialist humanism') and Lenin in Zurich by Solzhenitsyn, the book The Medical History of Leonid Plyushch by T. Khodorovich, and Sakharov's article 'On Revoking the Death Sentence'. In 1976 Kovalsky and Antidi, at the request of Bekirov, visited Lavut, who gave them copies of Lenin in Zurich and The Medical History of Leonid Plyushch, and also a photographed copy of the book The Gulag Archipelago. In 1978 Lavut gave a copy of The Gulag Archipelago to Efroikin; he also gave him the article 'On Revoking the Death Sentence'. He also gave a copy of The Gulag Archipelago to Chistikov.

In 1978 Lavut said to Efroikin: 'The present government will not last long, because there are people prepared to sacrifice themselves to change the system'. A note to Ternovsky confiscated from Lavut (confiscated in Butyrka Prison - Chronicle 57) confirms that Lavut was connected with A Chronicle of Current Events.

Prophylactic talks were held with Lavut in connection with his anti-government activities, in particular a talk with CGE head Kashik on 15 February. Lavut's aim of harming the Soviet state is clear. Lavut pleaded not guilty of slanderous fabrications and refused to give evidence at the pre-trial investigation.

The Trial

To the Judge's question: 'Do you plead guilty?' Lavut replied in the negative. The Judge announced that out of 11 people summoned as witnesses five were absent: Chistikov was on a foreign assignment, Efroikin was on holiday in Pyatigorsk, Kozharinov was ill (there was a certificate), Bekirov and Fridman were absent for unknown reasons. Lavut's petition to postpone the trial ('The charge rests, essentially, on the evidence of Efroikin, Kozharinov and Bekirov. Efroikin gave false testimony; maybe he will conduct himself better in court. There are important circum-

stances connected with Bekirov'), upheld by his lawyer, was rejected.

During the whole second half of the first day of the trial, and for the first half of the second day, Lavut gave commentaries on the indictment. He explained that throughout the pre-trial investigation Investigator Zhdanov had not once brought up the contents of the incriminating documents, having decided in advance that they were all slanderous. Analysing each incriminating document in turn, Lavut showed that the facts contained in them were true. He showed that two of the documents listed in the indictment differed only in their titles, and that he had not signed one of them.

Lavut Am I guilty because the letter was sent to the UN Commission on Human Rights?
Judge You are not accused because of who received the letter but because of the slander contained in the letter.
Lavut I am glad that in the court's opinion one is not forbidden to write to international bodies.
Judge That is the opinion of the President of this court, not of the court's full membership. We all live on the same sinful earth and breathe the same air, and your case, Lavut, is not the only source of the court's information.
Lavut It has become the norm to think that people who write abroad have done something wrong. As I see it, the prestige of the state is undermined not by writing to international organizations but by the acts which have to be disclosed. To prove that I belonged to the Initiative Group, which, by the way, I do not deny, the investigation has submitted the evidence of three witnesses who in fact said nothing about it. I must emphasize the dishonesty of the investigation.
Judge I agree with you that imprisonment in the cooler is a harsh punishment, but it exists in correspondence with the Corrective Labour Code.
Lavut Then what about the padded cell in Butyrka Prison? People are put in there naked.
Procurator Slander! I've never heard that before in 30 working years.
Lavut I say what I have heard: they often threaten people with the padded cell.
Judge When you signed all those documents were you concerned about the good of the state? Or did you intend to harm it?
Lavut I thought of its good. The only way I can see is publicity.
Judge So you were concerned for the good of the state. But what about the damage to its international prestige?
Lavut I do not consider there was damage.
Lavut I met **Efroikin** some time in the autumn of 1976. He came to see me at home and told me he had come from Omsk with a letter from Dvoryansky ... (Dvoryansky was interrogated in connection with the case of Mustafa Dzhemilev, whose trial took place in Omsk.) ... I listened to what Efroikin had to say because the case of Dvoryansky (Chronicle 40) interested me. I tried to help Dvoryansky for a while, and Efroikin visited me several more times. He often tried to persuade me to write to Dvoryansky. He said that he could teach me how to use secret ink, ie write something that the censor would not notice. I said that I would write to Dvoryansky

if I managed to find anything out for him, but that I needed no secret ink since any censor would allow through material about Dvoryansky's medical affairs. I very soon decided that Efroikin had been planted on me, but I couldn't bring myself to show him the door, and besides, I was interested in the fate of Dvoryansky. Then, after trying to invite himself round for a long time, Efroikin came over and asked me for something to read. Earlier we had talked about the dissident movement. Efroikin said that he had heard a lot about such things, that he was very interested and wanted to know more. I said that I was to some extent involved. He asked me for something to read, for example The Gulag Archipelago. The book was free and I gave it to Efroikin: the first volume definitely, the second I don't remember. We rarely saw each other. About winter 1977 Efroikin asked me, quite insistently, to help him get an invitation to emigrate ... In his evidence Efroikin says that I uttered the following sentence: 'The present government will not last long, because there are people prepared to sacrifice themselves to change the system'. My character is such that I could not have uttered such a sentence and never did I say anything like it to anyone. Among the documents in the case file is a statement by Efroikin. He writes: 'I soon understood that Lavut was hostile to our society and I decided to break off relations with him. I have brought this statement to the KGB'. The statement ends with a request to take measures against Lavut.

The evidence which Efroikin gave at the pre-trial investigation was read out in Court:

I met Lavut around autumn 1976 near the synagogue. At that time I wanted to emigrate to Israel. Someone had pointed Lavut out to me as a man who could help. I started going to see him. Alexander Pavlovich told me about the existence of a democratic dissident movement and announced with pride that he was connected with it, that he signed and compiled certain things, various articles, documents and letters of protest and sent them abroad via foreign correspondents. We discussed a lot of social and political issues. In about October 1978 he said: 'The present government will not last long, because there are people prepared to sacrifice themselves to change the system'. Soon after, we celebrated the second anniversary of our acquaintance sitting in a cafe on Sretenka Street. I must have said that I was interested in these questions and asked Alexander Pavlovich to give me something to read. He gave me The Gulag Archipelago - a photocopy of the first volume and a Xeroxed copy of the second volume. I did not like The Gulag Archipelago. We talked about the book when I returned it. Alexander Pavlovich said that he, on the contrary, had liked the book because it reflected the truth. At Alexander Pavlovich's home I read Sakharov's article 'On Revoking the Death Sentence'. After some time I understood that Alexander Pavlovich was a dangerous man and I decided that I did not need such a comrade. I took a letter to the KGB asking them to take measures against Alexander Pavlovich.

From **Chistikov's** evidence:

I saw the book The Gulag Archipelago on a table in the hall. I asked if I could read it. Alexander Pavlovich said that I could. I took and read the first and second volumes.

Lavut Sergei Chistikov was my daughter's first husband and lived with us. Our relations were normal and good. In our home we don't bother to ask permission to read each other's books. In connection with The Gulag Archipelago the question meant this: is it reserved? Maybe someone was reading it or I had promised to give it to someone. Seryozha [affectionate form of Sergei] asked and I gave him permission.
Procurator Why in the evidence of your former son-in-law does he say: 'In summer 1978 I heard from mother that Lavut was the editor of the Crimean Tatar section of A Chronicle of Current Events'?
Lavut I don't know.
Procurator Three typewriters were taken when your home was searched. Who used them and what for?
Lavut I refuse to take part in a 'who-where-when-to whom' type of investigation.
Procurator Did you know that documents which you sent to the West were published there?
Lavut I found out about some of them afterwards. I found out about others only when I read the case file. There are still a lot I don't know about. But when I did find out I was always glad, because, after all, it meant publicity. I consider A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR to be a domestic publication because its editor, Chalidze, although he lives in America, has not, to my mind, become an American. He's one of us.
Lawyer What work did you do for CGE when you were under arrest?
Lavut I finished the computer program which I had begun prior to my arrest. I worked on it for a month in the investigations prison. I gave the investigator the finished work to give to CGE. When I saw my case file I read that the finished program had been handed to the head of CGE.

While Lavut was giving evidence the court superintendent approached his daughter and warned her to stop taking notes. Noticing this, Lavut referred to an essay by Feofanov in Izvestia, in which the author explained that a Judge who had rebuked him for note-taking during an open court session was not acting lawfully. Bogdanov did not react to all this at all.

* * *

TASS's report of the first day of the trial reads as follows:

> The open trial of the criminal case against Alexander Pavlovich Lavut, a 51-year-old Muscovite geophysicist, began this morning in Moscow City Court.
> In the indictment, which was read out in court, the accused was charged with many years' illegal activities and with the deliberate intention of damaging the interests and prestige of the USSR. The crime with which Alexander Lavut is charged comes under article 190-1 of the Russian Federation's Criminal Code.
> When the indictment had been read the court questioned

> the accused Lavut. During the questioning Lavut acknowledged the facts with which he had been charged in the indictment. He said that between 1968 and 1980 he had indeed systematically compiled and distributed the material listed in the indictment and presented to the court as material evidence. He also admitted that he had acquainted a specific group of people in the USSR with the 'letters', 'statements' and 'appeals' which he had fabricated. Nor did the accused deny that he had sent his fabrications to the West through accredited correspondents of the bourgeois media and through other channels. Lavut admitted that he knew about the use made of his documents by the subversive anti-Soviet radio-stations Liberty and Free Europe, by the journal Sowing (an organ of the semi-fascist People's Labour Alliance) and by the slanderous publications A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR, A Chronicle of Current Events and others.

Referring to this statement, Radio Liberty broadcast that Lavut had pleaded guilty.

* * *

At about midday on 24 December I. Kovalëv, E. Bonner, V. Tolts, E. Alekseyeva, M. Petrenko and T. Gerus handed a statement to Judge Bogdanov:

> We have discovered that among the material incriminating A. Lavut is a statement which specifically maintains that the openness of court proceedings at 'political' trials (eg under articles 190-1 and 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) is systematically violated.
> We know that Lavut's petition to admit us into the courtroom was rejected. The police cordon will not admit us further than the foyer of the court building. The openness of court proceedings at this trial has thus been violated. References to the absence of free places are unfounded: before the beginning of the trial several of Lavut's friends were removed from the courtroom and at this moment there are at least a few free places in the courtroom.
> We ask to be summoned as witnesses to give evidence at the trial on whether it is true that the principle of openness of court proceedings at such trials is systematically violated. Several of us can give similar evidence about other trials. Of course, we ask to be admitted to the courtroom in any case.

(Colleagues of Lavut, too, submitted a request to be admitted to the courtroom.) There was no reply.

The Questioning of Witnesses

Lavut In December 1976 I did indeed give films of the books The Gulag Archipelago, Lenin in Zurich and The Medical History of Leonid Plyushch to somebody. He (maybe it was Kovalsky) came to see me early in the morning... I gave him the books that I have just named. There was no advance phone call and I did not intend to meet him at the entrance of the building. As for Antidi, I met him for the first time at a confrontation in prison

in which I refused to take part. In the reports and notes connected with this episode there are mistakes in the dates, or maybe they are not mistakes ...
Kovalsky (a manager of the restaurant car on the 'Moscow-Novorossiisk' train). In autumn 1976 I went to visit him. My train gets into Moscow early in the morning. I was told that Lavut would come to the train. We, Antidi and myself, waited for about half-an-hour, but he didn't come and so we went to his place. My acquaintance Bekirov had asked me to collect a package for him from Lavut ... We are often asked to do that sort of thing - taking packages to and from Moscow.
Judge Did Bekirov tell you who Lavut was and what was in the package?
Kovalsky He said that Lavut was a good person, that he did a lot of good things for us Crimean Tatars. He just said that the package would be books.
Judge And what was it like?
Kovalsky It was a small parcel. I asked for something to read myself. Lavut gave me the book Lenin in Zurich; he said it was interesting.
Judge And then what happened?
Kovalsky When the train reached Novorossiisk I was detained on suspicion of speculation and searched. They found no evidence of speculation but they did find the parcel. I had to write a statement for the Novorossiisk KGB.
Lawyer When was this statement written?
Kovalsky The day after I got back from Moscow, ie 10 December 1976.
Lawyer How did it happen that you wrote another statement on 6 December, ie before your trip to Moscow?
Kovalsky I've got muddled up. (Laughter in courtroom)
Lawyer And did you read Lenin in Zurich?
Kovalsky I looked through it. I didn't read it. Why? I already know all about Lenin.
Procurator I do not understand why we need these details. We have already established that the transfer of books did take place; the rest is unimportant. Incidentally, Lavut, why are you refusing to answer many of the questions concerning the details of this episode? Are you scared of something?
Lavut No. I simply consider that books should not be the subject of a court examination. I do not want to be part of these examinations. And I consider Solzhenitsyn's books to be useful, not harmful.
Judge It is up to us to make that evaluation. The court will decide. It is important now that the fact of the transfer should be established. Do you admit it?
Lavut One admits to guilt, and I do not consider myself guilty. As for that episode, I have already described it.
Antidi (who was a waiter in the restaurant car in 1976). I went to his house with Kovalsky for the package.
Judge Then what happened?
Antidi When the train got into Novorossiisk Kovalsky sent me to tell Bekirov to come for his parcel. Bekirov said that he was busy and would come later. And then we were detained and had to make a statement to the KGB.
Lavut Did you promise not to divulge your talk with KGB officials on your return to Novorossiisk?
Antidi Yes, I gave a signed promise.

* * *

Tertitsky (a colleague of Lavut). I know Lavut very well. He's an excellent worker, a highly qualified mathematician and a sensitive, honest and fair man.
Judge You signed a letter in Lavut's defence. Under what circumstances? Who wrote the letter?
Tertitsky I don't know who wrote it. I went into Room 403, I think, I saw the letter and read it. I agreed with what it said, so I signed it.
Judge But you did not sign the letter in defence of Osipova.
Tertitsky I didn't sign it because I hardly knew her.
Judge At the pre-trial investigation you heard a tape-recording. Did you recognize Lavut's voice?
Tertitsky Yes, but I said then, and I will repeat, that it was like Alexander Pavlovich's voice. Someone told me once that my voice is like Vysotsky's.
Judge Why are you so worked up? You're still young. Are you afraid of something?
Tertitsky I'm not afraid. I stand by my evidence.
Lavut At the investigation did they ask you about the money which was collected for my family?
Judge Is that relevant?
Tertitsky Yes, they asked. They asked who collected it, how much, who gave it to the family.
Lavut Thank you.

(At one point during the examination the Judge said to Tertitsky: 'And why on earth were you summoned here?!').

Uritsky (a colleague of Lavut). I know Lavut well. I can say that he is an excellent person, straightforward, honest, sympathetic, and an expert in his field.
Judge Did you know anything about his activities?
Uritsky When I started working at CGE I was told that Alexander Pavlovich had signed some letters of protest. And I heard a thing or two from foreign radio broadcasts.
Judge Did you have any conversations of a political nature with Lavut?
Uritsky Of course. Politics often came up in our conversations, for example the military actions in various parts of the world.
Judge During the pre-trial investigation you heard a tape-recording. Whose voice was on it?
Uritsky I said then and I'll say again now: the voice is not very like Alexander Pavlovich's, but the intonation and the little coughs are.

* * *

Shemi-Zade In summer 1978 my friend Reshat Dzhemilev phoned me and invited me over to where he was staying, which turned out to be Lavut's flat.
Judge Did you discuss professional matters or other questions?
Shemi-Zade ... I'm sure we touched on the Crimean Tatar situation.
Lavut Vildan, could you tell us something about the situation of Crimean Tatars in the Crimean now? Have you any concrete examples of discrimination?
Shemi-Zade Yes, of course. Six months ago one of my relatives, a Crimean Tatar living in the village of Grushevka, got married. His wife is an English teacher, also a Crimean Tatar. They both have Crimean residence permits. There was no English teacher at the village

school so she tried to get a job there. The headmaster was delighted at first, but when he discovered her nationality he turned her down. The local residents tried to change his mind, they even sent some sort of written request. The headmaster explained to her husband: 'I'd take her on, but I don't have the power. Try and get permission from someone higher up. If you can get it I'll take her'. And for six months the school hasn't had an English teacher.
Procurator They teach English, not Crimean Tatar.
Lavut What about exiles, arrests ...?
Shemi-Zade Yes, yes of course.
Judge That'll be all, witness.

* * *

Mostinsky (Lavut's wife's brother). Sasha is a very good, responsive, honest, decent person.
Judge Still more of the same.
Judge Did you know about his activities?
Mostinsky I guessed. A long while ago my sister told me about some kind of signatures and was very worried about him.
Judge Did Lavut give you things to read? The Gulag Archipelago for example?
Mostinsky No, never.

* * *

On 25 December **A. Marchenko** and **L. Bogoraz** wrote an open letter:

The trial of Alexander Lavut is in progress. The content of the trial, as in many similar cases, has absolutely no significance. What the witnesses testify, what the Procurator says, what petitions are rejected, how many times the law is broken - these are all meaningless details which have no bearing on the case and therefore do not merit attention. For the court, what the accused himself says is irrelevant. If lawful defence meant anything at this trial, Lavut's whole way of life, known to all interested parties long before the trial and his arrest, would be his best defence; but it was his very way of life which occasioned his arrest.

Only the trial's finale, the sentence - fixed in advance - has any significance: how many years? Camp or exile? And even that will not decide his fate, because, as is well-known, the practice of giving additional sentences has now been renewed - new camp and exile terms on new charges. It seems that at this very moment **Alexander Podrabinek**, in exile in Yakutsk, is being tried, tried so as to add to his sentence, give him camp instead of exile.

The purpose of these two trials and of all recent trials, and those soon to take place, and of the extra-judicial reprisals taken against **Andrei Sakharov** - the hidden purpose of our authorities - is to put a stop to independent activity, to destroy completely the country's moral resistance movement. Take that one away, silence that one, buy that one, and the longed-for monolith of Soviet society will be reconstructed, we'll be able to manipulate them without hindrance. A dream worthy of Ugryum-Burcheyev,[1] and as unattainable as Ugryum-Burcheyev's dream of stopping the river from flowing.

The moral resistance movement is not an organization which can be smashed: Lavut and Podrabinek, like all the others, including Sakharov, are not its leaders, its ideological inspiration or its executive with the power to stop its activities. Moral resistance is a combination of various forms of existence in our society, a society starting to have a life of its own - open and underground, active and passive, public and internal, collective and individual. All forms except one: that of the puppet who alone, unfortunately, is recognized by the authorities.

Alexander Lavut is not a puppet and he alone decides how he will relate to society, by considering all that is happening around him. His inner qualities will continue to set an example for us - people close to him, friends and colleagues, everyone who knows him - of a truly moral citizen. Neither exile nor camp can take away his influence on society or his permanent inclusion in the annals of the moral resistance movement.

The Summing-up Speeches

Procurator In our socialist state everything possible is done to ensure that law and order are observed. (Prazdnikova then gave a summary of the indictment.) One charge must be dismissed: that of the document included twice. This was the investigator's mistake and quite natural in view of his youth. The charge concerning the document not signed by Lavut must also be dismissed. Lavut received a good education, he had a flat and well-paid work. In spite of all that, Lavut embarked on the wrong course of distributing false information, thus damaging the prestige of the Soviet Union.

The Procurator asked for Lavut to be sentenced to three years in camps.

Lawyer (Reznikova began by discussing Lavut's professional standing). All the witnesses have described Lavut as an excellent specialist and as a modest, sensitive and good man. The data we have been given force us to ask ourselves: is such a man capable of lies and slander? The Procurator has asked for harsh measures of punishment to be taken against the accused. The testimonials I have put before you give the defence grounds on which to ask for a significantly milder punishment. But I would not be doing my professional duty if I let the matter rest there. I have grounds for believing that in Lavut's activities no crime under article 190-1 of the Criminal Code was committed, because I place in doubt the evidence presented by the prosecution.

Any evidence, however convincing it may seem, must be confirmed here in court, because our trial process is oral and direct ... Lavut is charged with giving Efroikin Sakharov's article 'On Revoking the Death Sentence'. This article is not in the case file. Since those taking part in the trial and the court have not had the opportunity to see the article and cannot judge its nature, this charge must be dropped. The investigation had no grounds for including it among the charges against Lavut ...

The accused is charged with signing the 'Moscow Appeal' (on the exile of Solzhenitsyn - Chronicle 32), described by Investigator Zhdanov as 'ideologically harmful'. Since the investigative organs have not perceived slander or deliberate fabrications in it, this document should also be dropped from the charges as not coming under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

The prosecution has referred to the evidence of Yakir, who was not questioned during the course of the investigation. I consider this to be unacceptable. The prosecution has presented much evidence that Lavut took part in the composition of documents with which he is incriminated. But the prosecution has not demonstrated that a crime took place, ie that Lavut's actions involved deliberate fabrication, that Lavut knew about any falsehood in the information and facts presented in the documents. On the contrary, Lavut considered that the facts presented in the letters, protests and appeals were true. For several of them he had letters of confirmation, which, in spite of our petitions, were not attached to the case.

As for all the documents which were examined by experts, not one expert was summoned to the trial. How can one verify the conclusion of an expert who isn't here? Let us take for example the document 'On the Right to Defence'. Here Lavut was simply one of the people directly involved ... so how could he consider that the information in the document was false?

On the Crimean Tatar question, Lavut had in his possession a large number of letters, complaints and requests, and again, he believed that they were written in good faith. Lavut has formed his own personal impression of the truthfulness of the facts described in the documents about Crimean Tatars.

Lavut is also accused of giving a number of people Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago and Lenin in Zurich to read. These works have been ruled libellous in court, eg in the judgments in the cases of Yakir and Krasin, Kovalëv and Velikanova. When a judgment establishes a certain fact, that fact becomes law. But on the question of people's personal attitudes to these works, a judgment cannot be seen as law. Uttering mistaken evaluations does not constitute a crime under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

During the trial doubts have arisen about the soundness of the evidence presented by the prosecution, and this gives me sufficient reason to ask that the accused be acquitted.

Lavut's Final Speech

I very much liked the way the prosecutor began her speech - with the necessity of observing legality and the rule of law. I consider that if these were really observed, a trial like today's would be unheard of.

From the very beginning of my case there has not been one stage in the course of which articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure have not been violated. Nevertheless the Procurator has considered it permissible to refer to doubtful evidence, such as a search record which does not even enumerate what was confiscated.

There is no factual material in the case file to support the essence of the charges.

Judging from the facts presented in the material incriminating me, the court may perceive that I am well acquainted with cases like mine. This is so. I have observed how expert testimonies, especially those carried over from trial to trial, have been used instead of summoning witnesses ... I have also seen the number of expert witnesses becoming smaller and smaller. At my trial there haven't been any at all.

But there remains the right of the accused to present material to the court which can confirm the truthfulness of the relevant facts. I have tried to make use of this final option and have myself attempted to present the facts known to me on the basis of which the letters incriminating me were written, but I have met increasing resistance from the court to these attempts.

Factual material is treated carelessly. I give an example which is not from my case. The investigation on the case of Reshat Dzhemilev deliberately destroyed a large collection of documents and factual material which had been confiscated at searches of his home and which constituted material evidence confirming the truth of the facts which he had set down. The same is happening here, but in a more sophisticated manner: a large number of selected letters, statements and complaints to various departments were sent by Investigator Zhdanov to be 'checked' by the KGB.

I would like to reply, belatedly perhaps, to the question put to me by the President of the court. He asked me if I really saw nothing good in the country in which I lived, if I really liked nothing here ... Earlier, for reasons of principle, I did not answer that question, but now I will answer ... I do like my country. I do like its people. That's all.

From the Judgment

(The 'duplicated' and unsigned documents, and Sakharov's article, were not included in the judgment.)

Lavut's guilt is confirmed by the evidence of Kovalsky, Antidi, Chistikov, Efroikin and Kozharinov ... Tertitsky and Uritsky testified in court that they had listened to part of a tape-recording during the investigation and that one of the voices resembled in some respects that of Lavut.

Shemi-Zade testified that he had learned from third parties of Lavut's participation in the dissident movement. Mostinsky testified that during a conversation with his sister the latter expressed her fear of possible reprisals against her husband in connection with his activities in the movement to defend the rule of law.

Uritsky testified that he had heard from CGE colleagues of Lavut's membership of the Initiative Group. He also heard this on foreign radio broadcasts. Lavut's membership of the Initiative Group is confirmed by the tape-recording and by the biographical and bibliographical material of Dedyulin ...

* * *

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

THE TRIAL OF MEILANOV

From 25 November to 2 December the Dagestan ASSR Supreme Court examined the case against Vazif Meilanov (b. 1938; arrested 25 January - Chronicle 56), charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. (Meilanov was initially charged under article 190-1 of the code and the case was conducted by the Procuracy; the article was then changed and the case transferred to the KGB.)

The charges against Meilanov were as follows:

- in a protest demonstration against the exiling of Sakharov Meilanov stood for 17 minutes holding a banner which read:

> I protest against the persecution of Academician Sakharov. Ideas should be fought with ideas, not with the police. Our society needs Sakharovs because they carry out honest, unofficial checks on the actions of state organs ...
>
> Fight for freedom of speech for opponents of communism.

In the eighteenth minute he was arrested;

- the composition and circulation of the book In the Margins of Soviet Newspapers (this typewritten book was confiscated on 12 February at a search of Lavut's flat);
- the circulation of Solzhenitsyn's books The Gulag Archipelago and The Calf Butted the Oak (one witness confirmed this episode);
- the incitement of prisoners to protest against conditions in the remand prison.

The court sentenced Meilanov to seven years in strict-regime camps and two years of exile.

* * *

On 12 December the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 150: 'The Conviction of Vazif Meilanov'. The document ends with the words:

> The words of the judgment itself show that Meilanov has been subjected to such a severe punishment for his views, for expressing his thoughts in oral and written form.

PERSECUTION OF THE WORKING COMMISSION

The Arrest of Grivnina

On 12 September, on instructions from Senior Investigator G.V. Ponomarëv of the Moscow Procuracy, Investigator Zhabin

of the Dzerzhinsky District Procuracy conducted a search in connection with the Ternovsky case - No. 49609/15-80 - at the home of Irina Grivnina (Chronicles 56, 57). She is a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes. Two tape-recorders and cassettes, a typewriter (Grivnina and her husband Vladimir Neplekhovich insisted on keeping their calculator), a camera, a flash attachment, a light meter, photographs, two Bibles, Xeroxed copies of articles from Western newspapers and journals about psychiatry and activities to defend the rule of law, several letters in defence of political prisoners, rough drafts of Working Commission material, and a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (published by the UN) were confiscated. At the end of the search Vyacheslav Bakhmin's brother Viktor (Chronicle 58) arrived to visit Grivnina. Confiscated from him were: a selection of USSR News Brief bulletins (published in Munich by C. Lubarsky[2]. - Chronicle 47), the beginnings of a card-index on the bulletins, Kurt Vonnegut's book Cat's Cradle (in English), several diagnoses by the Working Commission's consultant psychiatrist from Kharkov, A. Koryagin, two cassettes of Working Commission material, letters, photographs and notebooks. Grivnina wrote on the record that the material confiscated from Viktor Bakhmin was the property of the Working Commission and had been brought by Bakhmin at her request.

On 16 September Senior Investigator I.A. Kudryavtsev of the Dzerzhinsky District Procuracy conducted a search of Grivnina's home in connection with Case No. 49622/41-80. They confiscated several old Working Commission Information Bulletins, a letter from A. Khromova - the wife of A. Podrabinek - to the Committee to Defend the Podrabinek Brothers,[3] and various papers. The search lasted about an hour. After the search Grivnina was taken to Butyrka Prison. Ponomarëv told Neplekhovich that he had handed her case to the Dzerzhinsky District Procuracy. Grivnina was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

After Grivnina's arrest, apart from the consultant psychiatrist, only one member of the Working Commission - Felix Serebrov - remained at liberty. At the end of October Grivnina was transferred to Lefortovo Prison and her case was transferred to the KGB.[4]

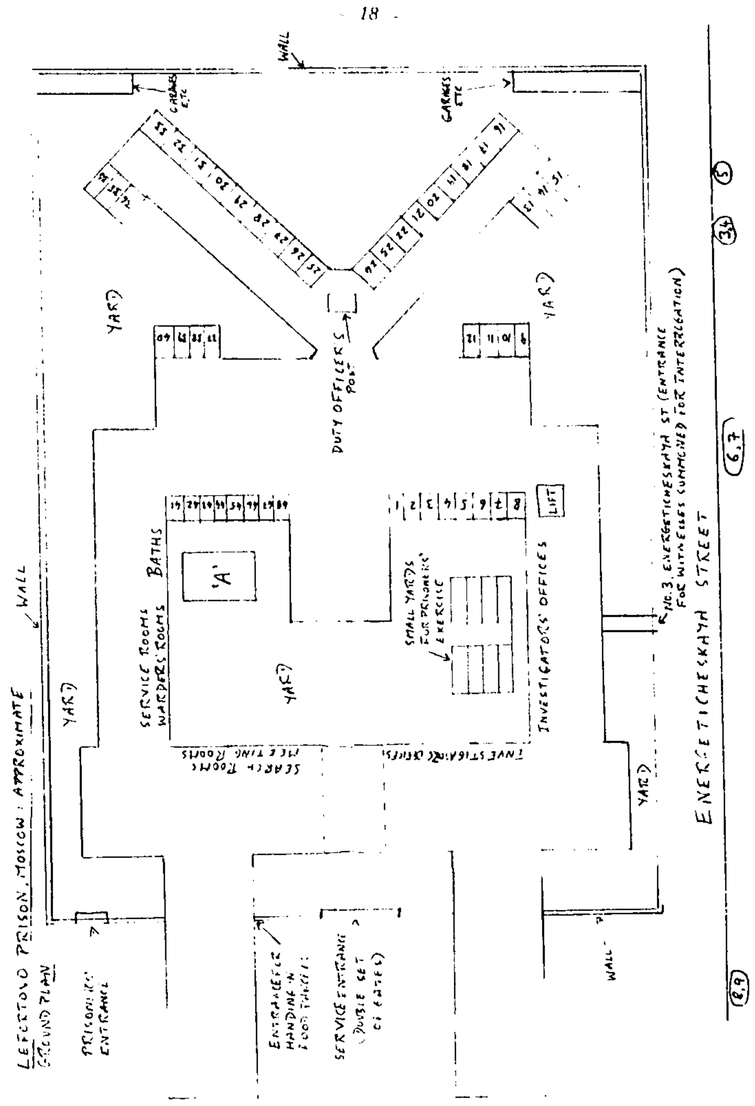
* * *

On 1 December Investigator V.P. Popov of the Moscow KGB interrogated **Irina Filatova**'s mother Maria Petrovna Filatova (Chronicle 57). Most of the questions concerned her daughter: where did Irina get the money from to go to Ust-Nera? (She saved for two years, borrowed some, has not paid it all back yet.) Where else had she been? (To Leningrad.) With whom? (With some young man.) Etc.

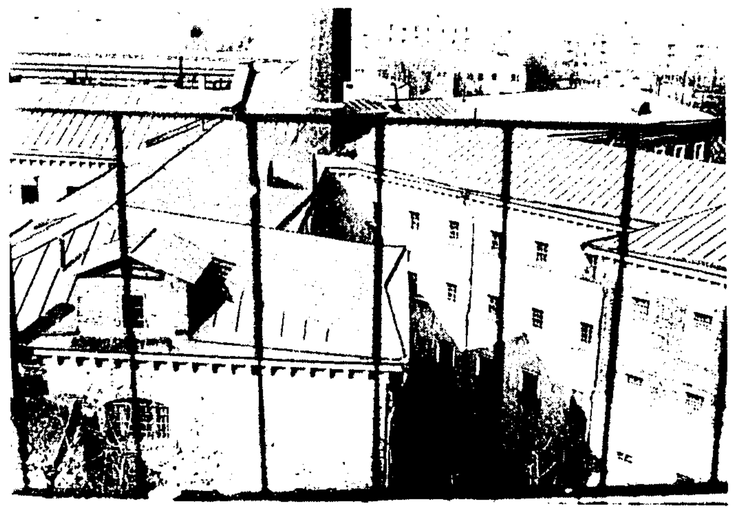
On 2 December Popov summoned Irina Filatova for interrogation but she did not go.

* * *

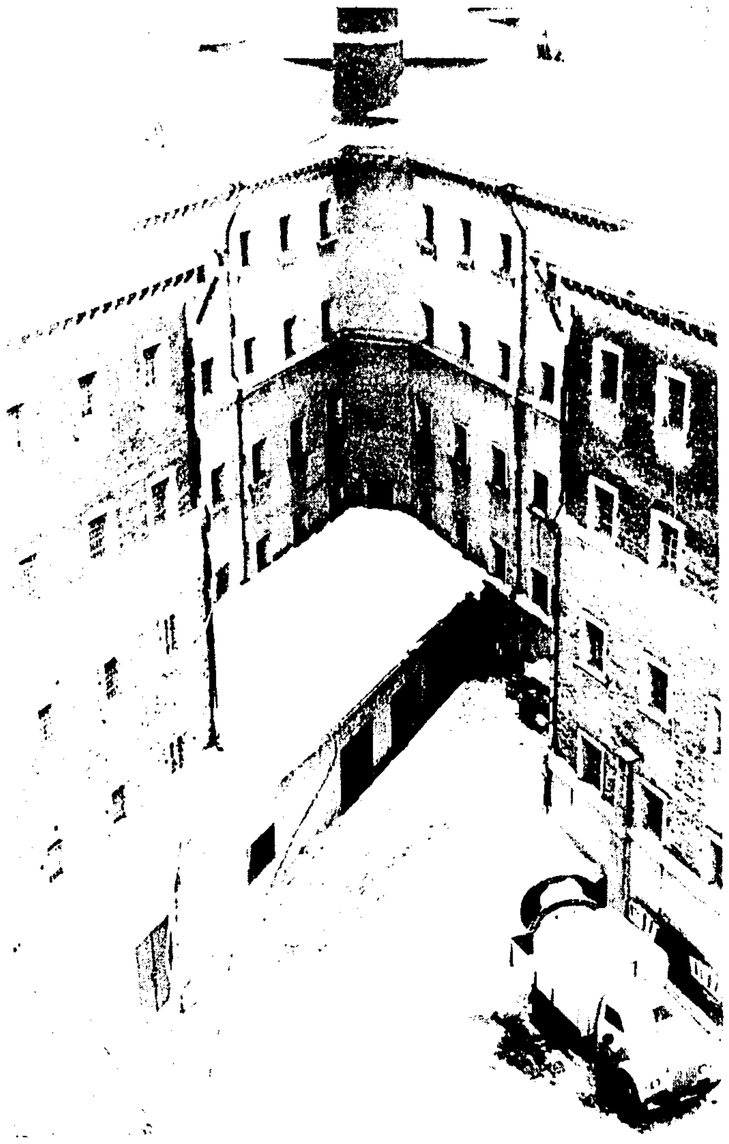
On 1 December **Marina Rumshiskaya** (Chronicle 57) told an investigator who telephoned her that she refused to go for interrogation without a written summons. The following day two KGB officials arrived at her place of work in a car and took her away. One of them - 'Anatoly Alexandrovich' (possibly A.A. Levchenko [Chronicles 56, 58] - Chronicle) - asked Rumshiskaya on the way if it was not



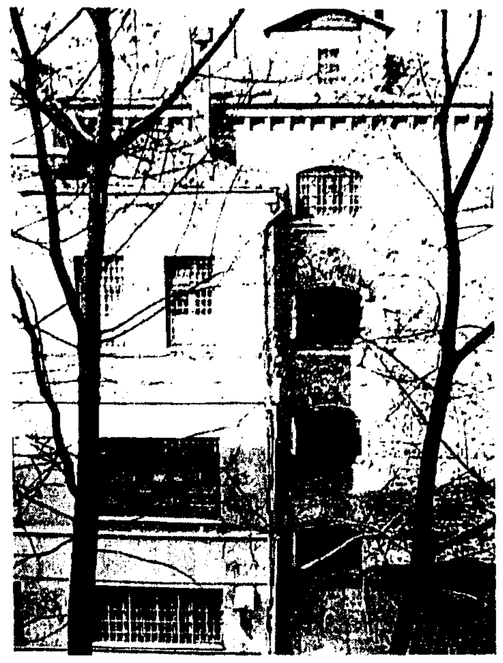
2.-9. The Lefortovo Investigations (or Remand) Prison of the KGB, Moscow, as seen from various buildings across Energeticheskaya Street. Many dissenters have been held here before their trials. 2. Approximate plan of the general lay-out and the ground floor. Circled numbers indicate the rough position used for each photo. Other numbers indicate the actual number of each 3-man cell. 'A' is an exercise yard for convicted prisoners doing service work in the prison. The 8 small yards for remand prisoners have an overhead walkway from which warders can look into each one.



3. Bottom righthand corner of the plan: view of a prison wing, vehicles, garages and outer wall (8 metres high). Cells 13-15 (ground floor) are used for prisoners on capital charges and those on hunger-strike or being punished. 4. The view (from higher up) slightly to the left of 3. The wing at bottom right is the same one as that shown in 3. Each storey has cells in the same position as those on the ground floor, making some 200 for the whole prison. Since Stalin's time, those on the 3rd and 4th floors have usually been empty.

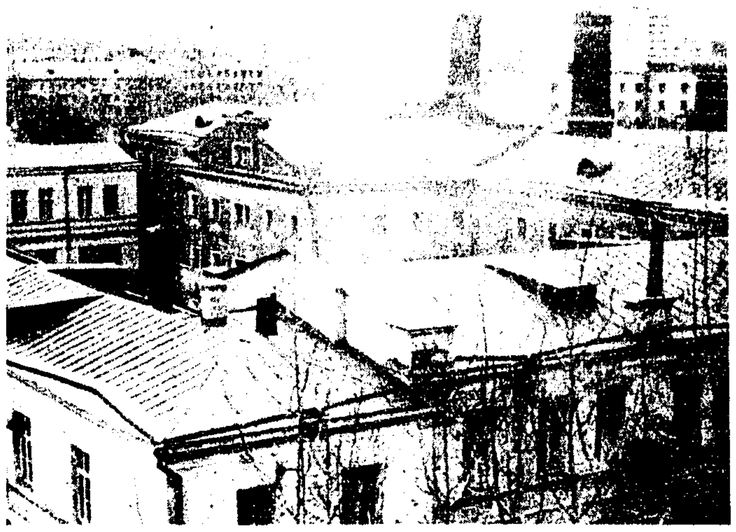


5. *A view (from further right) down into the yard which is partially visible in 4.*



6. *A view (from lower down) of the wing in the bottom lefthand corner of 4.*

7. *View further to the left (from higher up): the central yard. The visible ground-floor rooms are used for searching new prisoners and (after the conclusion of an investigation) for meetings with lawyers.*



8. A view (from further to the left) of the central yard. The first-floor offices in the wing top-left (ie above the service rooms) include those of the prison head and the head of the KGB Investigations Administration, General Volkov. The first floor of the wing jutting into the central yard houses the medical section, and the second floor the rooms used for fingerprinting and photographing prisoners. 9. A view to the left of 8, showing the outer wall and (top right) a corner of the central yard.

hard for her to look after her children (she has two) and said that they would be sorry if they were left alone, after all something could happen to Rumshiskaya: cars on the street ...

Captain Kapayev (Chronicles 54, 56), a senior investigator of the Moscow KGB, conducted the interrogation: What were Rumshiskaya's relations with Grivnina? ('Friendly'.) Had she signed the 'slanderous' letter (Chronicle 56) in defence of Bakhmin? ('Yes, but I do not consider it to be slanderous as I myself was a witness at Bakhmin's trial |Chronicle 58| and believe that he was convicted unjustly.') Who gave her the letter to sign? ('I don't remember.') Did she know anyone else who had signed it? ('I don't know.') Kapayev said that all the [117] dissidents who had signed the letter would soon be in prison. He also asked whether Rumshiskaya had been to Grivnina's home ('I have'), who else had been there ('I saw no one else there') and did Rumshiskaya know that Grivnina was a member of the so-called Working Commission on Psychiatry? ('It's the first time I've heard of it.') Kapayev put many of the questions as if they were statements - for example he asked her to confirm that she knew Grivnina. He did not allow her to put her comments on the record and she subsequently refused to sign it. When Rumshiskaya refused to sign a receipt for a summons to her husband to come for interrogation, Kapayev refused to fill in the certificate which she needed to take to her place of work.

* * *

On 16 December Popov interrogated **Georgy Shepelëv** (Chronicle 53). He asked whether Shepelëv knew Grivnina, Serebrov or Vyacheslav Bakhmin, and whether he had given any documents to the Working Commission. Shepelëv replied to all these questions in the negative.

* * *

In mid-December Popov interrogated **Batsheva Elistratova** (Chronicles 50, 53, 56): What did she know about the Working Commission? ('Nothing.') What was her connection with Grivnina? ('A family friend.') Where did they meet? ('Outside the synagogue, I think.') Did she know of any concrete examples of the abuse of psychiatry? ('I know about Grigorenko, with whom I am personally acquainted, Plyushch and Gorbanevskaya.') Did she know Bakhmin, A. Podrabinek or Serebrov? ('I know Bakhmin and Podrabinek. I love them.') Popov also asked Elistratova about a letter in defence of Bakhmin which she had signed. Off the record Popov asked whether Elistratova knew of the existence of the Solzhenitsyn Fund? She replied that she also knew the purpose of the Fund - to help the families of political prisoners. Elistratova did not sign the record of the interrogation. At a second interrogation Kapayev showed Elistratova a letter in defence of Bakhmin, whereupon she refused to give further evidence.

On 22 December Popov summoned Batsheva's husband **Viktor Elistratov** (Chronicles 50, 52-6) for interrogation, but he refused to give evidence, saying that he 'did not see the sense of explaining anything in connection with this case'.

* * *

On 29 December Kapayev interrogated **Alla Kreidlina** (Chronic-

le 58). Kapayev asked her whether she had typed a 'public' letter in defence of Bakhmin (at the search on 13 August Kreidlina had tried to prevent her typewriter being taken away and said that she was only typing out a letter in defence of Bakhmin written by his fellow-students at the Moscow Physics and Technology Institute). On seeing the first page of the 'public' letter, she replied in the negative. Kreidlina said of 'her' letter that her friend and neighbour [V.I.] Vyukov had brought it to her and that she had helped him to type it out.

* * *

On 6 December seventeen people appealed to the Madrid Conference, to the World Psychiatric Association, to the International Committee of the Red Cross and to all 'professional medical organizations' in a letter about the arrest of members of the Working Commission A. Podrabinek (arrest - Chronicle 57), Bakhmin (trial - Chronicle 58), Ternovsky (trial - see below) and Grivnina. The letter ends with these words:

> The primary ethical principle of medicine - to bring about a lessening of human suffering ... is the chief motivation for the activities of these people. Today they are suffering themselves. HELP THEM.

The Trial of Ternovsky

On 30 December Moscow City Court, presided over by N.A. Baikova (who also tried Vyacheslav Bakhmin and Sokirko - Chronicle 58) examined the case against Leonard Borisovich Ternovsky (b. 1933; arrested on 10 April - Chronicle 56), charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator Zherebko, and the defence was conducted by lawyer E.A. Reznikova.

Ternovsky was charged with:

- compiling some of the material in Nos. 10-14 and 16-20 of the Working Commission's Information Bulletin;
- compiling Nos. 9, 15, 21 and 22 of the Information Bulletin;
- circulating Nos. 9-22 of the Information Bulletin;
- compiling and circulating a letter in defence of Tatyana Velikanova and the collective statement 'On the Arrest of Tatyana Velikanova' (Chronicle 54);
- circulating two issues of In Defence of Economic Freedoms.

The compiler of these two issues, **Viktor Sokirko**, was summoned to the trial as a witness (Sokirko had a child-minding certificate for 30 December; the previous evening his wife had been summoned to the office at the court and asked to mind the child in place of her husband on the day of the trial). He confirmed that he had compiled and circulated the journals, but said that he did not know how Ternovsky had obtained them. Sokirko also asserted that before his trial he had not considered the journals to be libellous; his opinion had not in fact changed, but since they had been ruled libellous at his trial (Chronicle 58) he was obliged to take this into account.

Ternovsky's colleagues Doctors I.E. **Sofieva** (who had been interrogated on 24 November - the first known interrogation in connection with Ternovsky's case) and **A.V. Nedostup** gave supportive evidence about him at the trial. Sofieva confirmed that she had signed a letter in defence of Velikanova. Nedostup said that he knew that Ternovsky was on the Working Commission but that they had not discussed it together.

Devyaten (who had received by post the letter in defence of Velikanova; it had been addressed to Bykov, who had previously lived at the same address) was summoned as a witness but did not appear in court.

Sokolov's evidence, confirming that Ternovsky had given him issues of In Defence of Economic Freedoms, was read out in court.

Ternovsky pointed out that the Working Commission had functioned openly and in public, and had sent its bulletins to Soviet organizations as well as others. The Procurator asked that Ternovsky be sentenced to three years in camps, while the defence asked that he be acquitted. In his final speech Ternovsky said:

> Once the trial is over it will be too late to explain why I deliberately chose the path which has brought me here, to the dock. And I would like people to understand me. Even a court does not have to be indifferent to the motives of an accused man.
>
> What brought me to be numbered among those who some call defenders of the rule of law and others call renegades? My belief that it is wrong to keep silent when you see injustice was formed largely under the influence of the documents of the Twentieth Communist Party Congress. 1956 was the year of my awakening to my duties as a citizen. I understood that I was as significant as a grain of sand in my huge country, but that none the less I was responsible for everything that happens here. However, at the time that was just a way of thinking. Rejecting on principle any path involving violence, I could not see any opportunity for making meaningful protests.
>
> At the end of the 1960s I met people who had begun to act openly against what they considered to be unjust. The fact that they had chosen words and only words as their weapon, and the bravery of their actions, aroused sympathy and respect in me. I saw that it was possible to combat injustice with dignity and openness.
>
> Today I am facing charges for my public activity, which I call defending the rule of law and the prosecution terms circulation of libellous fabrications. I took part in the activities of the Commission on Psychiatry and I signed a large number of documents and statements.
>
> I have already said that I believe that they are true. But why did I do it? Did I hope in such a way to put right the things I was active against, to help those for whom I interceded? Of course I wanted people to listen to what I had to say, and I was glad when we succeeded in easing someone's predicament.
>
> But life is more complex than that. And the experience of many years has shown that, more often than not, our protests do not succeed in removing evils. But all the same I do not consider that these protests and appeals are completely futile. I think that, even if the good it does is not immediately visible, a protest against injustice contributes to the health of society. There must be people in our country ready to stand up for

justice and, if necessary, even go to prison for it.

As a doctor I felt particularly responsible for what was being done in the name of medicine. I was certain that abuses of psychiatry really did exist and that it was essential to fight them. Therefore, when Alexander Podrabinek was arrested and Vyacheslav Bakhmin was the only member of the Commission still at liberty I decided to join.

I would have preferred there to be no need for my activities. Defending human rights and the rule of law should really be the job of the Procuracy and the legal establishment. If they did their job properly there would be no need for unofficial defenders of the rule of law.

I anticipated my arrest and this trial. That does not mean, of course, that I was trying to get to prison. I am nearly 50, not 15, and have no need of romantic gestures. I would have preferred to avoid years of imprisonment. But to do that, I would have had to shirk what I considered to be my duty, and that would have been unworthy.

Now I will hear your decision. And after all! Your judgment will be an involuntary recognition of the significance of what I have done and said. And my legal rehabilitation sometime in the future is as inevitable as is today's conviction.

In accordance with my beliefs I have tried to fight injustice and to help people, do good for them. That is the simple explanation of all my activities. I will enter captivity with a clear conscience.

The court sentenced Ternovsky to three years of ordinary-regime camps. (The episode involving the distribution of issues of In Defence of Economic Freedoms was not included in the judgment.)

* * *

In May 1978, ten days after the arrest of Alexander Podrabinek, Ternovsky became a member of the Working Commission (Chronicle 50); in November 1979, after the arrest of T. Velikanova (Chronicle 54) he became a member of the Tatyana Velikanova Defence Committee (Chronicle 55) and in March 1980, after the conviction of Malva Landa, he joined the Moscow Helsinki Group (Chronicle 56).

CASE NO. 50611-14/79

The Case of the Journal Searches (Chronicles 52-58)

The Trial of Sorokin

On 4 November Senior Investigator Burtsev of the Moscow City Procuracy issued a resolution to prosecute Victor Sorokin under article 181, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('giving evidence known to be false'; sentence - up to one year in camps). Burtsev's resolution referred to a decision of 30 September by the Criminal Cases Board

of Moscow City Court, who had examined the case of Sokirko and also instigated criminal proceedings against Sorokin under article 181, part 1. According to Burtsev this decision said:

> During questioning in court on 29.9.80 Sorokin testified that he had no copies of the journal Searches at home, that Nos. 4 and 5 of the journal had not been confiscated from him, and that Searches No. 5 was not duplicated in his flat. But during the pre-trial investigation, on 26.1.79, he had given evidence that Searches No. 5 was typed in his flat and the copies of the journal then collated, and that during a search of his flat Searches Nos. 4 and 5 had been confiscated.

(On 30 September sentence was passed in the Sokirko case - Chronicle 58; on that day no such decision was announced or even mentioned in court. Moreover, during Sokirko's trial Procurator Prazdnikova demanded that a criminal case be brought against Sorokin for refusal to give evidence; when, at the trial of Abramkin, Procurator Ostretsova demanded that a criminal case be brought against Sorokin for refusal to give evidence, Judge Evstigneyeva said that this had already been done by a decision of the court trying the Sokirko case; and at the trial of Grimm, Procurator Prazdnikova said: 'Insofar as criminal proceedings have already been instigated against Sorokin for refusal to give evidence, I ask for similar proceedings to be instigated against Yakovlev'.)

In Burtsev's resolution dated 4 November the charge is described somewhat differently:

> During the pre-trial investigation, on 26.1.79, V.M. Sorokin confirmed that at a search of his flat on 25.1.79 the samizdat journal Searches No. 4 and typewritten material for No. 5 of the same journal - 'Several Current Problems of the Democratic Movement in Our Country' by P. Abovin-Egides, 'Social Security or Programmed Insecurity' by V. Kuvakin, 'Charter 77', 'For Russia's Sake' by V. Sokirko, and 'Epilogue' by K. Burzhuademov - were confiscated. Sorokin denied all this in court.

(On 23 October Burtsev had written a request to Mishanintsev, the Chief of Police in the town of Pushkino:

> Please inform whether you have any material incriminating Sorokin, and if such material is available, kindly forward it to the Moscow City Procuracy to be attached to the criminal case.)

The interrogation which took place on 26 January 1979 (Chronicle 52) was in connection with Case No. 46012/18-76. The next interrogation was on 15 May 1979 in connection with Case No. 50611/14-79 (the case of the journal Searches); at this interrogation Sorokin wrote on the record that he repudiated his evidence given at both interrogations in view of the investigator's violations of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the 'repeated compression of information' which distorted its meaning (Chronicle 58); this record was not included in Sorokin's case file and no mention was made of Sorokin's statement that he repudiated his previous evidence and the reasons why he did so. By contrast, it was stated in the judgment on

Sokirko that 'Sorokin rejected his previous evidence for no reason'.

Sorokin and his lawyer Familyant petitioned for the case to be quashed, pointing out that the first two charges (concerning the confiscation of Searches No. 4 and material for No. 5 at the search of 25 January 1979) were disproved by material in the case file and the episode connected with Searches No. 5 being printed in his flat could have nothing to do with Sokirko, as it took place in January 1979 and, as stated in the judgment on Sokirko, Sokirko 'prepared and circulated the fifth number of the journal' in February of that year. Burtsev rejected the petition.

* * *

The case was heard on 16 December in the town of Pushkino, Moscow Region. The President of the Court was Turkin, the prosecutor was T.P. Prazdnikova and the defence counsel was Familyant.

Sorokin pleaded not guilty on the following grounds:

1. At the trial of Sokirko he, Sorokin, had denied that Searches No. 4 had been confiscated from him. This did not contradict the evidence he had given on 26 January 1979 that the journal had been confiscated from a bag which Maikova had brought to his flat during the search (Chronicle 58). This was also confirmed by the search record.

2. At the trial of Sokirko he had said: 'I do not remember if the material "Charter 77" was found at my flat. I do not remember what was confiscated at the search'; ie he had not denied the fact that material for Searches No. 5 had been confiscated, neither had he confirmed the fact at the interrogation on 26 January 1979.

3. When he said at Sokirko's trial that he had not given evidence that No. 5 was printed at his flat, he was referring to duplication, and when he said at the interrogation: 'No. 5 was printed at my flat' he was referring to publication, ie compiling the issue, as was confirmed by the interrogation record of 26 January 1979: 'My participation consisted of providing my flat and typewriters and creating conditions for both work on the publication of the journal and relaxation'.

Sorokin called the court's attention to the fact that none of the incriminating evidence was connected with the Sokirko case and that he had not once been interrogated in connection with that case.

Procurator Prazdnikova asked that Sorokin be sentenced to one year in camps, reasoning that the maximum sentence was necessary because Sorokin was socially dangerous - he had participated in the preparation of a libellous journal. The defence asked for his acquittal, since no crime had been committed. In his final speech Sorokin remarked that he was not in fact being tried for giving false evidence, a charge which the lawyer had demonstrated to be unfounded, but for his participation in the journal.[5]

The sentence was one year of ordinary-regime camps. All the charges were included in the judgment, which stated that the crime was committed with the intention of easing Sokirko's fate. Sorokin was taken from the courtroom under guard. He is being held in Butyrka Prison (Moscow).

Miscellaneous

On 23 December the RSFSR Supreme Court examined an appeal against the sentence on **Abramkin** (Chronicle 58); they

left the sentence unchanged. Abramkin's wife Ekaterina Gaidamachuk and Sorokin's wife Seitkhan Sorokina were not admitted to the appeal hearing, 'since they had been witnesses at the trial' (there is no such restriction in the Code of Criminal Procedure).

* * *

At the end of December Burtsev summoned **Gleb Pavlovsky** (Chronicles 56-8) in order to return some of the things which had been taken at a search (they returned a briefcase with the lining ripped open). Burtsev informed Pavlovsky that 'there will be more imprisonments', but 'things won't go as far as Stalin-type repression'. He said that the cases against R. Lert and V. Gershuni had been closed on the grounds of 'age' and 'illness', so that Pavlovsky was the only remaining person who still had to answer for his actions. Burtsev also said that it was stupid for Yakovlev to 'disappear' (a case has been instigated against him under article 181 of the RSFSR Criminal Code - Chronicle 58 - and he is not living at home), as they wanted to 'come to a friendly agreement' with him.[6]

Around the Belletrist Club

In mid-November **Filipp Berman, Evgeny Klementovich, Evgeny Kozlovsky, Vladimir Kormer** (Chronicle 56), **Evgeny Popov** (Chronicles 52, 54, 55), **Dmitry Prigov** and **Vladimir Kharitonov**[7] sent a statement to the Moscow City Soviet with the suggestion that a 'Belletrist' club for as yet unpublished writers be attached to the Soviet's cultural department. They had compiled a collection of works by young authors for discussion, and this would be the club's first activity.

On 18 November Berman, Klementovich and Kozlovsky were detained on suspicion of robbery and murder. They were searched, the above-mentioned collection was confiscated, they were told that it would be passed to the censorship [Glavlit] to be checked, and then, since 'the suspicions had not been confirmed', they were released.

On 19 November six searches were conducted on Burtsev's instructions in connection with Case No. 50611/14-79 - at the homes of Berman, Kozlovsky, Kormer, Kharitonov, **Fedot Suchkov** and **Leonid Novak**. Senior Investigator V.V. Krylov of Moscow City Procuracy conducted the search at the home of Suchkov. Fedot Fedotovich Suchkov (b. 1915) is a sculptor and writer; he spent ten years in Stalin's camps and three years in 'permanent' exile. His own unpublished literary works, poetry by Voloshin, Mandelshtam and Brodsky, tales by Romanovsky, Bulgakov, Palamarchuk and Erofeyev, and a tape-recording of an account of a meeting of the Moscow writers' organization at which the Metropol almanac was discussed (Chronicle 52) were confiscated. On the same warrant, in which instructions were given to search the entire premises, Evgeny Popov, who was temporarily living in Suchkov's studio, was also searched. A large archive of literary works was taken. Suchkov and Popov sent statements to the Procuracy demanding the return of the confiscated materials on the grounds that they had no connection with the journal Searches.

At the home of Novak, an art historian belonging to the USSR Artistic Foundation |Khudfond| , his own manuscript and seven books published abroad were confiscated.

One of the searchers asked Novak about **Egides** (who left the USSR in January - Chronicle 56); in response to Novak's surprise at the question he himself expressed surprise and explained that he had met Novak several times at Egides's home. Evgeny Popov arrived to visit Novak and was subjected to a second body-search.

10. Pëtr Egides

11. Vladimir Kormer

On 1 December Krylov interrogated Suchkov. The questions concerned Suchkov's acquaintance with Egides and Popov, the journal Searches and the Belletrist Club. On the same day Kormer was interrogated. The founders of the Belletrist Club received a reply from the Moscow Soviet advising them to apply to the committees of writers' groups.

A Hunt for the Novel Enych

On 10 December Burtsev 'himself' conducted a search in connection with Case No. 50611/14-79 at the home of the brothers **Georgy and Vladimir Shepelëv** (Chronicle 53). The searchers tapped the walls and floorboards - they were looking for the manuscript of the novel Enych, written by G. Shepelëv, **Evgeny Komarnitsky** (Chronicle 53) and **Sergei Nekhotin** (a copy of the novel had been confiscated from a foreigner at the customs). Documents on the emigration movement, Georgy's diaries, and various notebooks were confiscated.

After the search the Shepelëv brothers were taken to a police station, where Burtsev interrogated them. Most of the questions concerned Searches and the novel Enych. Burtsev showed G. Shepelëv a photograph of the confiscated copy and asked about the whereabouts of other copies of the novel, to which G. Shepelëv replied: 'They're in a safe place, where you won't find them'. V. Shepelëv said that he knew nothing about the novel Enych and wrote on the record that he refused to give further evidence.

On the same day searches were conducted:

- at the home of G. Shepelëv's wife's parents (they even looked in jars of jam, but found nothing);

- at the home of Nekhotin (they confiscated two copies of the novel Enych - one in manuscript, one typewritten; also a literary archive and a Bible);
- at the home of Komarnitsky in the town of Lisichansk (Komarnitsky was not present).

On 11 December Burtsev interrogated G. Shepelëv and Nekhotin at the Procuracy. Both refused to give evidence against themselves. Burtsev informed them that the case had been transmitted to the KGB and handed G. Shepelëv a summons for 16 December from Moscow KGB Investigator Popov.[8]

A Search at the Home of Kirill Popov

On 23 December Investigator Titov of the Moscow City Procuracy (Chronicle 57) conducted a search at the home of Kirill Popov. Only Popov's elderly grandmother was present. The search lasted for two hours. A copy of Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 113 (Chronicle 55), I. Kovalëv's article 'A Few Thoughts on Aid to Political Prisoners', Sokirko's 'Statement to the Press' and 'An Open Letter to V.V. Sokirko (K. Burzhuademov)' from Kalistratova (see 'After Sokirko's Trial' in the section 'Letters and Statements'), a typed copy of the book Russian Saints and other material of a religious nature, films of the journal Sowing (Posev), photographs and a slide 'depicting women in indecent poses' were confiscated. After the search Titov said: 'Well, we've had another clean-up here' (on 13 August there had been a previous search of Popov's home). Burtsev told Popov's mother on the telephone that these 'clean-ups' would be a regular occurrence.

PERSECUTION OF THE INITIATIVE GROUP TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THE DISABLED

On 1 August the police detained and searched Initiative Group member **Olga Zaitseva** (Chronicle 57). They detained Zaitseva 'on suspicion of robbing a pharmacy and removing drugs' while hitch-hiking from Yurev-Polsky to Kolchugino. Four photographs of her husband, Initiative Group member V. Fefëlov (Chronicle 57), his article 'What I Want', and a notebook were taken from her. In addition, the addresses on several personal letters were copied out. Semushin, an official of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate who took part in the search, said: 'You will probably be informing the West about this search. Don't forget to remember my name. I want to be famous!' In response to Zaitseva's request to be given a copy of the search record First Lieutenant Novozhilov tore it up theatrically and threw the bits into the rubbish bin. When he returned a notebook to Zaitseva several days later, Deputy Chief Shovylin of the Yurev-Polsky police had cut out the telephone numbers of Western correspondents. To Fefëlov's complaint Procurator B. Artamonov of the Yurev-Polsky District replied:

As has been established, the detention and examination

of citizeness O. Zaitseva on 1.8.80 was conducted by police officials and people's vigilantes in connection with her intention to take politically harmful documents, literature, etc out of the Yurev-Polsky District.

On examination such documents were indeed confiscated from her ...

* * *

On 20 September (on warrants made out by Yu. A. Burtsev) searches were conducted at the homes of Initiative Group member **Yury Kiselev** - in Koktebel (Chronicle 52) and his Moscow flat - in connection with Case No. 50611/14-79. Kiselev himself was in Koktebel at the time. Investigator Shutkov of the Sudak Procuracy was in charge of the search. Notebooks were taken from guests of Kiselev.

On 24 September Shutkov visited Kiselev and demanded that he go to the police station to be interrogated. Kiselev objected that he had not received a summons. Shutkov made out a summons then and there. As this did not state why and in connection with which case he was summoned, Kiselev still refused to go. Shutkov then summoned a police squad to take Kiselev by force. While dragging him to the car (both his legs are amputated at the top of his thighs) they dropped him twice and tore his shirt. At the police station Zmeikina - an official of the Crimean Procuracy - tried to interrogate him about articles found at the Moscow search, at the request of the Moscow Procuracy. Kiselev refused to answer any questions.

* * *

On 26 September a search was conducted in connection with the same case - No. 50611/14-79 - at the home of **V. Fefëlov**. Investigator Gantsev of the Vladimir Regional Procuracy was in charge. Blank questionnaires for the disabled and a questionnaire for disabled people living in institutions, a rough draft of the article 'Who Are We?' and a letter to Pravda entitled 'How should Disabled People Approach Examinations by the Medical Work Fitness Board?', V. Nekipelov's essay 'Wiped from the Facade' (Chronicles 52, 57) and copies of Initiative Group Documents Nos. 13-15 (Chronicles 53, 56, 57) were confiscated.

* * *

In October a letter and two photographs - part of an insured package which **Fefëlov** had sent to Group 1 invalid **Valentina Vasileva** in Novgorod Region - were returned to him. The remainder of the package's contents - the article 'What I Want', a letter to the newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine and the radio-station German Wave (Chronicle 55) and Bulletin No. 9 (Chronicle 57) - had been sent by the Novgorod Post Office to the Internal Affairs Department. The record stated that the parcel 'fell from the sorting cupboard on to a heater ... caught fire ..., and the side of the wrapping where the address was written was completely burnt', after which it was opened 'in accordance with article 55 subsection C of the USSR Communications Regulations'.

* * *

On 29 November at 7 pm three men grabbed **Zaitseva**'s camera on a busy, well-lit street in the town of Kolchugino and ran off.

* * *

On 10 December the headlights of **Kiselëv**'s car were ripped off and the battery was short-circuited (see Chronicles 53, 57). On 23 December Burtsev 'himself' conducted another search of Kiselev's Moscow flat. Letters from the Initiative Group to government departments, rough mateial for information bulletins, a typewritten copy of a resolution of the UN on the rights of the disabled, V. Nekipelov's essay 'Wiped from the Facade', two articles by G. Pomerants about Dostoevsky, photographs, memoranda of the All-European Council of the Disabled and a 'Resolution' on its charter, and letters from disabled people (including foreigners) were confiscated.

On the following day, as Kiselev was leaving the house, one of two men who were standing in the entrance struck him from behind. Kiselev fell. A second blow struck him on the shoulder. At that moment a door slammed upstairs - someone was leaving a neighbour's flat. One of the assailants swore and both quickly ran off.

ARRESTS

The Arrest of Myasnikov

On 19 August Aleksei Myasnikov (b. 1944), an employee of the Central Scientific Research Laboratory of the USSR State Committee on Labour and Social Questions, was arrested in Moscow. Myasnikov is a sociologist and Doctor of Philosophy who has had over 100 works printed. He was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Senior Investigator I.A. Kudryavtsev of the Dzerzhinsky District Procuracy in Moscow is conducting the case.9.

* * *

In September and October Myasnikov's comrade, Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences **Oleg Popov** (Chronicle 54), sent Kudryavtsev several letters requesting to be interrogated in connection with the Myasnikov case. On 13 December Kudryavtsev summoned O. Popov for interrogation. Before it began Popov asked Kudryavtsev to show him his credentials. He refused: 'This is the Procuracy building - you don't get outsiders in here. If you don't want to give evidence you can go'. When Popov had signed the personal data part of the record he asked to have explained to him the nature of a caution on liability for refusal to give evidence and for giving deliberately false evidence. Irritated, Kudryavtsev offered Popov the Criminal Code, open on the appropriate page.

- What are corrective tasks?
- I have read your evidence from the last interrogation (on 6 August Senior Investigator G.V. Ponomarëv had interrogated Popov, essentially about the Myasnikov case - Chronicle). You kept on saying 'That has no connection with the case'. Well, that too has no connection with the case.
- You are wrong. It has a direct connection with your obligations. You are an investigator and, as laid down

in the Code of Criminal Procedure, you are obliged to explain the contents of articles 181 and 182 to witnesses.

- No, I will not do it. And we will not argue about it. You, Popov, are refusing to be interrogated. You are free to go. Leave!

- No, I have come here for interrogation, and intend to be interrogated. I will write your refusal to explain article 182 to the witness into the interrogation record (Popov starts to write down the investigator's words).

- What are you writing?

- It's not for you; I just don't want to forget what to put in the record later.

- You're not writing it for me, but you're using my Criminal Code.

- Do have it back, good heavens. I have my own copy (Popov gets out a Criminal Code).

- You say that you do not know the laws and yet you carry a Criminal Code with you.

- I carry it because I don't remember it, ie I don't know it. By the way, I've also brought a Code of Criminal Procedure.

Referring to the Code of Criminal Procedure, Popov states that he will sign a caution only if he is given the opportunity to write his own answers on the record.

- No, I will not allow it. It's quite clear, Popov, you do not want to give evidence. You refuse to give it and I will record your refusal. That's all. Go away. You're free, Popov.

- No, I'm not going. Not only do I not refuse to give evidence, I insist on giving it. It's you who is doing everything to stop this interrogation. You don't want me to write down my evidence myself because you're scared that I'll give evidence that doesn't suit you. You're doing all you can not to let that happen.

Kudryavtsev announced that the interrogation was over and asked Popov to give him some specimen signatures, saying that when Myasnikov's home was searched the signature 'Nikolai Arkadev' was found on one of the copies of the brochure '173 Reasons for National Shame, or What the Constitution Keeps Quiet About',[10] and telling Popov to write these words 15-20 times. Popov refused categorically, stating that this was a violation of the Code of Criminal Procedure and that the investigator was putting pressure on him.

- Complain to whoever you like. Yes, I'm pressurizing you. Get out! I shall record your refusal to give evidence in the proper way.

- Where will you record it?

- Here, on the interrogation record.

- Oh no, you won't get away with that!

Popov snatched the record out of Kudryavtsev's hands, tore it up and threw the bits on to the table. Kudryavtsev shouted: 'Get out, Popov!' and added more quietly: 'I wouldn't let you get away with this in another place'. Popov went back to the table and picked up the bits of record, saying that he was taking them as material evidence.

* * *

On 19 December Kudryavtsev interrogated Myasnikov's wife **N. Omelchenko.** When asked on whose typewriters she had typed her husband's article '173 Reasons' she replied that she had typed four copies, on the Chikins' typewriter and at work. Kudryavtsev showed Omelchenko the analysis of a team of experts which stated that the article was not typed on those typewriters and five copies had been made. Omelchenko repeated her previous answer. She also wrote on the record that she had typed the article mechanically and was therefore unable to describe its contents. After the interrogation Kudryavtsev told Omelchenko that she was being charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and article 17 ('Complicity'), and started to interrogate her as an accused. Omelchenko repeated her evidence. Kudryavtsev obtained her signature on a statement that she would not leave Moscow.

On 30 December the criminal case against Omelchenko was closed and her case transferred to a Comrades' Court (article 51 of the RSFSR Criminal Code).

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Doctor of Philosophy **Mikhail Gurevich**, a sociologist from Perm, testified at an interrogation that he had read '173 Reasons' at Myasnikov's home.

The Arrests of Lazareva and Maltseva

On 26 September the feminist Natalya Lazareva (b. 1947) was arrested in Leningrad (on feminism see Chronicles 55, 57). She was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.[11] On 16 December searches were conducted in Leningrad in connection with her case - No. 36 - at the homes of Natalya Maltseva, **Viktor Krivulin** (Chronicles 43, 56) and **Tatyana Begicheva.**

Maltseva (b. 1951) was arrested after the search. She was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.[12] On the day of her arrest she had a temperature of 39° (she has tuberculosis). She is one of the editors of the almanac Women and Russia.

A typewriter, a children's Bible with pictures, the first volume of an American edition of Mandelshtam, about 15 cassettes with recordings of a discussion of No. 20 of the journal 37 and of music, and poetry (the search record listed about 70 items in all) were confiscated from Krivulin. Manuscripts by Lazareva and N. Malakhovskaya were confiscated from Begicheva (b. 1946, a graduate of the Philosophy Faculty of Leningrad University).

The Arrest of Brailovsky

On 13 November cyberneticist and Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences Viktor Brailovsky was arrested in Moscow. He was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (he had also been briefly arrested in April and charged under article 190-1 - see Chronicle 56).

Until mid-December Senior Investigator G.V. Ponomarëv of the Moscow City Procuracy conducted the case; he was then replaced by Senior Investigator Vorobëv (Chronicles 54, 56).[13]

Brailovsky is one of the editors of the journal Jews in the USSR (the latest issue, No. 20, came out in summer 1979) and one of the organizers of the Scientific Seminar of Refuseniks (see 'The Breaking-up of Unofficial Seminars' in the section 'Miscellaneous Reports').

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On 18 November 82 people signed a letter 'To Everybody' in defence of Brailovsky. The number of signatories later rose to 136.

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On 26 November Viktor's wife **Irina Brailovskaya** talked to Ponomarëv. When she asked why her husband had been arrested, Ponomarëv replied: 'The crime is the circulation of deliberate fabrications defaming ...'.

- What fabrications? Be specific.
- You know perfectly well. Everything taken together.
- What does 'everything' mean?
- You know perfectly well.

Brailovskaya handed Ponomarëv a statement:

> On 13 November 1980 my husband Viktor Lvovich Brailovsky was arrested. In 1972 we applied to emigrate to Israel and in 1976 the restrictions preventing my husband from leaving the country were lifted. However, he was not given an emigration visa in spite of our frequent requests and petitions. In 1977 my husband again handed in all the necessary documents, this time with an invitation from his own brother, resident in Israel. V.L. Brailovsky's father also lives there. Even after this he was not given a visa.
>
> As regards myself, the Rector of Moscow University, Academician A.A. Logunov, informed me in 1978 that I had never participated in secret work and that the University had no objection to my emigrating. (Moscow University was my only place of work and while working there I never visited any closed organizations.)
>
> I ask you to explain to me why the Moscow Procuracy decided in 1980 to arrest my husband when instead, several years previously, it should have requested the appropriate departments to give him an exit visa. This would have corresponded better to the spirit of Soviet legislation as regards article 190-1, under which my husband is charged. I ask you to attach this statement to the case of Viktor Lvovich Brailovsky.

Ponomarëv became extremely agitated, started shouting and said that it was not he who 'arrested Brailovsky' and that he had received the case after the latter's arrest (the warrant for the search of the Brailovskys' home in April 1980, which was conducted by Yu. Burtsev, was made out by Ponomarëv - Chronicle). He then crossed his name out on the statement and asked her to take it to the Moscow Procurator. Brailovskaya wrote a complaint to the Moscow Procurator about Ponomarëv's actions.

* * *

On 5 December **A. Sakharov** wrote a letter 'In Defence of

Viktor Brailovsky':

> ... The harsh action against Viktor Brailovsky, which cannot be justified on any legal basis, was taken during the first days of the Madrid Conference. I think that this was not an accident, but an act of provocation. The world must resist attempts to discard the principles of defending human rights on an international basis in the face of the arbitrarily oppressive actions of the Soviet authorities, both in the Brailovsky case and in relation to other arrests.
>
> The arrest of Brailovsky is a blow against freedom of scientific intercourse and freedom of information. I appeal to scholars and people of culture, to everyone who holds these principles dear, who holds justice dear, to work for the release of Viktor Brailovsky.

* * *

On 15 December Brailovskaya took some medicines to Butyrka Prison for her husband (who has inflammation of the bile ducts in his liver). In spite of a letter typed by Ponomarëv at Brailovskaya's request certifying his illness, the medicines were not accepted. The Head of the prison informed Brailovskaya in writing that 'the prison has all necessary medicines'. Several weeks later, however, Brailovskaya managed to give her husband the medicines.

The Arrests of Bogolyubov and Eremenko

On 19 or 20 November Gennady Bogolyubov (Chronicle 49), a resident of Magadan, was arrested in Moscow. After his arrest he was sent back to Magadan.

Shortly before his arrest policemen twice visited his mother in the town of Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Moscow Region, looking for her son. On the first occasion they said that Bogolyubov had broken his written promise not to leave Magadan, on the second - that he had taken part in a fight. Bogolyubov's wife was told that he was charged with the unlawful use of credentials for the disabled (Bogolyubov's registration as a Group 2 invalid during his military service was cancelled in 1978).

After his arrest it was discovered that on 10 December Bogolyubov had written a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to participants of the Madrid Conference renouncing his citizenship. Bogolyubov petitioned 'to be relieved of Soviet citizenship with the purpose of subsequent emigration from the USSR'. He gave persecution by the authorities as the reason for his desire:

> In 1973, after my refusal to collaborate with the KGB, I was subjected to an attack by a group of hooligans who beat me up dreadfully. As a result I spent eight months in hospital ...
>
> At the beginning of 1977 a criminal case was fabricated against me under article 224, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code. I was tried for distributing narcotics in the form of tablets of Noksiron which I had received from the doctor treating me and given to the alleged drug-addict Zinoviev. However it was absolutely obvious that a man as seriously ill as myself was in great need of medicine and would never have given away medicine pres-

cribed to me in order to ease my condition.

The court, following the evidence of false witnesses, meted out punishment in the form of one year's deprivation of freedom. Immediately afterwards a campaign of slander was launched against me in the Magadan press and on television ... even at the trial the majority of the evidence against me had been rejected by the prosecution as untrue.

However, even this did not seem enough for the KGB. The vile persecution of my eleven-year-old son soon began. Pupils at his school started to frighten and beat him (not in vain had one of the television programmes mentioned, as if in passing, the school where my son was a pupil). As a result my son did not attend school for two whole months, fearing further beatings.

When I had served my sentence a new wave of persecutions awaited me. For a start, I was deprived of my registration as a disabled person: it suddenly turned out that I had seemingly received it by mistake. In a dreadful state I appealed to neurologists at the Magadan Clinic to give me medical help, but even there I was turned away.

In July 1979 a group of bandits armed with paving stones tried to break into my flat. On discovering that I was not at home the furious hooligans broke all the flat's windows. I afterwards discovered that shortly before this attack a certain 'investigator' had visited the bandits and informed them that I had allegedly told the 'organs' about their antisocial way of life.

Bogolyubov considers that the last straw for the KGB was his open letter to a leader of the American dockers' union, H. Bridges, in which Bogolyubov gave a 'sharp appraisal' of Bridges' assertion that 'Soviet dissidents are paid CIA agents', and related, 'giving his own life as an example, the sort of persecution which dissenters in the USSR are subjected to by the KGB'.[14]

* * *

On 12 December evening school teacher **Arnold Eremenko** was arrested in Magadan under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.[15] His wife wrote to the Regional Procuracy describing KGB abuses in her husband's case; she was then summoned to the KGB and threatened that, unless she stopped complaining, a case would be brought against her for slander.

* * *

On 22 December First Lieutenant Zhmachkin of the Moscow KGB Investigations Department conducted a search sanctioned by the Magadan Regional Procurator at the home of **Rosa (Rushania) Fedyakina**, sister of Boris (Gantobari) Mukhametshin (Chronicle 55), an exile in the Magadan Region. The search record listed 23 items. One of them was: '246 pieces of paper including postcards, letters and letters from abroad'. Among the articles confiscated were a list of 19 children, eight pieces of art-work (on tracing-paper) for posters, including one with a portrait of Solzhenitsyn, 20 library books, 34 typewritten sheets of a 'pornographic' text (The Peach Branch), three foreign journals - also termed pornographic - (Playboy), a Xeroxed copy of a book by Gumilëv, a book by Freud, N. Ya. Mandelshtam's memoirs, Yu. Zhukov's book From Battle to Battle - with marginal

notes 'of ideologically harmful content', three packages ready for posting (addressed to Mrs Krainik in Ivano-Frankovsk, Mrs Kapoyan in Ulyanovsk Region and Mrs Plumpa in the town of Kulautuva),[16] and a typewriter. It was stated on the record that 'according to Fedyakina the contents of the parcels come from the Solzhenitsyn Fund resources'.

On the same day and on the following day Fedyakina was interrogated about her acquaintances from Magadan, especially Bogolyubov and Eremenko. She was asked whether they had given money to the Fund, what she knew in general about the Fund and who had given her the addresses for the parcels. Fedyakina replied that she had been asked to send packages by N. Ya. Shatunovskaya (who emigrated in 1978 - see Chronicle 51), then by Yu. Zaks (who emigrated in 1979 - see Chronicle 52) and now by S. Khodorovich (the Fund's openly announced administrator).

The Arrest of Azadovsky

On 19 December Doctor of Literature Konstantin Azadovsky (Chronicle 10) was arrested in Leningrad after a search. The previous evening they had searched and arrested his fiancee **Svetlana Lepilina**. Azadovsky is a translator and literature specialist; he is Klyuyev's biographer and is doing research on Tsvetayeva and Rilke.

12. *Konstantin Azadovsky*

A collection of photographic portraits of twentieth-century Russian writers and a packet containing five grams of heroin were confiscated from Azadovsky, who said the heroin had been planted on him during the search.

Investigators who introduced themselves as 'officials of Police Station No. 15 connected with Interpol' said, during an unofficial talk, that Azadovsky and his fiancee had been arrested for narcotics offences, commercial dealings and publication abroad (arrangements for printing Azadovsky's work abroad were made exclusively by the All-Union Agency for Authors' Rights).[17]

SEARCHES

On 12 September Investigator Titov (Chronicle 57) of Moscow City Procuracy conducted a search at the home of **Yury Shikhanovich**. The search was officially in connection with the case of Ternovsky.

The search record listed about 200 confiscated items, but nothing connected with the Ternovsky case or A Chronicle of Current Events (see 'The Case of Lavut' in Chronicle 57) was found. The search record lists such points as 'a piece of paper with letters on it', 'material in English'; the whole record is written on that level.

* * *

On 15 December in Tallinn a search was conducted at the house of **the Ostrovskys** (Chronicle 54) - the former owners of the house in Ust-Nera where A. Podrabinek lived (Chronicle 57). The search was conducted on instructions from the Yakutsk ASSR Procuracy and the reason given was suspicion about the preparation and testing of an explosive device. The search was carried out by a Deputy Chief of the Yakutsk ASSR MVD Criminal Investigation Department, Major Popov, a senior inspector of the Tallinn UVD Criminal Investigation Department, First Lieutenant O. Ya. Filonov, and a man who did not identify himself.

After the search the Ostrovskys were interrogated. Popov interrogated Leonid Ostrovsky as a suspect. At the start of the interrogation Popov said that Ostrovsky's guilt was fully proven by the testimony of witnesses (he did not show Ostrovsky any of this testimony) and by his fingerprints (Ostrovsky's fingerprints had never been taken). Popov asked Ostrovsky to write a statement that he would not cause any explosions in Tallinn. Ostrovsky refused.

Investigator Ladoshkin interrogated Natalya Ostrovskaya. He said that she was being interrogated as a witness for the moment, but would soon be charged. Ladoshkin accused Ostrovskaya of associating with terrorists and with house speculation (the Ostrovskys had sold their house to A. Podrabinek when they moved to Tallinn). Ladoshkin said that, working in a library, Ostrovskaya was of no productive value and expressed his regret that the Stalin era had passed. The Ostrovskys were also questioned about their acquaintance with A. Podrabinek.

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In December a search was conducted at the work-place of **N.P. Lisovskaya** (Chronicle 54) in her absence. On 23 December a search was conducted in Moscow at the home of **Vera Lashkova** (Chronicle 1). On 23 December religious literature was confiscated during a search at the home of **Nikolai Simakov** (b. 1949, graduated from the Law Faculty of Leningrad University) in Leningrad.

On 29 December searches were conducted in Leningrad at the homes of **E.P. Borisova**, the mother of Vladimir Borisov (Chronicle 57) (more than 30 items were listed on the record) and [feminist] **Galina Grigoreva** (b. 1948, a graduate of the Psychology Faculty of Leningrad University).

THE CASE OF OSIPOVA

On 12 November Investigator Korobeinikov interrogated Vsevolod Kuvakin (Chronicle 57) in connection with the case of Moscow Helsinki Group member Tatyana Osipova (arrested on May 27 - Chronicle 57).

Kuvakin said that he had known Osipova for about three years, that they had met at the home of A. Podrabinek, and that their relations were friendly. He said that he had learned from Western radio broadcasts that Osipova had joined the Helsinki Group in summer 1978 and he also knew because her signature had started to appear on the Group's documents.

- What is your personal attitude towards the Helsinki Group? Do you not judge that the nature of their activities is anti-Soviet?
- By no means. I consider that the Helsinki Group, like any other group concerned to defend the rule of law, is objectively pro-Soviet. You see, by informing Soviet state organs and the public of facts concerning violations of Soviet laws and international agreements, and by calling for these violations to be stopped, the Helsinki Group is making it possible for the Soviet State to increase its authority ...
- But you know, all their appeals are sent not to Soviet institutions but to the West.
- In 1977 the Helsinki Group sent all its documents straight to Soviet government departments, but since there were no replies to their appeals they stopped sending Group documents to Soviet departments. The Group investigating psychiatric abuse sent all their information bulletins to the USSR Procuracy, but here too, as far as I know, no answers were forthcoming.

Kuvakin said that he was familiar with the majority of the Group's documents but that Osipova had not given them to him and he had not seen them at her home. Korobeinikov tried to establish how the Group's documents were compiled, who was the Group's leader, what were Osipova's functions, how the documents reached the West and which of the Group's members was in contact with foreign correspondents in Moscow.

- Have you ever seen members of the Helsinki Group talking to Western correspondents?
- Yes, I was there a couple of times when Yury Yarym-Agayev (who emigrated in July 1980 - Chronicle 57) talked to correspondents.
- Did none of the correspondents ever question you about Tatyana Osipova?
- On one occasion the BBC correspondent Kevin Ruane asked me if she was any better (she was ill at the time). I don't remember any other occasions.
- So Osipova knew that correspondent?
- To be accurate, he knew of her existence. If he knew Tatyana, I imagine that he would have asked her in person how she was.

Korobeinikov then started to discuss the Chronicle: 'We used to think that any issue of the Chronicle was automatic-

ally criminal, but now - only some of them. Velikanova helped to compile about thirty issues, but, you know, only a few resulted in charges. It's true that we always confiscate the Chronicle at searches, because it is ideologically defective literature, but as for putting people inside for it - we don't do it'. He then questioned Kuvakin about the nature of Osipova's connection with the Chronicle and whether she had given it to him to read. 'I don't know and she didn't', replied Kuvakin. Korobeinikov then asked about Osipova's attitude to terrorism ('negative', said Kuvakin) and took seven typewritten documents from his desk (an open letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet about the seizure of American diplomats in Iran, a letter about the arrest of Alexander Podrabinek, a letter about the arrest of Viktor Nekipelov, a letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet refusing to take part in elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, a letter in defence of V. Skvirsky, a Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People [FIAWP] document about the trial of N. Nikitin, and an appeal from the Committee to Press for the Right to Free Emigration from the USSR). He handed the documents to Kuvakin with the words 'Are you familiar with this material?'

- I signed each of the documents at some point. But three of them have no connection with Tatyana Osipova ...
- There's the surname Osipova. Does that mean that she signed the documents?
- Yes, usually a name is only put down when that person has signed or agreed to sign the document ...
- How are the signatures collected?
- In various ways. There is no specific procedure ...
- Do you suppose that Osipova's signature was put down ... without her knowledge or agreement?
- I've never yet encountered or heard of such a thing happening ... But of course I cannot state categorically that such a thing is completely impossible.

During the interrogation Korobeinikov also asked questions about the FIAWP and about the committee on emigration. All the questions and answers were fairly accurately written down by Korobeinikov without distortions of meaning. However, on reading the record Kuvakin noticed that several of the questions and answers had been omitted (about the explosion in the metro, about the FIAWP, about the committee on emigration and about Osipova's knowledge of a foreign language). During the interrogation Korobeinikov several times digressed on to such themes as the differences between the democratic movement and the movement to defend the rule of law, the journal Searches, and whether Kuvakin knew Sakharov. The interrogation lasted six-and-a-half hours.

As Kuvakin was leaving, Korobeinikov said 'I hope we won't meet again, but who knows?'. Kuvakin asked: 'Where would we meet? Here in Moscow or maybe in Perm?' Korobeinikov said: 'Both here and there'.

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On 16 November Korobeinikov interrogated **Elena Sirotenko** (Chronicles 39, 40, 47, 48, 51, 52). In a part of the interrogation which took place off the record Korobeinikov said that 'they' knew that Sirotenko was simply Osipova's friend and was not involved in compiling and signing documents. He asked Sirotenko to say a few kind words which would help Osipova at the trial. He also said that Osipova's 'older comrades' had not warned her in time how to conduct herself so that her activities did not break the law (they themselves, Korobeinikov said, did know how to stay on the right side of the line) and now they did not even want to appear for interrogation - Meiman and Kalistratova, for example. He said that Osipova needed help. When Sirotenko asked: 'If the investigation wishes Osipova well, why did they arrest her?' Korobeinikov replied that she had broken the law. She had compiled, stored or circulated the anti-Soviet journal the Chronicle and other documents found at her home when it was searched, and also NTS [Popular Labour Alliance[18].] documents which contained a programme for overthrowing the Soviet government. The investigator remarked on Osipova's family situation - she had recently married and now Ivan (Kovalëv - Chronicle) had lost his wife, having already lost his father. Sirotenko surely understood this as she was in the same position herself - waiting many years for her fiance (Airikyan - Chronicle). Korobeinikov remarked on Sirotenko's fortitude (he was apparently referring to the anonymous threats which she had received in 1976 and 1979 - see Chronicle 53).

When asked if she would give evidence Sirotenko replied that she would not, and explained that she wanted nothing to do with the KGB. Korobeinikov wrote down the question about Sirotenko's acquaintance with Osipova on the record and then added a long text, finishing with the statement that Sirotenko refused to give evidence, as she had been acquainted with the KGB for a long time and had a negative attitude towards it. Sirotenko repeated that she refused to give evidence. She refused to sign the record, saying that except for her reasons for refusing, the investigator had made it all up. The interrogation lasted for less than an hour.

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On 17 November Korobeinikov interrogated **Bella Koval** (Chronicles 48, 49, 53).

The investigator asked whether she was getting used to being a witness. On the record he wrote: 'Yes, in 1961 in connection with the case of "aeroplane person" Kuznetsov, convicted in 1970, whom I had agreed to marry in 1956'. Koval pointed out inaccuracies in recording her evidence, but Korobeinikov disagreed and did not correct them. When asked about her acquaintance with Osipova, Koval replied that they had met no more than three times. Korobeinikov wrote on the record that they had met three years ago at the home of Irina Ginzburg, the wife of an especially dangerous state criminal. In response to Koval's objection Korobeinikov explained: 'That's the rule; that's how we describe people', and again said that there was no inaccuracy. When asked if she knew, and if so where from, that Osipova was a member of the Helsinki Group, she replied that she had probably been told by Kuznetsov. 'Who else do you know in the Group?' 'Nobody. He told me about Velikanova and T. Khodorovich'. The investigator explained that that was a different Helsinki Group and that now its membership was completely new. He mentioned **Bonner**, who, he said, had a feeling of impunity and was therefore behaving brashly (Koval has long been acquainted with E. Bonner, who has helped Kuznetsov's family - Chronic-

le). Her answer looked like this on the record: 'From Kuznetsov I know that Osipova, Khodorovich and Bonner (whom I know personally) are members'. Koval told Korobeinikov that before one of her journeys to visit Kuznetsov, Osipova had helped her to get some tea and sausage. The record said: 'Helsinki Group members are obliged to render moral and material support to the families of especially dangerous state criminals'. At Koval's insistence corrections were now made on the record: not 'obliged' and not 'especially dangerous ...' but 'political prisoners'. After a conversation about where Koval thought Osipova had obtained the food, and whether she had wanted money for it, and about the Political Prisoners' Aid Fund, a sentence was written on the record that Osipova wanted no compensation for the food. Koval replied in the negative when asked whether Osipova had conducted anti-Soviet agitation and whether she had given Koval anything to read, or told her about her activities. When asked how she had found out that Osipova had been arrested, Koval replied that she had heard on 'Voice of America'. On an addendum to the record Koval wrote that she considered Tatyana Osipova to be a person worthy of deep respect and was grateful to her for her real goodness and extreme courage.

During the interrogation Korobeinikov said several things off the record: about **N. Meiman** (who, according to the investigator, encouraged young people to commit crimes but tried to stay in the background himself - for example, he did not sign the Group document about Afghanistan, but Osipova did sign it; Jews, according to Korobeinikov, are usually clever but cunning; they stick together and know just when to stop); about the Helsinki Group (the investigator said that it had its own stationery and that its documents were sometimes within the law and sometimes not); about other national and foreign groups, in particular Amnesty International; about Ivan Kovalëv's birthday party, which Koval had been to (about the food and drink, the guests, what they had done); about Osipova's arrival in Moscow, about her love for Kovalëv and his for her (which according to Korobeinikov could be sensed even now when she was under investigation), and about Osipova's first husband. When Koval asked whether she would be allowed to attend the trial Korobeinikov replied that it was hardly likely - she must know what had happened at recent trials and this one would be the same.

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On 23 November Koval sent a statement to Korobeinikov demanding that the phrases 'especially dangerous state criminal' and 'turned out' be deleted from her replies. She also demanded that factual errors be corrected: she had met Kuznetsov in 1956, she had been his fiancee when the first case was brought against him in 1961, and she had not been summoned in connection with the case in 1970. Although Koval had said at the interrogation that she had not met Osipova at the home of I. Ginzburg (and had met the latter only just as she was leaving the country), the record stated that she had met Osipova there. Koval asked for this point to be crossed off the record. Moreover she asked for her opinion that 'Tatyana was able to help ... because she personally chose to' to be added to the record. Koval asked for her statement to be attached to Osipova's case file.

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On 29 November Korobeinikov interrogated Koval for a second time. He said that her statement had caused trouble for him. Koval asked to see the first record again (this was allowed only after her third request). Koval wrote down the complete text of her statement dated 23 November on a new record, and then dictated to the investigator that she had visited Kuznetsov up until 1965 and three or four times after 1974 with his mother. Kuznetsov had said nothing to her about the Helsinki Group.

As regards Osipova the new statement read: 'We did not meet in Irina Ginzburg's flat, but I do not remember the circumstances under which we did meet'; as regards the food: 'Tanya did not ring me; most likely I rang her. She gave me the tea and sausage out of personal kindness because I needed help - I have a family and Kuznetsov's mother had a personal income of five roubles per month'.

Korobeinikov asked what Koval knew about members of the Helsinki Group, and then asked her to listen to a tape-recording of Osipova's voice (he explained that Tolts was interviewing her). He named a long list of people whom he claimed Koval knew (Tolts, Podrabinek, Daniel, Sinyavsky, etc). Koval said that she knew only Bonner and refused to answer the other questions, including ones about the tape-recording.

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On 19 November Lt. Col. V.A. Kolchin interrogated **Ilya Burmistrovich** (the warrant was signed by Korobeinikov). In the questionnaire part of the record Burmistrovich suggested that the question about his convictions (he served three years, in 1968-71, under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code - see Chronicles 8, 20) should be answered via the official channels. Burmistrovich stated that the record of the first question put to him was inaccurate: he had not refused to answer questions at an interrogation on 6 November, but had said he would answer them when the articles illegally confiscated at a search on 19 September were returned (his home had been searched on that day, nominally in connection with the Grivnina case). He said that with the exception of the question which he had just answered, he would answer all future questions by reference to a short statement of his position: he would give evidence only after the return of the confiscated articles. When reminded of his liability for refusing to give evidence, Burmistrovich, in an addendum to the record, explained his position in more detail, after which he signed the addendum but refused to sign any other part of the record.

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On 20 November Kolchin interrogated **Alexander Lavut's daughter Tatyana**. In spite of Lavut's request for the interrogation to be conducted in the form of questions and answers Kolchin talked about the Helsinki Group for a long time off the record. To a recorded question about the circumstances under which she met Osipova Lavut answered that she had known her since 1977, when Osipova had come to work at the Central Administration for Geological Expeditions as a machine operator. She described her relations with Osipova as friendly. Lavut refused to answer a question about Osipova's political views. Lavut said that the purpose of the Helsinki Group was to assist the fulfilment of all points of the agreements signed in Hel-

sinki. Lavut refused to answer other questions about the activities of the Helsinki Group and Osipova's role in it. She also refused to say whether she had signed Group Document No. 58 'Ten Years After' (about Czechoslovakia - Chronicle 57).

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On the same day Major V.G. Samoilov attempted to interrogate Moscow Helsinki Group member **S.V. Kalistratova**. Kalistratova refused to talk to the investigator off the record. She also refused to comply with a proposal that she relate all she knew about the Osipova case, or a request that she should describe Osipova, or to answer questions, referring to a statement of hers which she had sent by post.

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On 21 November in the town of Yurev-Polsky Investigator A.G. Gubinsky visited **Olga Zaitseva** (see 'The Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled') at work. Zaitseva refused to talk to him. One-and-a-half hours later she was officially summoned to the police station. There Gubinsky and Perepelkin - an official of the Kolchugino District Department of the Vladimir KGB - attempted to interrogate her. Zaitseva refused to give evidence, stating that she did not want to be part of a crime committed by the KGB. One of the questions put to her concerned her signature and that of Osipova on a document about international discord and methods of fighting free thought.

After the interrogation Gubinsky went to Zaitseva's home to interrogate her husband **Valery Fefëlov**. Fefëlov did not open the door and said that he refused to give evidence.

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On the same day one of the investigators telephoned **Valentin Mitskevich**, a friend of Osipova and Kovalëv, and asked whether Mitskevich had received a summons for interrogation. On hearing that he had not, the investigator tried to persuade him to come without a summons, Mitskevich refused.

On 21 November Helsinki Group member **N.N. Meiman** was summoned for interrogation - he did not go (this was already the third summons). **E. Armand** and **Yu. Golfand** were also summoned and also did not go.

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On 25 November Korobeinikov interrogated **M.Z. Novikov** (Chronicles 51, 52, 56).

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On the same day Korobeinikov interrogated **Yury Gastev**. Gastev confirmed that he knew Osipova and gave a glowing description of her and of the Helsinki Group as a whole. To questions about the Group's structure, the division of responsibilities between its members and the technicalities of compiling and signing documents Gastev replied that the tasks which the Group set itself were reflected in its documents, and advised the investigator to ask its members if he wanted more detail. Gastev confirmed that he had signed documents in defence of A. Podrabinek and A. Lavut and 'Ten Years After'. Gastev refused to answer a question about how the Group's 'libellous information' reached the West, adding that the Group documents which he had read did not contain such information, although the Group itself had been the object of libel on many occasions in secret investigation materials and in stories in the Soviet press. Gastev also said that he had never heard 'slanderous statements' from Osipova and was convinced that she was incapable of making them. Korobeinikov deleted a similar question about 'anti-Soviet statements' as he was unable to explain to Gastev exactly what he meant. When asked whether Osipova had given him The Gulag Archipelago or The Technology of Power to read, Gastev replied in the negative.

Gastev spoke of Yu. Orlov, A. Lavut, S. Kovalëv, T. Velikanova and A. Podrabinek with respect and admiration. Gastev refused to comply when Korobeinikov, describing himself as 'a specialist on female matters' asked him to give his views on women dissidents in general and on Osipova in particular.

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In the town of Kolomna **Osipova's mother** was interrogated twice. At the first interrogation she talked about her daughter's close acquaintance with her former teacher from the Moscow University foundation courses, **Oleg Petrovich Smola**.

At the second interrogation she was asked to listen to a tape-recording of Tatyana talking about herself and to confirm that the voice was in fact that of her daughter. She did confirm this. (The tape was confiscated on 29 April during a search at the home of Vladimir Tolts - Chronicle 56).

* * *

At the same time Samoilov interrogated **Osipova's aunt** in Nakhabino (Moscow Region). He questioned her about Tatyana's first marriage and about Smola. Concerning Osipova's first marriage, her aunt said that she had visited her then about twice. Osipova had very little free time: she was studying, working and looking after an aging husband who was a sick man. It was written into the record that the marriage was one of convenience.

Osipova's aunt said that Osipova used to think highly of Smola as a teacher and also valued his personal qualities. When asked whether Osipova had been Smola's lover her aunt replied that she thought not. The investigator wrote on the record that Osipova had been in love with Smola. Smola himself was interrogated several times at length in connection with the Osipova case.

* * *

On 26 November Korobeinikov interrogated **Vladimir Tolts**. Tolts confirmed that he knew Osipova and said that their relations were friendly. To the question: had Osipova in his presence made negative evaluations of Soviet reality or uttered 'anti-Soviet' and slanderous fabrications, had she circulated material containing such fabrications, both at home and abroad, and had she given him The Gulag Archipelago, The Technology of Power or A Chronicle of Current Events to read, Tolts replied in the negative.

Korobeinikov produced the tape-recording which had been confiscated from Tolts and asked several questions about it. Tolts refused to answer. When asked if he had become interested in Osipova because of her 'anti-Soviet activi-

ties' Tolts replied that her path in life was unique, but then so were those of many other people, for example that of a young banjo-player from Perm called Korobeinikov who had become a KGB investigator and was now conducting a case in Moscow itself. (Tolts had picked up this information during a wide-ranging talk with the investigator off the record.)

During their talk Tolts questioned Korobeinikov about the interrogation of the writer **Georgy Vladimov** which Korobeinikov had conducted. (Several days after the interrogation Vladimov had suffered a myocardial heart-attack.) Korobeinikov denied any guilt or responsibility. He said that Vladimov had seemed to him to be a calm and very interesting person and that he had probably had the heart-attack because of anxieties arising after the interrogation as a result of telephone calls from Sofia Vasilevna Kalistratova and several other acquaintances questioning him about the interrogation.

* * *

On the same day Investigator I.S. Filatov interrogated **V.S. Tyulkov** (Chronicle 56) in the town of Orekhovo-Zuyevo. Filatov said that according to his information Osipova used to 'run' to Tyulkov when she was studying in Orekhovo-Zuyevo. Tyulkov expressed bewilderment and said that he had heard of Osipova only from radio broadcasts. Here Filatov expressed surprise: how could Tyulkov deny that he knew Osipova since, when they were arresting Lavut, Chronicle 54 had been confiscated from Tyulkov who was visiting Lavut at the time, and the same issue of the Chronicle had been found at Osipova's home? Tyulkov again said that he did not know Osipova and that he himself had compiled that issue of the Chronicle (he also said this at an interrogation in connection with the Lavut case).

To questions about whether he knew members of the Helsinki Group, its documents or A.D. Sakharov, Tyulkov replied in the negative. It was stated on the record that Tyulkov had first visited Lavut to meet a person close to the Helsinki Group. Tyulkov objected that he had said: 'I went to visit him on a private matter', but did not try to insist on the record being corrected. At the end of the interrogation Filatov said: 'Well, you haven't seen the last of me!' Tyulkov replied that he was in no doubt of it.

* * *

On 28 November Kolchin interrogated **Inna Sokolinskaya**, a colleague of Osipova. Sokolinskaya said that she had met Osipova when the latter came to work with her. Their relations were good and friendly. She had visited Osipova and Kovalëv only once, after Osipova had been arrested for 15 days (Chronicle 56). She said that she had heard of the Helsinki Group from her husband and he had heard of it from 'Voice of America' (Sokolinsky was Osipova's immediate boss - Chronicle 57). Tatyana had never talked about the Group or about her work for it, and Sokolinskaya had never asked her about it - her husband had forbidden her to do so.

Sokolinskaya described Osipova's great concern for her first husband: she used to go home at lunch-time to feed him, she was always taking things to him when he was in hospital and she took his death very hard.

Sokolinskaya suggested that Osipova should be tried by an assizes court at her place of work, since nobody there believed that she was such a 'dangerous person'. The investigator said that they might send one of their officials to Osipova's work-place after the trial, and he would explain it all to them. Sokolinskaya offered to go bail for Osipova. Kolchin replied that the affair had gone too far and Osipova would have to be punished seriously. He refused to say exactly what charges were being brought against Osipova: 'If I start telling you about that, it'll make me into a disseminator of anti-Soviet ideas'.

* * *

On 2 December **Maria Petrenko** sent a letter to Andropov in which she stated that at an interrogation in connection with the case of Osipova on 12 November she had asked Investigator Chechetkin to attach to the case file her statement announcing her refusal to take part in cases in which criminal proceedings were taken against people for their beliefs. Petrenko wrote that having lived through the mass repressions of the Stalin era, she had learned 'to be extremely wary of the evidence of witnesses at investigations where opinions rather than concrete crimes are the object of the enquiry'.

* * *

On 5 December Gubinsky interrogated Moscow Helsinki Group member **Ivan Kovalëv**. Kovalëv refused to answer questions about the money, food and other articles confiscated at a search of his and Osipova's home (Chronicle 54). He also refused to comment on Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 104 (Chronicle 54) which stated that the confiscated money, food and articles belonged to the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners.

Off the record Gubinsky and Kovalëv discussed the circumstances of Andrei Amalrik's death, Gubinsky's education, and his earlier assessments of Mandelshtam's poetry, which can be found in the case file of Superfin (Chronicle 36).

Gubinsky said that Osipova was looking better in prison than she had before her arrest: she did not have to worry about shopping or cooking or cleaning. He advised Kovalëv to retire and join his wife on full board and lodging. Agreed that while Kovalëv had money he could cope with queues, etc, but when the money ran out he would have to 'give himself up'. Off the record Gubinsky asked about the tape taken from Tolts and also said that Kovalëv's article 'About My Tanya' had given the investigation plenty of material, even while Kovalëv was refusing to give evidence.

Gubinsky returned to Kovalëv six cassettes which had been confiscated on the day of Osipova's arrest, and also dictionaries and books in English which had earlier been brought and accepted for Osipova. Gubinsky refused to give a reason for the return of the books.

On 11 December Samoilov interrogated Kovalëv. His only question concerned Osipova's passport. Kovalëv said that he had searched their room thoroughly but had not found the passport. He promised to bring it if he did find it.

A talk off the record led up to Samoilov stating his opinion that 'the young ones are getting locked up', while 'the old ones are staying in the background'. He said that all 'sensible' people were in the 20-40-year-old

age group. Everyone else was either young and stupid or old and senile. Samoilov said that he himself was 35 years old.

* * *

In mid-December Filatov summoned **Yu. Velichkin** (Chronicles 52, 56). His wife went to the interrogation (he is disabled). In reply to the investigator's questions she said that she did not know Osipova and had not seen the Helsinki Group documents (confiscated from Velichkin's home during a search).

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On 15 December the pre-trial investigation ended. Tatyana Osipova and her lawyer Vladimir Yakovlevich Shveisky began to study the case file.[19].

PERSECUTION OF CRIMEAN TATARS

At the end of November and beginning of December the families of **Mamut Dzhelyayev** (Suvorovo village), **Fakri Mischanov** (Stary Krym) and **Yusuf Seitablayev** were evicted from their homes. Mischanov later returned and installed himself in an outhouse.

* * *

At 6 am on 3 December police burst into the house in Stary Krym where the **Khurdade** family had lived since 1976. Scarcely giving them time to dress, they drove the family out into the street and began loading their belongings on to a lorry. Gulnar Khurdade and her husband were taken to Kerch, from where they were to be deported to Uzbekistan.

Aishe Khurdade, Gulnar's daughter, was at work at this time and she returned to find the house padlocked. She took shelter with friends, but was unable to go to work.

Gulnar and her husband managed to escape and returned to Stary Krym. The following day Gulnar was seized and taken away in a police car. Aishe was unable to find out what had happened to her mother, despite her enquiries at the police station and other local organizations. From Aishe's (b. 1962) letter to Brezhnev:

> My mother's father was a communist partisan, shot by the German fascists. She has appealed many times to higher party and Soviet organizations for a permit authorizing our family to live in our house in Stary Krym, but she has been unable to obtain the most elementary rights for herself and her children. For example, it is four years since her passport expired and she has been refused a new one. I was issued with a passport at the age of 16, but have so far been unable to get a residence permit, despite the fact that we have somewhere to live and that I went to school and later to work here.
>
> Am I destined to live out my life without rights? Please answer me: am I without civil rights everywhere in the USSR, or only in the Crimea? We learned at school that there is no national discrimination in the USSR.

> But in reality I can see terrible discrimination against the Crimean Tatars, while those responsible for it are well-known, but go unpunished.
>
> Please help me to find my mother. Like my Russian friends, I only wish to live peacefully at home with my mother and father.
>
> Please help me to obtain a residence permit for our house in Stary Krym - 56 Oktyabrskaya Street.

EVENTS IN THE UKRAINE

The Trial of Sas-Zhurakovsky

On 21 May the People's Court in Kolomiya, Ivano-Frankovsk Region, sentenced **Father Miron Sas-Zhurakovsky** (b. 1934; arrested 27 February - Chronicle 56) to two years' strict-regime camps under Article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Violation of the Passport Regulations'), for refusing to accept a Soviet passport. This is the maximum sentence under Article 196; the corresponding article - No. 198 - of the RSFSR Code carries a maximum penalty of one year.

Miron's parents lived in Warsaw in 1939 and had Polish citizenship. After the partition of Poland, the whole family received German citizenship. In May 1942 Miron's father Nikolai was drafted into Hitler's army and fought against the USSR until 1945. He was taken prisoner in April 1945 and his family were brought to Kolomiya (where his parents lived) by the Soviet authorities. Before his release from captivity in 1949, Nikolai Sas-Zhurakovsky was told that unless he made a statement to the effect that he was living in Kolomiya in 1939 (and thus under Soviet law would be a citizen of the USSR), he would be sent to Germany after his release and separated from his family. He wrote the statement and his wife confirmed it, at his request. In 1975 Nikolai and Miron wrote to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet requesting the return of their German citizenship. They wrote several more times, but received no reply.

The court refused to call Miron's mother (his father is now dead) as a witness, or to obtain the documents relating to the family's citizenship from the archives. Miron Sas-Zhurakovsky is serving his sentence in Vinnitsa Region. His address is: s. Strizhavka, uchr. IV-301/81.

The Trial of Krainik

From 12 to 21 August Ivano-Frankovsk Regional Court, presided over by G.D. Vasilenko, heard the case of **Nikolai Mikhailovich Krainik** (b. 1935; arrested 28 September 1979 - Chronicle 56). He was charged under the following articles of the Ukrainian Criminal Code: article 62 (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code), article 64 ('Organizational Activity ... and also Participation in an Anti-Soviet Organization') and article 208 ('Involving Minors in Criminal Activi-

ties'). The prosecutor was Procurator Gorodko, the defence lawyer Kabitsky.

Krainik graduated as an external student of the History Faculty of Chernovtsy University in 1967. He was a party member and director of the eight-year school in his native village of Solukov, Dolinsky District, Ivano-Frankovsk Region.

Krainik attracted the attention of the KGB when he was denounced by Maria Vintoniv, whom he helped to prepare for the entrance examination to an institution of higher education and to whom he occasionally described historical facts in a way that differed from the official interpretation. In 1971 Krainik was expelled from the Communist Party and dismissed from his job. From 1978 until his arrest he worked as a motor mechanic in Turkmenia.

Krainik was a founder-member of the Ukrainian National Front [UNF] organization. Its members prepared and circulated uncensored literature. They tried to publish a journal entitled Ukrainian Herald and an almanac called Enlightenment (two issues came out).

On 28 September 1979 Krainik was arrested in the town of Mary, Turkmenian SSR. On 8 October he was already in Ivano-Frankovsk. On 9 October six homes in the village of Solukov were searched. On 20 November a can containing UNF material was found near the village.

In prison Krainik began to suffer from a stomach ulcer, kidney disease and arteriosclerosis. In June 1980 he was admitted to Lvov Prison Hospital. His family were not informed about the start of his trial. They arrived in Ivano-Frankovsk on 14 August, but were not admitted to the courtroom. They were told that the trial had started five minutes ago and that the courtroom was already full(!). The following day the family arrived two hours before the trial reopened, but at 9.45 they were forcibly evicted from the courtroom, Krainik's wife Darya was pushed so hard against a door that the glass gave way; she was taken to the police station and fined 20 roubles. The family were finally admitted to the courtroom on 21 August - for the reading of the judgment.

The court sentenced Krainik to seven years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile. He has been in Mordovian Camp No. 3 since 21 November.

The Trial of Mazur

In December the Zhitomir Regional Court sentenced **Dmitry Mazur** (arrested 30 July - Chronicle 57) to six years in strict-regime camps and five years' exile under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). The trial lasted five days.

The Trial of Khmara, V. Shevchenko and A. Shevchenko

From 15 to 24 December the Lvov Regional Court, presided over by E.I. Kryuchkov-Dvoretsky, heard the case of **Stepan Ilich Khmara** (b. 1937; arrested, evidently, on 31 March), **Vitaly Nikiforovich Shevchenko** (b. 1934; arrested 14 April - Chronicle 56) and **Alexander Evgenevich Shevchenko** (b. 1940; arrested 31 March) - Chronicle 56 is inaccurate

on this point). All three were charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code); Khmara was also charged under article 150 of the Ukrainian Code ('Private Enterprise ...') and V. Shevchenko under article 70 of the RSFSR Code. The prosecutor was V. Dorosh and the defence lawyers: Stepanenko (for Khmara), Brusentsov (for V. Shevchenko) and M.M. Lipkus (for A. Shevchenko).

* * *

Khmara was a dental surgeon in Gornyak settlement, Lvov Region. He was a member of the town trade union committee and tried to obtain better working conditions for his colleagues. He was accepted into the party by a primary party organization, but this decision was not endorsed by the higher organization. After this Khmara was removed from trade union activities.

V. Shevchenko graduated from the Faculty of Journalism at Kiev University and then served in the ranks of the KGB. He was a KGB reserve officer and a party member. At the end of the 'fifties he was an editor of the Leninist newspaper on Sakhalin Island, then of the Radio and Telegraph Agency of Ukraine [RATAU] in Kiev. Prior to his arrest he worked in the technical information department of a factory.

A. Shevchenko is also a graduate of Kiev University's Faculty of Journalism. Until his arrest he was chief secretary of the editorial board of the Ukrainian Biochemical Journal.

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13. Alexander Shevchenko

On 31 March KGB officials led by Lieutenant Colonel Petrun (who physically tortured Stus - Chronicle 58) took A. Shevchenko away from Kiev City Hospital No. 3, where he had been admitted because his duodenal ulcer had got worse. (Furthermore Berezkin, head of the Gastroenterological department, signed a certificate to the effect that Shevchenko had been discharged for drinking alcohol). Shevchenko was driven home, where a search was carried out; it lasted from 12 noon until midnight. He was then taken to the offices of the Ukrainian KGB and interrogated by Petrun until 1.55 am; no record of this was kept. He was then shown the warrant for his arrest and placed in a solitary cell. A series of lengthy, daily interrogations followed. The investigator, Captain Boitsov, behaved very crudely. Shevchenko was given no medical treatment, despite his weak

heart and the pains in his stomach.

On 3 April, as he was being led back after interrogation, Shevchenko was suddenly thrust into a windowless cell measuring 1.5 x 0.6 metres. When an ensign came to let him out of this 'sack', he explained: 'That was so that you could think things over'.

At the end of his interrogation on 5 April, Shevchenko had a heart-attack and lost consciousness. An ambulance arrived, he was given an intravenous injection and nitroglycerin, and forbidden to move. The diagnosis was a stenocardiac attack.

Shevchenko submitted a statement requesting that he be interrogated in bed (even lifting his hand from his plate to his mouth exhausted him). Nevertheless, from 8 April onwards he was again taken to the third floor for interrogation. He was also refused a cell to himself and a special diet.

In a statement to the Ukrainian Procurator, dated 10 April, Shevchenko complained of the crude methods employed during the investigation. The statement was returned to him by Boitsov, who said: 'Look! If you sow the wind, you reap a storm!' After this Shevchenko started to give evidence and to sign the formulated replies Boitsov presented to him.

* * *

The courtroom was half empty. The wives of the defendants and Khmara's brother were allowed in after they had been questioned as witnesses (on the fourth and fifth days). A relative of V. Shevchenko who arrived on 22 December (the trial began on the 15th) was allowed into the courtroom, but no one else tried to gain admittance.

Under article 62 Khmara was charged with:

- compiling Nos. 6-9, and transmitting abroad Nos. 6-8, of the Ukrainian Herald (these were all issued before 1975);[20]
- authorship of the article 'Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the USSR', which appeared in one of the issues of the Ukrainian Herald[21] and was broadcast by Radio Liberty;
- carrying on conversations 'with the aim of undermining the Soviet regime'.

Witness Gnatyshchak testified that he had heard Khmara having an 'anti-Soviet conversation' with someone (he did not remember whom) in a billiard room. Lawyer Stepanenko said that the billiard room was too small for those of Khmara's fellow-staff-members who were in there not to have heard such a conversation, yet not one of them had testified that he had heard such a conversation. Nevertheless, this incident was included in the judgment.

Under article 150 Khmara was charged with illegally obtaining 950 roubles (over a period of five or six years): while working as a dentician in a health centre, he had made gold teeth from gold brought by the patients and had charged 10-15 roubles each time.

Under article 62 V. Shevchenko was charged with:

- keeping and circulating the Ukrainian Herald;
- authorship of a work entitled: 'Czechoslovakian Politics through Ukrainian Eyes';
- making notes 'of an anti-Soviet nature' in the margins of two volumes of Lenin which were confiscated from him;
- possessing and circulating samizdat books and articles by A. Amalrik, I. Dzyuba, V. Moroz and V. Chornovil, Hrushevsky's Short History of the Ukraine and the manuscript

diary of Sanus, a prisoner in Stalin's camps.

V. Shevchenko was also charged with engaging in oral 'anti-Soviet propaganda' at the end of the 1950s on Sakhalin Island (hence article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) and in Kiev.

The witnesses were: Bespalov and Voronezhsky, party workers from the town of Nevelsk (Sakhalin), Gnatenko and Eremenko, employees of RATAU, and Matveyenko and Troyak, engineers from factories in Kiev. V. Shevchenko was accused of 'anti-Soviet agitation' because he had said that cultural monuments (churches) were being poorly kept up, that agriculture was in a blind alley and economic policy bankrupt, and because he had talked about the artificial famine and forced collectivization of the 'thirties.

Alexander Shevchenko was charged as follows:

- 'from the end of 1960 until April 1980 he kept and circulated anti-Soviet documents with the aim of undermining and weakening the Soviet regime'. (A. Shevchenko said in court: 'Never in my life, neither in word nor deed, have I compiled anti-Soviet documents, or written one anti-Soviet line. The last time I duplicated an anti-Soviet document was in 1975');
- giving A. **Lupinos**'s poems and a biographical note about him 'to defendant Khmara, intending them for mass circulation and for use in an anti-Soviet journal, the so-called Ukrainian Herald. Defendant Khmara originally intended to publish these anti-Soviet documents in issue No. 7 of the so-called Ukrainian Herald, but he transferred them to No. 9'. (A. Shevchenko said in court that he had been given Lupinos's poems by some unknown girls in Shevchenko Park in 1971 and that at that time he did not know who Lupinos was or that his poems were anti-Soviet. He gave the poems to Khmara in 1973, at Khmara's request, but there had been no mention of their mass circulation, or of their being used in the Ukrainian Herald. Khmara had removed the poems from issue No. 7 at A. Shevchenko's insistence. 'I insisted on this, in the first place because we had not agreed that they should be used in the Ukrainian Herald, and secondly because I did not approve of the anti-Soviet tenor of the Herald. Khmara did not show me issue No. 9, since I did not give him the support he expected for these activities of his. Khmara included Lupinos's poems and the biographical note in Herald No. 9 without my knowledge and against my express wishes'. **Vasily Solovei** and his wife **Galina**, from whose home a bundle of material for the Ukrainian Herald had been confiscated during a search, and **Viktor Mogilny** - his name is misspelt in Chronicle 56 - confirmed Shevchenko's story);
- 'agreeing to supply defendant Khmara with material and information for use in the Ukrainian Herald';
- 'in 1973 he passed on to ... Khmara information concerning the dismissal of several editorial staff of the Workers' Gazette and about a production conference of officials from institutes and academic publications of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences'. (Khmara and A. Shevchenko both testified in court that Shevchenko told Khmara of these facts in the summer of 1973 - before he knew that Khmara was compiling the Ukrainian Herald; he did not discover this until the autumn of that year);
- 'circulating' a copy of the journal Ukrainian Herald to Mogilny in the summer of 1974;
- 'circulating' the Ukrainian Herald to V. Shevchenko in the first half of 1975. (A. Shevchenko stated that

he gave the Ukrainian Herald to V. Shevchenko so that he could give it to Khmara when the latter arrived in Kiev);

- in the summer of 1975 giving Khmara several photographs he had taken of graves in the Yanovsky cemetery in Lvov, where soldiers of the 'so-called Ukrainian Galician Army' were buried;

- 'during the period 1970 to 1977 ... he carried out anti-Soviet propaganda, orally circulating slanderous fabrications defaming ...' (A. Shevchenko confirmed that in the first half of the 'seventies he had used anti-Soviet expressions in conversations with five 'persons who at that time held ideologically shaky views. They were: defendants Khmara and V. Shevchenko and witnesses Mikhailets, Troyak and Balanyuk. My anti-Soviet remarks were the result of my ideological support for the position adopted by I. Dzyuba in his treatise Internationalism or Russification?[22]. I should also add that I had broken off relations with three of the witnesses and was on almost hostile terms with the other two. However, of the dozens of people with whom I came into contact on a day-to-day basis and of the hundreds of people - authors and scientists from Kiev and other towns and republics in the Soviet Union - with whom I have worked as head of the editorial office of a well-known scientific journal, there was not one who heard me make ideologically dubious remarks. This is evidence of the fact that I had no intention of conducting anti-Soviet propaganda. It would be wrong, it seems to me, to accept the testimony of a few of my enemies, whom I have not seen for five years, and to disregard the testimony of my colleagues at work, my trade union organization, my bosses, and hundreds of authors');

- giving Khmara 'so-called samizdat documents' in September 1975. (This refers to a private letter in which A. Shevchenko mentions his own personal problems, and to a three-page article about the art of the Kbza [a musical instrument similar to a guitar] in the Ukraine. V. Shevchenko stated that he had given A. Shevchenko this article in 1969 and that it was nothing to do with samizdat. It had been written by a musicologist for a Soviet publication, but had not appeared in print. A. Shevchenko stated that he had given the article to Khmara 'as a protest against the anti-Soviet tenor of his Herald No. 7. Furthermore, since the autumn of 1973, when Khmara informed me that he was compiling the Herald and asked me to provide him with any information on national problems which might come my way, I have not given him anything. In the summer of 1975, in Kiev, Khmara reproached me for my lack of response; I understood that giving him this article would be a sort of pay-off');

- 'in Kiev at the end of 1976, he received from N. Svetlichnaya (she left the USSR in 1978 - Chronicle 51) anti-Soviet, slanderous documents; V. Marchenko's 'Open Letter to Walter Heinowski' (Chronicle 42): B. Shakhverdyan's 'Letter to my Mother'; a typescript beginning: 'This incident is described in our ...'; N. Motryuk's 'Open Letter to Ivan Dzyuba'; V. Stus's 'Open Letter to Ivan Dzyuba'; and I. Kalynets's 'Funeral of a Friend'. The defendant kept these documents ... in his flat until March 1980. At the end of 1976 defendant A.E. Shevchenko circulated these documents, describing their contents to defendant V.N. Shevchenko outside Kiev Opera House' (A. Shevchenko stated in court: 'I forgot all about these documents;

to try me for this means trying me for having prevented their circulation among my friends and neighbours, for the fact that I hid them at my house and did not send them to the Ukrainian or the Moscow Helsinki Groups, and that I declined Yury Mnyukh's offer to give the documents to foreign journalists in Moscow' (Mnyukh left the USSR in 1977 - Chronicle 46);

- at the beginning of 1977 'he established contact with Kiev citizen O. Ya. Meshko ... with the intention of taking an active part in the harmful activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group' (A. Shevchenko said in court that 'it was not I who contacted Meshko ... but she who invited me to her home and asked me whether I wished to join the Helsinki Group. I told her that I would first have to find out about the aims of the Group and the nature of its activities. When I realized that the activities of the so-called Helsinki Group were of an anti-Soviet nature, I immediately broke off relations');

- 'the defendant A.E. Shevchenko helped V.N. Mogilny to translate the 'Declaration' of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and their 'Memorandum No. 1' (Chronicle 43); defendant A.E. Shevchenko kept copies of these documents in his flat. He destroyed them in the first half of 1977, giving the originals to O. Ya. Meshko';

- keeping Mogilny's 'anti-Soviet poem' 'Heal us with Stalin' (A. Shevchenko stated that Mogilny gave him this poem at the end of 1976 and that he did not show it to anyone).

Troyak testified that the copy of the Ukrainian Herald found during a search of his home had been given to him by V. Shevchenko, and Dzyuba's Internationalism or Russification? by Khmara. He also testified that in conversation with him, A. Shevchenko had 'engaged in anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' and had tried to drag him 'into this affair'.

Balanyuk (a teacher of Ukrainian in Vinnitsa who met Alexander Shevchenko in a second-hand bookshop in Kiev in 1975; they last met in 1976) testified that A. Shevchenko professed 'nationalist and chauvinist views'. When A. Shevchenko asked him what nationalism and chauvinism were, Balanyuk found it difficult to answer. A. Shevchenko's question as to why Balanyuk had been summoned by the KGB in 1975, before the two of them had met, was struck from the record by the Judge.

Budny (a driver from Lvov) testified that Nakonechny had given him a filmed copy of Ukrainian Herald No. 9. He did not know what was in it.

Nakonechny (an art shop assistant in Lvov) stated that A. Shevchenko 'forced' him to read Dzyuba's works and that he gave him, through Lyudmila Nikolayevna Romanyuk, a parcel for Khmara.

Mogilny testified that he and A. Shevchenko received 'Memorandum No. 1' from O. Meshko; Mogilny translated and Shevchenko edited it, and then Shevchenko took it to P. Grigorenko in Moscow.

Mikhailets testified that A. Shevchenko spoke in favour of Ukrainian secession from the USSR, engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda, brought him anti-Soviet documents to hide, did not recognize Soviet festivals, did not attend official demonstrations, and wanted to 'use' him, Mikhailets, 'for his own ends'.

Lydia Shevchenko testified that Mikhailets had sent her an anonymous letter, informing her that her husband

was unfaithful. A. Shevchenko made a photocopy of the letter and this had been confiscated and included in the evidence. Mrs Shevchenko stated that Mikhailets was pestering her, blackmailing her with the fact that he would 'destroy' her husband. Mikhailets's testimony was struck from the record as being biased.

The Procurator demanded a sentence of seven years in strict-regime camps and five years' exile for Khmara, with confiscation of property (under article 150), and six years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile for V. and A. Shevchenko.

The lawyers, without disputing the substance of the indictment, drew the court's attention to the mitigating circumstances. Lipkus pointed out, for example, A. Shevchenko's good references from work and his 'difficult family circumstances', which, in the lawyer's opinion, encouraged him to engage in 'anti-Soviet activity'.

In his final speech, Khmara said that he had tried to fight for justice by legal means, but this had proved impossible. He then began to use illegal means, but in 1975 he realized that even this way was wrong and useless, and from then on he did nothing. Furthermore, he denied the charge that he had taken part in the conversation in the billiard room.

V. Shevchenko said in his final speech that they would not be punishing him: he had worked honestly in freedom and would continue to do so in camp; but they were punishing his three children.

From A. Shevchenko's final speech:

> A final speech is the dramatic moment when a man puts his hand on his heart and, speaking from its depths, gives an honest evaluation of his actions before the court. Therefore I will keep to this order of things and I will not, as I intended earlier, read out my draft of a joint press statement in place of my final speech.
>
> We hope that we will be given the opportunity to get together in the presence of an official from the Committee for State Security to work out a joint statement for the press, in which we would evaluate our former anti-Soviet activities and thus lessen some of the consequences. However, we all realize that this question will not be decided today or by the court.
>
> I will explain the reasons behind one aspect of my case, which I have not so far managed to do in court. Until 1977 I did, on my own initiative, collect voluntary gifts for the unfortunate children of people sentenced under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code and I myself also gave. You may ask: why did I help the children of these particular people? I would have helped other children too. Children are not responsible for the actions of their parents. They are innocent by nature. But there were no bandits, criminals or hooligans among the people I knew in Kiev. The only exception was 'witness' Troyak, who spent five years in prison for beating up a policeman and is now decked out as a public accuser! I will also mention that I have left my children Yaroslava and Mechislava a savings account containing the sum of one rouble.
>
> I have already explained to the court that during the three years preceding my arrest I did not perform a single harmful action; in fact I was actively engaged in voluntary work under party direction. I did not keep the camp documents which Nadezhda Svetlichnaya had given me at the end of 1976, in order to use them in the interests of anti-Soviet propaganda, and I have already given a detailed explanation on this point. Therefore, my former illegal activities rise before me like 'the deeds of days long past, the legends of deep antiquity' ...
>
> Nevertheless, the facts are indisputable: in the 'seventies I committed a number of illegal actions, namely: keeping and circulating anti-Soviet documents in written and oral form and helping to circulate that anti-Soviet libel, the Ukrainian Herald. I admit the facts. I deeply regret and resolutely condemn my actions, and I totally agree with the State Prosecutor's harsh assessment of them.
>
> Furthermore, as I have already said, and I repeat: never, neither in word nor deed, did I intend to harm the Soviet regime. And if I did harm the Soviet regime - and I undoubtedly did - I did not do it consciously or with premeditation and I am deeply sorry. For me, to act against the Soviet regime is like raising my hand against my own father, who defended the Soviet regime in the front line of three wars - the Civil War, the Finnish War and the Great Patriotic War...

* * *

The court sentenced Khmara in accordance with the prosecutor's demands. V. Shevchenko - 'bearing in mind the character of the defendant' - was sentenced to seven years in strict-regime camps and four years' exile, and A. Shevchenko to five years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile.

(The first search in connection with this case took place on 19 March at Budny's home. Nakonechny's home was searched on 29 March and on 31 March searches were carried out at the homes of: Khmara, V. Shevchenko, A. Shevchenko, Solovei and Mogilny.)

The Arrest of Meshko

O. Ya. Meshko was released from psychiatric hospital on 25 August (Chronicle 57). She was rearrested on 15 October and charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). She is allowed to receive medicine for her heart condition, honey, and nuts in the KGB investigations prison. She has just recovered from pleurisy.[23]

* * *

In October searches were carried out in connection with the Meshko case (Case No. 13) at the homes of the following: **Vera Lisovaya**, wife of Vasily Lisovoi (Chronicle 57), the wife of Nikolai Gorbal (Chronicle 56) and Anna **Marchenko** (the aunt of political prisoner Valery Marchenko - Chronicle 57). 5,000 roubles were confiscated from A. Marchenko.

On 21 October and 1 November Captain Bereza interrogated Anna Marchenko at Kiev KGB headquarters. He asked her about her acquaintance with Meshko, whether Meshko had had any anti-Soviet conversations with her or passed anything on to her. The interrogations ended in threats: we will arrest you and your child will be brought up as

a Soviet man.

In November **Lyubov Kozelskaya** (she had been trying for several years to emigrate to a Western country) was taken to Kiev KGB headquarters from work. Attempts were made to persuade her to give up her intention to emigrate, and she was questioned about Anna Marchenko.

On 2 December the money confiscated from Anna Marchenko was returned to her (she had sent a complaint to the Ukrainian Procuracy). KGB officials accompanied her to the savings bank so that she could pay the money into her account in their presence.

* * *

Meshko is one of the founders and, in fact, the last member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (Chronicle 43).

The Arrest of Vladimir Sichko

On 4 December 1979, Lvov Regional Court sentenced Pëtr Sichko and his son Vasily (Chronicle 55). On 17 December Pëtr's younger son Vladimir (b. 1960) - a third-year student at the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Kiev University - obtained permission from the military department and went to Lvov for a day to say goodbye to his father and brother.

After this he was not permitted to attend his next term's course and in March 1980 Dean Zavalo signed an order expelling him from the University for 'lack of progress' (Chronicle 56). When the other students in Vladimir's year found out, they sent a telegram to Brezhnev, but it arrived on the Dean's desk instead. Zavalo told the students that Sichko had not been expelled for lack of progress, but because his father and brother were imprisoned as nationalists.

14. Vladimir Sichko

Vladimir took a driving course, but here too was not allowed to take the examinations. On 21 September, in protest against the lawless way he had been treated, Valdimir Sichko renounced his Soviet citizenship and refused to serve in the Soviet Army. In his statement he asked to be allowed to go to the USA to obtain a higher education.

On 6 December Vladimir was arrested by the Dolina District Procuracy (Ivano-Frankovsk Region) and charged under article 72 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Evasion of Regular Call-up for Active Military Service').[24]

The Arrests of Zinchenko and Altunyan

On 22 August searches took place in Kharkov at the homes of the following: G. Altunyan, E. Antsupov, Yu. Dzyuba, A. Zdorovy and A. Zinchenko (Chronicle 57). Anatoly Zinchenko was arrested after his search.[25]

On 10 September Kharkov KGB officials carried out a search in connection with Zinchenko's case at the home of **Anatoly Koryagin**, consultant psychiatrist to the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes.

On 22 September, Moscow KGB investigator I. Ya. Zotov interrogated the long-standing refusenik M.Z. **Novikov** in connection with Zinchenko's case. Although Novikov said that he did not know Zinchenko, Zotov asked his prepared questions regardless.

On 24 September **Antsupov** (Chronicle 57) was interrogated in connection with the Zinchenko case. Antsupov agreed with the investigator that a copy of his letter to Academician Gvishiani, confiscated during a search from A. Romanova (she had been searched on Kharkov Station a few days previously), could have been given to Romanova by Altunyan. (Antsupov repudiated this part of his testimony in statements to the Kharkov Regional Procurator and the Head of Kharkov KGB on 12 December). Antsupov stated that he had circulated his letter and would continue to circulate it as widely as possible - including abroad.

Antsupov was interrogated several more times in the autumn in connection with the Zinchenko case. He refused to testify, although he was shown copious evidence given against him by Zinchenko. On 16 December Genrikh Altunyan (Chronicle 57) was arrested by KGB officials.[26] During the search at the time of his arrest, tape-recordings of Vysotsky and Okudzhava were confiscated.

On the same day Major V.A. Sidelnik conducted a search at the home of former political prisoner **Vladislav Nedobora** (Chronicle 13).

Miscellaneous

On 9 December the People's Court of Moscow District, Kiev Region, sentenced **Svetlana Kirichenko** (Chronicle 54), wife of Yury Badzë (for his trial see Chronicle 53) to three months' compulsory labour and loss of 20% of her pay, because she had refused to give evidence at the trial of Stus (Chronicle 58). Kirichenko, who is a literary scholar by education, did not have a job before her trial. She is now working in a cardboard box factory.

* * *

Stus's wife, **Valentina Popelyukh**, was warned that her property would be seized in lieu of the 2,300 roubles of court expenses imposed at her husband's trial.

* * *

In December a court pronounced **Anna Mikhailenko** (for her trial see Chronicle 56) not responsible and sent her for compulsory treatment to an ordinary psychiatric hospital. She was sent off to Kharkov.

EVENTS IN ESTONIA

For five months **Jüri Kukk** (for arrest see Chronicle 56) was subjected to psychiatric examination in Tallin and Moscow. On 17 July, while in Tallin prison, he declared a hunger-strike which lasted for 17 days. On 23 August **Mart Niklus** (Chronicle 57), while in Tallin Prison, declared an indefinite hunger-strike.

In December the relatives of Kukk and Niklus appealed to the International Committee of the Red Cross in an open letter calling for help to be given 'in order to save the lives of two political prisoners - the Estonians M. Niklus and J. Kukk.' The letter points out that 'the state of their health puts their lives in danger because of the insanitary conditions, the constant psychological pressure exerted on them, their protest hunger-strikes and the insufficient medical aid given to them.'[27]

In connection with Niklus's case, searches were carried out in Tallin at the homes of **Hubert Jakobs** (Chronicles 53, 56), **Endel Ratas** (Chronicle 54), **Jüri Adams** and **Reine Narzakiene**. On 20 October **Tiit Madisson** (Chronicle 57) and **Veljo Kalep** were arrested in Pärnu.[28] On 4 December **Viktor Niitsoo** (Chronicles 53, 54, 56) was arrested in Tartu.[29]

EVENTS IN LITHUANIA

Mainly based on material from the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church No. 46 (25 December 1980).

The Trial of Janulis and Buzas

From 24 to 26 November a special session of the Lithuanian Supreme Court in the town of Kaisiadorys heard the case of Povilas Buzas (arrested on 30 January - Chronicle 56) and Anastazas Janulis (arrested on 29 January - Chronicle 56), charged under article 68 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). The prosecutor was First Deputy Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR, J. Bakucionis (Chronicles 50, 51, 54).

Both the accused were pensioners. They were charged with reproducing and disseminating The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, Ausra, Rupintojelis and Lietuvos Archyvos; Buzas, in addition, was charged with organizing a printing press.

Apart from the 'special public', only Buzas's sister was allowed into the courtroom. Buzas explained that he had felt impelled to undertake duplication of underground literature by the authorities' repression of believers' rights: the destruction of Crosses, compulsory work on religious holidays, the lack of religious literature, and the persecution of religious pupils in schools. He declared that the Chronicle of the LCC wrote the truth but that some political questions were rather sharply

15. *Anastazas Janulis*

emphasized. Buzas pleaded guilty.

Janulis pleaded not guilty and refused to answer when asked who had given him illegal literature and to whom he had passed it, as this would have been against his Christian conscience. In his opinion, the publications he had distributed wrote only the truth, they were not libellous, and therefore he had committed no crime. When asked by the judge what he intended to do in future, Janulis replied that having served his allotted sentence, he would once again take up the fight - perhaps by different means, but he would nevertheless fight on, if only his health permitted it. He maintained that the Chronicle of the LCC was helping in the fight against persecution of believers and was thus very much needed. It was the only means of self-defence that the Catholics of Lithuania had.

The Procurator demanded the maximum penalty for Janulis - seven years in camps and five years' exile; for Buzas he demanded three years in camps and two years' exile. In his final speech Janulis insisted that 'illegal' literature published verified facts, not slanders. He quoted many cases, known to him personally, of persecution of believers and acts of vandalism which had been denounced in the Chronicle of the LCC. This had inspired him to engage in a difficult task - the duplication of 'underground literature'. He ended with the words of Ignatius Loyola: 'To give and not to count the cost, to fight and not to heed the wounds, to labour and not to seek for rest, to sacrifice oneself and not to ask for any reward, save that of perfectly doing Thy holy and Divine will.'

Buzas, in his final speech, said that at present there was no freedom of religion or the press in Lithuania. He made a plea for mercy. The court sentenced Janulis to three-and-a-half years, and Buzas to one-and-a-half years, both in strict-regime camps.

The Trial of Navickaite and Vitkauskaite

On 24 and 25 November the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, with Repsas presiding, heard the case of Genovaite Navickaite (born 1947; arrested on 17 April - Chronicle 56) and Ona Vitkauskaite (born 1935; arrested on 18 April), who were charged under article 199-1 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). The prosecutor was Procurator Kirienko; the accused declined

16. Genovaite Navickaite *17. Ona Vitkauskaite*

to have defence counsel.

The impending trial was not announced even to close relatives. They were informed of it by witnesses summoned to the court. Only close relatives, apart from the 'special public', were allowed into the courtroom. Brone Vitkauskaite, sister of the accused, was not given permission to leave her place of work.

The accused were charged with duplicating and disseminating the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church. They did not deny this, but did not plead guilty, as they considered that the Chronicle of the LCC was not libellous but a human-rights publication. None of the witnesses said anything bad about the accused.

The Procurator asked for a sentence of two-and-a-half years in camps for Navickaite and two years for Vitkauskaite. The judgment states: 'The court has fully proved the guilt of the accused, but, in view of the good references from their work-places, has decided to mitigate their punishment'. Navickaite was sentenced to two years, Vitkauskaite to one-and-a-half years, both in ordinary-regime camps. After the sentence had been pronounced, the witnesses and relatives in the courtroom presented flowers to the accused.

* * *

In their camp (Panevezys, uchr. OCh - 12/5) they are both working in a sewing workshop.

* * *

On 1 December the priest **Zenonas Navickas**, Genovaite's brother, wrote to Judge Repsas:

> You, Judge, in condemning two innocent women who dared to defend the rights of believers, have done your part to break down the morals of our nation ...
> If you don't fear the judgment of God, do not forget the judgment of the people and of history.

* * *

The Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights has issued its Document No. 41, which points out the violations of Soviet legal norms during the trials of Janulis and Buzas, Navickaite and Vitkauskaite. At the end, it comes to the following conclusion:

> The Supreme Court has condemned completely innocent people and once again demonstrated that the Soviet authorities are not capable of combating the Catholic Church by ideological means.

The Trial of Abrutis

On 27 and 28 November the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR heard the case of Vytautas Abrutis (born 1952; arrested on 20 May - Chronicle 57), who was charged under article 199-1 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). Sentence - two-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps.

The Trial of Skuodis, Iesmantas and Peceliunas

From 15 to 22 December the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, with Judge Ignotas presiding, heard the case of Vytautas Skuodis (born 1929; arrested on 9 January - Chronicle 56), Gintautas Iesmantas (born 1930; arrested on 30 January - Chronicle 56)[30] and Povilas Peceliunas (born 1928;[31] for arrest - see Chronicle 57), who were charged under article 68 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). The prosecutor was Bakucionis; the accused declined to have defence counsel.

Skuodis challenged the composition of the court, giving as his reason the fact that the judges, as members of the Communist Party, could not be objective in this case. His challenge was rejected. Iesmantas asked the court not to call his son as a witness - not to force a son to give evidence against his father. His request was refused.

Skuodis was accused of writing and disseminating the book Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania (Chronicles 55, 56), publishing and disseminating the journal Perspektyvos, and taking part in the publication of the journal Alma Mater and in the Declaration to President Carter and the states which signed the Helsinki Agreement (Chronicle 56).

Iesmantas was accused of writing verses and articles of an anti-Soviet nature; most of these appeared in Perspektyvos.

Peceliunas was charged with writing a number of articles which 'slandered the Soviet system'; in one of these he had praised Kalanta's self-immolation (Chronicles 26, 27). He had typed out these articles on a typewriter found

at the home of his fiancee Kersiute (Chronicles 55-7); they were published in Perspektyvos. Peceliunas was also accused of editing the journal Alma Mater.

The accused pleaded not guilty. They refused to testify about the episodes on which the charges were based, considering that the press has a right to be free. Skuodis said that his book Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania was not propaganda, but an academic work, moreover a still unfinished one. It had been written largely on the basis of materials published in the Soviet press.

Iesmantas stated that investigators Urbonas and Kezys[32] had written down his testimony during the pre-trial investigation incorrectly, so he now renounced it. Peceliunas admitted that he was the author of an introductory article in Alma Mater. He said he had found samizdat literature in his letter-box and had kept it for himself alone, retyping it not with the aim of distributing it, but in order to develop his typing ability.

The Procurator demanded sentences of six years in camps plus five years' exile for Skuodis, four plus five for Iesmantas, and three plus five for Peceliunas, taking into account the serious state of his health. In his defence speech, which lasted for six hours, Skuodis said he had committed no crime against the state. His conflict was with the Communist Party, which had raised itself above the state. As he did not consider himself a citizen of the USSR, he had written a declaration on 1 October, asking to be defended by a lawyer from the USA. This request had not been answered. Skuodis emphasized that he had been given no opportunity to consult a lawyer; after being handed the indictment, all the basic materials intended for his defence had been taken away and on 11 December the draft of his defence speech had been taken from him. He noted that raising questions of economics and politics could not be regarded as a crime - the USSR Constitution gives every citizen the right to criticize and offer suggestions. Skuodis demanded to be released.

In his final speech, which lasted two hours, Skuodis stated that charging him with bourgeois nationalism was slanderous. He outlined the difference between patriotism and nationalism. Then Skuodis described his work in the Committee for the Defence of Nature. Arguing against the Procurator, who had alleged that the accused's opinions had been formed under the influence of foreign radio broadcasts, Skuodis mentioned the historical events and various details of his own biography which had formed his worldview. He said that it was precisely a deep study of philosophy which had returned him to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Skuodis asked for the inclusion in the case evidence of his letter to Brezhnev, which had been confiscated by the KGB during a search. The letter set out his views and how he had come to be in this situation (the request was refused). All 'illegal literature' put forward ideas about the improvement of society - said Skuodis. It criticizes but does not try to undermine the foundations of the system.

In his defence speech, Iesmantas said that the charges against him had not been proved. He declared that people should not be tried for their beliefs. His article 'Thoughts on the Margins' should be considered his final speech, said Iesmantas. He read out a poem dedicated to his friends.

Peceliunas, in his defence speech, remarked that the charges were dubious and lacked proof, and that the author-

18. Povilas Pečeliunas

19. Vytautas Skuodis

20. Gintautas Iešmantas

21. Jadvyga Stanelyte

ship of the articles found at his home had not been proved. He demanded a verdict of not guilty. In his final speech Peceliunas mentioned the serious state of his health. But, he said, 'whatever happens, I am ready to bear my burden patiently.'

The court sentenced Skuodis to seven years in a strict-regime camp, plus five years in exile, Iesmantas to six plus five, and Peceliunas to three plus five.

* * *

KGB officials photographed the friends of the accused who were standing in the hall outside the courtroom. Noticing an expression of concentration on someone's face, they would demand 'Stop praying! Praying is not allowed! I can see by your face that you're praying!' During the trial the witness Kersiute handed each of the accused a flower, after which she was put under arrest for seven days.

The Trial of Stanelyte

On 16 December an assizes session of the Lithuanian Supreme Court in the town of Kelme heard the case of Jadvyga Stanelyte (born 1933; arrested on 11 July - Chronicle 57), who was charged under article 199-3 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code ('Organization or active participation in group activities which violate public order').

Apart from the 'special public', those allowed into the courtroom were the accused's sister and M. Jurevicius, a member of the Lithuanian 'Helsinki Group' (Chronicle 56). The witnesses (a chairman of a village soviet and a bus inspector) stated that on 26 August 1979, Stanelyte had led a procession of pilgrims from Tytuvenai to Siluva [see photo 34 in Chronicle 54] and had thus obstructed the flow of traffic.

A bus driver from Panevezys, Cerska, stated that the procession had not obstructed the traffic, it was the bus inspectors who had obstructed it by carefully checking each car at length. Nevertheless his bus had reached the terminus on time.

Stanelyte explained that she had organized the procession because the old national traditions were dear to her. In reply to the accusation that the procession had offended the feelings of unbelievers, she replied that the atheists often offended the feelings of believers on television, in radio broadcasts, in literature, and so on, but they were not put on trial for that.

In her final speech Stanelyte said that freedom was dear to her, but the faith was dearer. The court sentenced Stanelyte to three years in ordinary-regime camps. The van which took the convicted woman away from court was bombarded with flowers.

Miscellaneous

On 24 August a resident of Panevezys, **A. Prakaitis**, who was driving in his car to Siluva, was ordered to stop and get into a police car. He refused, after which he was forcibly taken to the police car. At the same time

he was beaten up (a doctor gave him three days off work). After interrogating him, they let him go. On 3 September a court fined him for 'not obeying the police'.

* * *

On 14 October in Kaunas a search was carried out at the home of **Ada Urbonaite**. Five sacks of literature were confiscated. After the search Urbonaite was interrogated.

* * *

On 22 October **Fr B. Laurinavicius**, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, sent a declaration to the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR concerning an article in the newspaper Tiesa on 27 September; that article, he wrote, contained many deliberate lies about himself.

* * *

25 October was the 550th anniversary of the death of Grand Duke Vytautas, one of the greatest historical figures of mediaeval Lithuania. On that day, in the town of Trakai (residence of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in mediaeval times), those who wished to celebrate the anniversary met together.

Police and men in civilian clothes stopped cars going to Trakai and made many people get out. For instance, they stopped **Fathers Keina, Svarinskas** and **Kauneckas**, members of the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights, as well as **Fr Grazulis**, from reaching Trakai. The authorities advised the rector of Trakai church to lock the church for the day and then hide himself.

Those who had come met in the church, which had been built by Vytautas in 1409. Fr Jalinskas gave the sermon, in which he spoke of Grand Duke Vytautas's importance. After Mass the visitors went on to the castle to continue the celebrations. However, they could not get in, as the bridge to the castle had been dismantled 'for repairs'. The celebration took place on the banks of the lake. **Jonas Saukaitis** was detained by KGB officials and subjected to interrogation. He was deprived of a cassette recording.

The priests who took part in the jubilee celebrations received a written warning from Anilionis, the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs, that they were violating the 'Laws on Religious Associations' by taking part in religious services without the permission of the authorities. In the Lithuanian mass media the 550th anniversary of Grand Duke Vytautas's death was not reported.

* * *

During the trial of **J. Sasnauskas** and **A. Terleckas** (Chronicle 58), **Mrs Sakaliene** came to the courtroom. Soon after, Doctor Nyunko, who had given Sakaliene a medical certificate that day to take care of her child, was asked to annul it. Dr Nyunko refused to do so, after which she was forced to leave her job. Sakaliene is the wife of Sakalys (Chronicle 57).

PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS

Catholics in Lithuania

Vilkaviskis. On 18 July **Mrs Kelmeliene** tried to send a congratulatory telegram to Fr Velavicius, a member of the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights. The postmaster demanded that certain words be struck out of the telegram. He was especially alarmed by the word 'CCDBR'.[33] Kelmeliene did not answer questions put to her by the postmaster. Realizing that the telegram would not be sent, she asked that it be returned to her. The postmaster refused to do so, declaring: 'It'll be needed yet'.

* * *

Kaunas. Believers sent a complaint to the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR about the actions of the authorities, who had ordered the expulsion of student **Aloizas Volskis** from the seminary.

In November one of those who signed the complaint, **Saulius Kelpsa**, was summoned to the City Procurator's Office, where it was explained to him that:

1. Volskis had not shown respect for the Soviet national anthem by not standing up.
2. Volskis had behaved defiantly during the pre-trial investigations in the case of Janulis, and given false testimony.
3. Volskis had greeted reactionary priests.
4. Volskis had organized secret discussion groups inside the seminary.

Because of all this, the seminary authorities, having 'consulted' the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs, had expelled Volskis from the seminary.

* * *

Prienai. From 24 to 29 November the atheist club of Middle School No. 2, under the leadership of teacher Mrs Tamasauskiene, organized an atheist week. The programme included an exhibition of pupils' drawings on the theme 'Atheists smiling', a lecture on an atheist subject, and so on.

On 24 November some pupils' parents asked the school headmaster, Micka, to take down the pictures. The headmaster refused. On 26 November twelve religious pupils asked the headmaster to put an end to the atheist week, or at least to put the exhibition in the Pioneers' room. The headmaster promised to give an answer the next day. On 27 November the headmaster wrote down the names of the pupils who came to see him, then told them their request had been refused. However, in the end the exhibition was put up in the Pioneers' room after all. On 28 November two KGB officials questioned pupils at the school, in an attempt to discover the 'instigators'.

Documents of the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights

No. 36 (20 October 1980). Announcement that three new members have joined the Committee: the priests **Leonas Kalinauskas, Algimantas Keina** and **Vaclovas Stakenas.**

No. 37 (20 October 1980). Declaration to the Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian CP in defence of the believer **Bulakh.**[34]

No. 38 (1 November 1980). Declaration to the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR, describing physical attacks on priests and active believers and the robbery and desecration of churches: in 1980 **Frs B. Povilanskis** and **A. Bitvinskas** were beaten up (28 April and 12 August), **Fr V. Uzkuraitis** was wounded (18 October) and **Fr L. Sapoka** was murdered (10 October); **Fr J Zdebskis**, a member of the Catholic Committee, suffered burns during an attack on him (in October); in none of these cases were the culprits discovered.

No. 39 (1 November 1980). The position of Catholics in Lithuania is described in an appeal to the Madrid Conference: in the post-war years the New Testament and Psalms have been published in 11,500 copies, the Catechism has been published once (1979) in 65,000 copies; religious literature published abroad is confiscated even from priests; there is only one seminary (three seminaries have been closed); the number of priests has fallen from 1,500 (before the Second World War) to 735; 122 parishes have no rector; in recent years a large number of churches have been closed and destroyed, while building new churches is not allowed; St Kasimir's Church has been turned into a museum of atheism, Vilnius Cathedral into an art gallery, the Church of the Resurrection in Kaunas into a radio factory, and the Jesuit chapel in Kaunas into a sports hall.

No. 40 (25 November 1980). An appeal to the USSR Procurator General concerning the beating up of the Catholic priest **Vladislav Zavalnyuk** (Chronicle 55), who now works in Latvia, and his incarceration in a psychiatric hospital.

No. 41 (1 December 1980). On the violation of legality in the trials of **Janulis, Buzas, Navickaite** and **Vitkauskaite** (see above).

No. 42 (22 December 1980). Announcement to the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR and the Chairman of the Praesidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet that the Catholic Committee had acceded to the request of Skuodis (see above), and accepted him as a member of the Committee.

Adventists

The Trial of Zvyagin

On 17 November the Leningrad City Court, with Judge Malinina presiding, heard the case of the Adventist Ilya Solomonovich Zvyagin (born 1953; arrested on 17 July), charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was a Deputy Procurator of Leningrad, Vasilev; the defence was conducted by lawyer Budnichenko.

The charge against Zvyagin was that on 17 July he had dropped into the letter-boxes of residential buildings 'Open Letter' No. 12 of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists (Chronicle 57) and an 'Open letter to a Finnish citizen'. He managed to 'disseminate' 14 copies but another 157 were found in his bag when he was arrested. Neither the indictment nor the Procurator's speech included a single quotation from the letters.

During the trial five witnesses were questioned. During their cross-examination it turned out that the KGB officials and police had opened the letter-boxes, removed the letters

22. Fr Benediktas Povilanskis after beating-up

23. Fr Vladislav Zavalnyuk

24. Ilya Zvyagin, Adventist

from them, then, having rung up five flats in various houses, summoned the residents as witnesses. Only one of the residents had managed to look at a letter and read a bit of it, but even he could not state at all clearly what it contained. The rest saw only the headings on the letters.

Zvyagin confirmed that he had distributed the letters, but said that he saw nothing 'defamatory' in them. Zvyagin refused to name the person who had given him the letters to distribute. He also refused to reply when asked if he was a believer. The Procurator demanded a two-year sentence in camps, while defence counsel asked for a penalty which would not involve imprisonment. The sentence was two years in ordinary-regime camps.

Six relatives of the accused were present in court (at first they had been told there were only four free places in the courtroom, but later they were all allowed in). Zvyagin's colleagues from the Maly Theatre of Drama (he worked at this theatre) rang up the court and asked if their representatives could be present at the trial. They were told they would not be allowed in.

Baptists

The Trial of V. Rytikov and Vilchinskaya

In August the Lvov Regional Court sentenced the Baptists Vladimir Rytikov (born 1959; arrested 23 August 1979 - Chronicle 54) and Galina Vilchinskaya (born 1958; arrested 23 August 1979 - Chronicle 54), charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code), to three years each in camps.[35]

The accused engaged the Voroshilovgrad lawvers Margun and Dodonov, who began work when the investigation was completed. On 4 August the chairman of the Presidium of the Voroshilovgrad Bar received a telephone call from an unknown man who told him not to allow the lawyers to go to Lvov. 'We've intimidated our own, we don't need your lot here.'

* * *

V. Rytikov is serving his sentence at the following address: 665210, Irkutskaya obl., Tulun, uchr. UK-272/8-3; Vilchinskaya's address is: Primorsky krai, Mikhailovsky raion, s.Gornoye, uchr. 267/10-2.

The Arrest of Rumachik

On 5 August Pëtr Rumachik, a presbyter of the Baptist Church (Chronicles 51, 53), was arrested in Dneprodzerzhinsk. This was his fifth arrest. He is facing charges under article 138 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code ('Violation of the laws on separation of the church from the state, and the school from the church'), article 187-1 of the Ukranian Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code) and article 209 of the Ukrainian Code ('Infringement of the personality and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites').[36]

25. Samizdat montage of Baptist prisoners (autumn 1979), with Biblical text: 'My God is my shield, in Him I trust'. L to r, from top: N. Baturin, F. Gordienko, P. Rytikov, G. Vilchinskaya, Rytikov family, V. Rytikov, M. Prutyanu, N. Kinash

26.-27. Unofficial Baptist youth camp, with (top) leader Pavel Rytikov in centre. He, his son, and Galina Vilchinskaya were arrested in 1979 on their way home from such a camp, possibly this one (Chronicles 54, 56). The tape (below) carries a quote from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress

Orthodox Christians

Fr Vitaly Boiko, precentor of the Church of the Holy Veil in Kiev, organized a youth choir from among the believers. The Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs (under the USSR Council of Ministers) for Kiev region, Rudenko, demanded that the church 'council of twenty' disband the choir.

In August men in plain clothes came to a practice and asked the singers for their passports. For a month they came every day and asked those who went up to sing in the choir for their passports - not allowing through those who had no passports. The church's administration has broken off its contract with Fr Vitaly.

* * *

At the end of November the residence of the Ukrainian Exarch was surrounded by police. All those entering the building were told to assemble in one room. They were informed that a search for stolen property was taking place; at the same time it was stated that there were nuns living illegally in the Exarch's residence. The police wanted to carry out a search of the building, without any warrant, but a protest by Archbishop Makary, suffragan bishop of Kiev, who was present, forced the police to leave the building. Some time later an apology was delivered to a representative of the Exarchate.

THE RIGHT TO LEAVE

The Tenth Anniversary of the Sentencing of the 'Aeroplane People'

On 24 December the tenth anniversary of the sentence passed on the 'aeroplane people' (Chronicle 17), a silent demonstration was to have taken place outside the Lenin Library in Moscow (three prisoners remain - **I. Mendelevich**,[37] **A. Murzhenko** and **Yu. Fedorov**). At the entrance to the library, 14 people were stopped and taken to a police station by police officers and men in plain clothes who refused to show proof of their identity. Nine people were released after questioning, while **P. Abramovich** (Chronicles 43, 44, 47), **V. Brodsky**, **V. Kats**, **L. Makar-Limanov** and **L. Tesmenitsky** were put under arrest for 10 days by the People's Court of the Kiev district of Moscow.

58 people signed a declaration about this, addressed to Grishin, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU. On the same day 60 Jewish activists sent a letter to Brezhnev and held a one-day hunger-strike in protest.

Moscow

In May 1979 the USSR chess champion for 1977, international

grand master **Boris Gulko** and his wife **Anna Akhsharumova**, international grand master and USSR champion for 1976, applied to emigrate from the USSR. On 13 November 1980, not having received any reply, they declared a week's protest hunger-strike and appealed to the Madrid Conference and the participants in the World Chess Olympics in Malta to help them to leave the USSR.

* * *

In May 1979 **A.P. Babënyshev** (Chronicle 56), a senior researcher at the Institute of Geology and Combustible Minerals |IGCM|, was unanimously re-elected, in competition with others, for a further five years. He was a hero of communist labour and had been awarded the medal 'Victor of socialist competition'; for almost the whole of 1979 his photograph hung on the honours board of the institute. He was not involved in secret work.

On 9 October 1979 Babënyshev wrote to the administration, asking for a reference to pass on to OVIR |regarding emigration|. He received the reference only after a month; however, the next day V.P. Bukhartsev, head of the Applied Mathematics Laboratory, wrote the director a report concerning the need for Babënyshev's position to be reviewed ahead of time, 'as he is not suitable for the position he holds'. 'In addition', wrote Bukhartsev, 'I consider it my duty to state that the unpatriotic action taken by A.P. Babënyshev is irreconcilable with the degree, earlier awarded to him, of Doctor of Geology and Mineralogy'.

On 19 October an urgent meeting of the Academic Council of IGCM was convened, without an announcement in the press and without any of the necessary documentation for an academic competition. The only subject of discussion was Babënyshev's unpatriotic intention of leaving the country. R.O. Khachatryan, Doctor of Geology and Mineralogy, speaking in the name of the Party organization, stated: 'We signed the Helsinki Agreements, but morally we're against them'. N.A. Eremenko, Director of the Institute, and his deputy N.A. Krylov said that they could not entrust work to a man who was preparing to leave the country. One of Babënyshev's colleagues, appealing to the members of the Academic Council, said that he feared they would one day be ashamed of their present behaviour, just as today those who had taken part in the campaigns of persecution against geneticists and in the fight against cybernetics and the cosmopolitans [ie Jews] were ashamed. These words were greeted with loud laughter by the assembly.

The Academic Council unanimously decided that Babënyshev was not suited to the position he held, after which he was transferred to a job as an engineer in the same laboratory, with a salary of 115 roubles a month (instead of 300 in his former job). The Ministry of the Oil Industry, to which the Institute is subordinate, refused to overrrule the decision of the Council and the Director.

On 18 December 1979 the Academic Council of IGCM reviewed a 'letter of eminent IGCM scientists', protesting against Babënyshev's unpatriotic action and suggesting that he be deprived of his academic degree (the letter was signed by M.M. Aliev - the only Academician in the Institute, Bukhartsev - Babënyshev's immediate boss - and by E.A. Bars, M.M. Feigin and V.M. Ryzhik - all three Doctors of Science and Jews). After the letter had been read out, Babënyshev was given an opportunity to speak. He said

that the Director and the members of the Academic Council were poor patriots: firstly because, in 'punishing a man for wanting to make use of one of the rights granted him, they did not respect their country's laws; secondly, for compromising the country's image in the eyes of its own citizens and people abroad; thirdly, for not showing the most elementary concern for material resources - not one of the directors had been interested, during his demotion and then dismissal from work, in the state and whereabouts of the programs and algorithms which he had worked out over six years and which were widely used in the work of a number of the Institute's laboratories. Nobody had bothered about the fact that research which had cost the state 200,000 roubles had been practically wiped out. 'That means that if a worker in charge of a vegetable storehouse were the same kind of bad man, the "patriots" would immediately have to expose his vegetables to the frost when they discovered his intentions.' In answer to this speech Aleksin, deputy director of IGCM, retorted: 'As for your programs, we'll set up even better ones.' The Academic Council unanimously decided to petition the Higher Degrees Commission to deprive Babënyshev of his academic degree.

On 3 December 1980 board decision No. 51 of the Higher Degrees Commission was issued:

> For committing an unpatriotic act incompatible with the calling of a Soviet scientist, A.P. Babënyshev is to be deprived of the degree of Doctor of Geology and Mineralogy, in accordance with paragraph 102 of the Statutes on the award of learned degrees and titles. His diploma, No. 007879, is to be considered invalid.
>
> Chairman of HDC, V.G. Kirillov-Ugryumov

* * *

At the beginning of November **Vasily Barats**, a member of the 'Right to Emigration' group (Chronicle 54), sent the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet a statement that he had started to issue an Information Bulletin on questions of emigration, and also copies of the first five numbers. The same month, No. 6 came out. At present the other members of the group are L. Agapova, I. Lupachev and V. Troitsky. (See 'Foam' in the section 'Miscellaneous Reports'.) On 8 December about **100 Jews** came to Fadeyev, head of the Moscow Administration for Visas and Registration [UVIR] [Chronicle 38], with a collective declaration. He refused to receive even their representatives, saying that UVIR would consider their cases individually. Fadeyev suggested that he should reply to them one by one. The Jews left their declaration and dispersed, trusting Fadeyev's promise to see in the near future all those who had signed the declaration. The next week, those who came to register for interviews were told that Fadeyev had gone on holiday for six weeks.

* * *

On 11 December a **group of Jews** came to the reception room of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and handed in a declaration addressed to Brezhnev (with 143 signatures):

> On 11 November 1980 we, Jews of Moscow, appealed to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in a statement

> describing a number of violations of the law with regard to emigration; these took place with the knowledge of certain responsible state institutions.
>
> We insist on an official clarification of our legal position. We have not received the reply we have been promised for a month. Perhaps information on the legal violations reported by us is not reaching the Presidium. We hope to receive a reply today from a competent and responsible person.

A letter in defence of **Brailovsky** (see 'The Arrest of Brailovsky') was also handed in; it contained a demand for his release from prison and permission for his family to leave the USSR. Brailovsky's wife and 87 of those gathered at the Presidium had signed it.

Both letters were accepted by reception officials. An hour later, however, those present were told (a) that no reply would be made to the declaration about emigration, and (b) that UVIR had already replied to all the signatories of the letter of 11 November. Then those present were asked to leave the reception room, as they were 'hindering its normal work'. In response to this, a short statement was composed and handed in, expressing determination to continue, by legal means, the struggle to win the right to leave the USSR, as guaranteed by Soviet laws. All present (about 140 people) signed the letter.

In the days after 20 December the following note was passed round among Jewish refuseniks:

> Unfortunately our efforts to explain our position to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet have not met with success: on 11 December we received the reply that we enjoyed full rights and that all those who had visited UVIR on 11 November had received replies. As in fact we have received no replies, we have to turn to UVIR directly. So as not to do this one by one, it is suggested that on 23 December at 14.00 we should meet at Moscow City UVIR (Kolpachny Lane 10) and find out: 1) Does the Decree concerning the time limit on consideration of applications - two months - apply to our applications to emigrate? If not, then which legal regulations is UVIR subject to? What time limits does it set on its own investigations? 2) Must refusals be based on references to the law? 3) Are there time limits on 'security grounds' refusals which have been established by law? Of course, people who did not go to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet can also take part.

On 23 December about 100 Jews went to UVIR and handed in a letter similar in content to the above note. The letter was given to Semënov, a UVIR official, by representatives S. Azarkh, L. Makar-Limanov[38] and L. Tesmenitsky. An hour later they were summoned and told that each of them would be interviewed separately. The representatives declared that this was impossible, as those whom they represented were downstairs and the reply must be given to all of them. After that they drew up a declaration stating that they were representatives and collected signatures on it. Semënov again said that all questions would be considered individually, with each person.

Kiev

On 18 November **Igor Gerashchenko** and **Irina Ratushinskaya**, who wanted to leave the USSR, were summoned to a police station. In an office they were seated on two chairs in the middle of the room. The five people round them (three in plain clothes, two in police uniform) asked Gerashchenko and Ratushinskaya questions: 'How has the Soviet regime harmed you?'; 'Why do you two non-Jews suddenly want to go to Israel?'; 'What are you going to do there? Who needs you? They treat even Jews from the Soviet Union really badly there, but you'll be like Negroes to them'; 'How could you cut yourself off so from our way of life and sell yourselves to the enemy?' The whole conversation, which took 20 minutes, ended with the statement that they had been refused permission to emigrate. In answer to the question 'Who by?', they received the reply, after some confusion: 'The Commission on Emigration of the Leningrad District OVD's passport section'. When they asked how they could have received a refusal when they had not yet sent in their applications (they had not been issued the forms to accompany their applications), they were told 'Don't bother to apply - just forget the idea.'

* * *

On 19 December **Lyubov Murzhenko**, wife of Aleksei Murzhenko, was summoned to the Kiev OVIR and asked to take back her documents as her application to emigrate had been refused. L. Murzhenko refused to take the documents.

* * *

On 23 October Police Captain S.M. Mishchenko, a KGB official, and an unknown man in civilian clothes detained refusenik **Stanislav Zubko** (in Chronicle 57 his surname is incorrectly spelt) on the street, stating that he resembled a well-known apartment burglar. Zubko offered to show them his passport, but they took him away to 'establish his identity'. The next day it became known that Zubko had been taken to the People's Court in Darnitsa district, where he got a 15-day sentence for 'using obscene language at a tram stop'. This is Zubko's third administrative arrest in the last six months (on 15 May he was given another 15 days while in the special detention centre).[39]

* * *

On 5 November the married couple **Vladimir and Bronislava Levinshtein** returned home at 11 o'clock in the evening. Not far from their house an unknown man collided with them; a glass fell from his hands and broke. Immediately three policemen pushed the Levinshteins into a police car that happened to be close by and took them to a police station. During the night Bronislava was allowed to go home, but the next day her husband got a 10-day sentence for 'petty hooliganism'.

* * *

On 11-13 November Kiev refuseniks held a mass fast in protest at 'their illegal deprivation of the right to choose their country of residence'. They timed the fast to coincide with the opening of the Madrid Conference.

On 11 November Mishchenko uttered non-specific threats

to **Mr and Mrs Berenshtein** (Chronicle 57) concerning their participation in the fast. On 13 November Berenshtein was taken to the police station by Mishchenko and a policeman 'in connection with a complaint received about hooliganism'. The Darnitsa District Court then put him under arrest for 15 days. Berenshtein's relatives were not allowed into the courtroom.

On 10 November, the day before the fast began, an attempt was made to intern **Liliana Varvak** (Chronicles 56, 57) forcibly in a psychiatric hospital. After this she had to go into hiding. On 16 November Liliana's mother, in the company of an unknown woman, broke into the Varvaks' flat. Only Liliana's husband Leonid (Chronicles 53, 56) was at home. The women attacked him (he is seriously ill and for him, an attack of this kind was not a joke). When the police arrived, they asked Leonid's mother-in-law to write an explanation of her reasons for breaking into someone else's flat and also asked Leonid for an explanation of his wife's whereabouts.

Liliana Varvak wrote an appeal 'To all people of good will', calling on them 'to demand an end to the Soviet authorities' tormenting of defenceless people and small children' and to allow her family to leave the USSR.

* * *

On 25 November the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 149, 'Repression of Jewish refuseniks in Kiev':

> Recently the Kiev OVIR has been issuing a large number of refusals to Jews applying to emigrate ... The repressive measures taken against Jewish refuseniks in Kiev have become large-scale. In the atmosphere of intimidation and violence created by the authorities, the Jewish refuseniks of Kiev have appealed for help to the heads of the states which participated in the Helsinki conference.
>
> We join in their protest against this flagrant violation of the right to emigrate, against the violence and the tormenting of people who are guilty only of wanting to leave the USSR for Israel.

Lvov

In November 1979 **Alexander Aksinin** and his wife **Engelina Buryakovskaya**, who suffers from cylindroma of the throat, applied to OVIR for permission to leave the USSR to obtain medical treatment in the West. Since 1978 Buryakovskaya has been living on pain-killers and suffers from constant throat haemorrhages. The medicines which could heal her in the West are unobtainable in the USSR.

In May 1980 Aksinin and Buryakovskaya received a refusal: 'Insufficiently close relative'. In June they again handed in applications to emigrate and again received a refusal on the same grounds. Letters to Brezhnev and other Soviet authorities have so far yielded no results.

During one of their visits to the OVIR offices, Engelina was asked: 'Isn't it all the same to you where you die?' In the autumn of 1980 KGB officials confiscated from their flat (without a search warrant) a number of books published abroad and typewritten material.

Buryakovskaya graduated from the Conservatory, specializ-

ing in piano. She writes short stories, which have been published in the journal Echo (Paris).[40] Aksinin, a graphic artist, won a gold medal at an international competition in Poland.

Armenia

In December **Rafael Oganyan** (Chronicle 56) sent Brezhnev another declaration asking to be relieved of Soviet citizenship and allowed to 'ask for political asylum in the USA' - with his family of wife and three children. He considers himself 'a victim of my fight against antisocial elements', as a result of which he has become unemployed.

Have Left

On 12 November **Lev Kopelev** (Chronicle 56) and his wife **Raisa Orlova** (Chronicle 56) left to spend a year in West Germany. Before his departure Kopelev stated that he intended to return to the USSR, and that for this reason he would refrain from making any public statements while abroad.

On 21 December **Vladimir Voinovich** (Chronicle 56) left to spend a year in West Germany. Customs officials confiscated his book Degree of Faith (State Publishing-house, Moscow, 1973). Voinovich said he would not leave until the book was returned to him or to the friends who had accompanied him. It was given to his friends.

On 10 October an article entitled 'The Two Faces of **Lev Druskin**' appeared in the newspaper Evening Leningrad. It was signed by eight members of the bureau of the poetry section of the Leningrad organization of the RSFSR Writers' Union. The article makes use of the manuscript diary confiscated from Druskin (Chronicles 56, 57) during a search:

> One Druskin published patriotic verses in our journals, while the other was writing a 'book' pretentiously entitled As Before God, every page of which contained sordid remarks about our state, Soviet literature and many Leningrad writers.
>
> Ours is a humane society. Although L. Druskin's actions come under specific articles of the Criminal Code, it was decided, in view of his disability, not to prosecute him.

On 21 December Lev Druskin left the USSR.

IN THE PRISONS AND CAMPS

Chistopol Prison

The following prisoners have been transferred here: **N. Matusevich** (in October, for three years); **P. Plumpa** (in

October; his sentence ends on 19 November 1981) and **S. Kovalëv** (on 17 October; his seven years' 'deprivation of freedom' will end on 27 December 1981 and he still has three years' exile left to serve).

Kovalëv was transferred for 'failing to fulfil the norm'. He still (Chronicle 57) suffers from pains in the heart and a subfebrile temperature in the evenings.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 3

In the men's political zone (uchr. ZhKh-385/3-5) there are at present about 80 prisoners, a third of whom are Ukrainian. The majority are aged between 50 and 80.

Grigory Kononov (b. 1942) arrived here in October. He had been a reporter on a Turkmenian newspaper. He was sentenced under article 68 of the Turkmenian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) for a work entitled Gagged Reporting.

In November **Nikolai Krainik** (see 'The Trial of Krainik') and the Korean **Chan Kan Kho** (serving 10 years for 'espionage') arrived at the camp. **A. Zypre** (Chronicle 51)[41] has been transferred here from Kazan's special psychiatric hospital.

P. Paulaitis (Chronicles 46, 51), **K. Skripchuk** (Chronicle 52) and **Georgy Yurkov** are all here. Yurkov is a Belorussian and has been a prisoner for 28 years. He tattoed 'Slave of the CPSU' on his face and was given plastic surgery. Since he has served the part of his sentence imposed for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' he is demanding a transfer to Belorussia, but this is being refused, as his scars are still visible.

* * *

On 30 October, Political Prisoners' Day, **Badzë**, **Nazaryan**, **Osipov** and **Rudenko** staged a one-day hunger-strike. In December the same prisoners were joined by **Zypre**, **Kononov**, **Radzhabov** and **Chan Kan Kho** in a one-day hunger-strike.

* * *

On 19 December, his sixtieth birthday, **N. Rudenko** declared an indefinite hunger-strike. In a letter to Brezhnev dated 25 November, Raisa Rudenko writes that her husband is on hunger-strike indefinitely in protest against the 'illegal and groundless humiliations' to which he is subjected. He is, in effect, prevented from writing and receiving letters (his friends' letters do not reach him, most of his letters to her, and hers to him are confiscated). Since August, by decision of a camp commission, he (a Group 2 invalid of the Second World War, injured in the spine by an exploding shell) has been forced to work standing at a bench, and during her visit in November he was suffering from insupportable pain in his back. In December Rudenko was taken to hospital, where he was prepared for an adenoma operation.

* * *

Nazaryan has spent 104 days in the cooler for not greeting camp Head Zinenko (misspelt in Chronicle 54)[42] and refusing to speak to KGB officials from Armenia. His letters to his wife are always confiscated.

* * *

There are now seven prisoners in the women's political zone (uchr. ZhKh-385/3-4): **Tatyana Velikanova** (for her trial see Chronicle 58); **Oksana Popovich** (b. 1928; arrested in October 1974 - Chronicle 34; sentenced to eight years and three years' exile); the 'aeroplane women' **Galina Silivonchik** (arrested 1969 - Chronicle 15; sentenced to 13 years and five years' exile) and **Lyudmila Listvina** (arrested 6 January 1979; sentenced to three years). The three other women are religious prisoners, members of the True Orthodox church: **Ekaterina Alëshina** (b. 1908; arrested 1972; sentenced to 10 years); **Maria Semënova** (b. 1923; arrested 1972; sentenced to 10 years and three years' exile) and **Alexandra Khvotkova** (b. 1905; sentenced to seven years and three years' exile). Only Velikanova and Listvina work (in the sewing workshop). Silivonchik does spells on duty and Popovich is an invalid.

The Perm Camps

Camp 35

In the space of ten months **N. Matusevich** spent six months in the punishment block and was sent to the cooler nine times. In October he was transferred to Chistopol Prison for three years.

* * *

On 30 October **Paruir Airikyan** was presented with an official resolution stating that he was being charged under article 174 part 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Giving Bribes'). **V. Sverdlov** (Chronicles 52, 57) and **Zhilin**, a foreman who enters the camp daily, are also being charged in the case. The apparent charge is that Zhilin received parcels, the contents of which he would share upon receipt of a bribe. In connection with this case a search was carried out in the Moscow home of Airikyan's fiancee **Elena Sirotenko** and, at the end of August, in Tallin, at the home of Sergei Soldatov's wife, **Lyudmila Gryunberg**. The preliminary investigation was finished at the end of November. The case was then studied by the procurators (up to and including the RSFSR Procurator). On 22 December it was remitted for further investigation. Airikyan's camp sentence ends in February 1981.

Camp 36 (special regime)

Vasily Stus (for his trial see Chronicle 58) has arrived here. In November **Yu. Fëdorov** was admitted to hospital.

Camp 36 (strict regime)

Viktor Nekipelov (for his trial see Chronicle 57), **Antanas Terleckas** (for his trial see Chronicle 58) and **Alexander Ogorodnikov** (for his trial see Chronicle 58) have arrived here.

Valentin Zasimov (Chronicles 43, 46 - his name was incorrectly spelt Zosimov) and **Apollony Berdnichuk** (Chronicle 51, where his name was given as Bernichuk) have been transferred here from Camp 37.

Mikhail Monakov (for his arrest see Chronicle 53), sentenced to five years' strict-regime camps under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) and **Alexander Nilov** (b. 1949; arrested in January 1977), sentenced to 10 years' strict-regime camps

under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code[43], are in this camp.

* * *

M. Marinovich (Chronicle 53) has again been put in the punishment cells for six months.

In September **Zasimov** said that his letter to N. Komarova (V. Nekipelov's wife), in which he refused material help, had been written at the dictation of a KGB official.

On 22 December **Zasimov, Marinovich, Nekipelov, Nilov** and **Terleckas** staged a 24-hour hunger-strike in support of their demand for a doctor.

* * *

Zinovy Krasivsky's (for his arrest see Chronicle 55) eight-month camp sentence ended in November and he was sent under guard into exile. At the beginning of December he arrived at the following address: 626232, Tyumenskaya oblast, Khanty-Mansiysky nats. okrug, pos. Lugovoi, obshchezhitie [hostel]. He now has a five-year exile term.

Camp 37

In August **Yu. Orlov** (Chronicle 54) was sent to the punishment cells for six months. In November he was sent to the cooler for 15 days and immediately afterwards, without being allowed out, he was given another 15 days. His first 15 days were the result of an argument with officer Salakhov, who forbade Orlov to close his eyes and rest his head on his hands during the rest period. Orlov was sent to the cooler running a temperature and was given no treatment. He has low blood pressure and suffers from headaches and frequent dizzy spells. He has lost consciousness several times while standing at his work bench. He has chronic cystitis and severe rheumatic pains, his crowned teeth ache, and he suffers from insomnia. (In 1979 the Armenian Academy of Sciences surreptitiously deprived Orlov of his status of corresponding member.)

* * *

In November, after seven years in camp, **Kuzma Dasiv** (b. 1925) left to serve his three-year exile term.

In Other Prisons and Camps

The investigation of new charges against **Kirill Podrabinek** (Chronicle 57) is drawing to a close. On 21 November lawyer **Yu. B. Pozdeyev** (Chronicles 4, 8, 13, 15),[44] whom Kirill's father **P.A. Podrabinek** had engaged to conduct his son's defence, received a telegram from Elets informing him that the investigation would close on 24 November. Pozdeyev sent a telegram to the investigator saying that he could not manage to get there in time (according to Pozdeyev, he only found out on 24 November that the investigation would close on the 24th). The investigator replied that there was no longer any need for Pozdeyev to be present, since a local lawyer would defend Podrabinek. (Kirill had agreed to this because he believed the investigator when he told him that Pozdeyev was not coming.)

P.A. Podrabinek submitted a complaint. As a result the case was remitted for further examination, so that the closing could take place with the participation of a lawyer

of the defendant's choice.

On 11 December Pozdeyev received a telegram informing him that Podrabinek's closing would take place on 19 December. On 18 December he informed P.A. Podrabinek that he would be unable to conduct his son's defence because he was 'engaged on another case' (unofficially he said that the Chairman of the Moscow Bar, K. Apraksin, would not sign his authorization to travel to Elets). P.A. Podrabinek refused to take back his money and told Pozdeyev that he was legally obliged to conduct the case as had been agreed. Pozdeyev replied that he would send him the money by post.

On 21 December P.A. Podrabinek sent a complaint about Pozdeyev to the Ministry of Justice. The closing was, as a result, put back to 22 December. Kirill agreed to let a local lawyer named Bobryasheva defend him, and with her he fulfilled the requirements of article 201 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure [on the end of the investigation].[45]

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Serafim Evsyukov (for his trial see Chronicle 57) is serving his sentence in the village of Novochunka, Chunsky District, Irkutsk Region.

* * *

On 8 October **V. Chornovil**'s wife Atena Pashko (for his trial see Chronicle 57) received a letter from his camp informing her that she could visit her husband from 4 to 6 October. In response to her request that the date of the visit be changed, she was informed that it would take place on 13 November. On 3 November camp head Garilov informed Pashko that, due to Chornovil's illness, the date of the visit had been changed to 30 November (Chornovil did not feel at all unwell on 3 November). On 5 November Chornovil was forcibly taken to hospital and placed in a ward with a man suffering from hepatitis and kept there until 21 November. He staged a five-day hunger-strike in protest. From 30 November to 2 December he had a long visit from his wife. The second visiting room was closed and a family who had arrived together with Pashko were refused permission to visit the prisoner they had come to see.

* * *

In November a Deputy Chairman of the Krasnoyarsk KGB, Chernyshev, arrived in camp to see **Reshat Dzhemilëv** (Chronicle 56). He told Dzhemilëv that there was quite enough evidence for another case to be brought against him (eleven of Dzhemilëv's notebooks had fallen into KGB hands; he had tried to send them out of the camp with prisoner Cherenkov). Chernyshev threatened Dzhemilëv with a new sentence unless he 'stopped his activities'. Dzhemilëv made a protest that he was not being given letters from his family and was then sent to the cooler.

The administration has been turning the prisoners against Dzhemilëv. Detachment chief Captain Fomin stated that people of other nationalities made life difficult for the Russians - they lived at their expense. In his opinion, Stalin had made a mistake in deporting the Crimean Tatars - he should have exterminated them. Captains Beloborodov and Babenkov tell the prisoners that Dzhemilëv is an enemy to whom it is not even worth talking.

* * *

In December foreign slides on religious subjects were found in **M. Simchich**'s (Chronicle 56) possession. On 16 December he was sentenced to 15 days in the cooler for 'failing to fulfil the plan'.

* * *

At the end of November **L. Volokhonsky** (Chronicle 55) was taken to Perm, where he was interrogated by a KGB investigator from Leningrad (the KGB had received a denunciation in which Volokhonsky was accused of smuggling).

* * *

In November **Iosif Zisels** (Chronicle 57) was admitted to hospital with a stomach ulcer.

* * *

While in the cooler **Ju. Gimbutas** (for his trial see Chronicle 56) suffered paralysis of the left arm and leg.

Letters and Statements by Political Prisoners

V. Nekipelov: 'To Tsarev, Procurator of Vladimir Region' (12 May 1980)

On 26 April 1980, KGB investigator P.I. Pleshkov informed me, albeit outside the limits of the official investigation, that he is apparently in possession of evidence from some women prisoners that Moscow dissidents had a radio-station (!) which they took away and tested somewhere in Lithuania or Latvia and that this operation was carried out by Ivan Kovalëv (?) on the orders of Viktor Nekipelov (?). Allegedly the recently arrested M.N. Landa told her cell-mates about this and several people (Pleshkov puts great emphasis on this point) have confirmed that she did so ...

The organs of State Security, should they so wish, can make use of this material both to arrest I.S. Kovalëv and to discredit widely the democratic movement.

I wish to register a strong protest against any possible actions of this kind, and request that you take steps to make a thorough investigation of the circumstances in which security officials received the above evidence. I ask you to check the identity of the people who gave this false evidence against M.N. Landa and why they did so. I insist that those responsible for the fabrication and circulation of false evidence be made to answer for it.

(Compare with analogous pressure on Landa reported in Chronicle 57.) On 19 May the Regional Procuracy replied as follows:

Please inform V.A. Nekipelov that his complaint against the actions of investigator P.I. Pleshkov has been sent to the Head of his department for review.

On 28 May P.I. Obraztsov, an Assistant Regional Procurator, told Nekipelov: 'We only supervise the conduct of investigations by the State Security organs. Their operational activities - ie their work - is outside our control'.

V. Nekipelov: 'To the American PEN Club' (July 1980)

Dear Mr Bernard Malamud!

It was with great joy that I learned of my election

as an honorary member of the American PEN Club in November 1979. Unfortunately, I had already been arrested when I found out about this honour and I have now been sentenced to 12 years in camp and exile for the very reasons that you singled me out - for my independent judgment and adherence to the principle of free expression. It is an eloquent fact that your letter was also arrested by the KGB and is now lying in my case file (vol. 10, pages 92-4) as part of the evidence ... of what? ... of my links with 'subversive centres in imperialist countries'. Yet this is not someone's sick fantasy - on 18 February 1980 I was asked in all seriousness: 'What is the nature of your connection with the so-called PEN Club and did you supply it with any information?'

All this is not an isolated instance of spy mania, but represents the level of consciousness and creative freedom in a country which deceives the world by the lustre of its exhibitions and the large numbers of books it prints. A writer who decides to tell nothing but the truth about our way of life will inevitably end up in prison.

I would like those American writers who call me their brother to know about this. I ask you to pass on to them my greetings and thanks for their support. I would like to assure them that even in my present circumstances I will remain true to the noble principles of the PEN Club - to serve the interests of freedom and compassion. Although the most important thing has been taken away from me - the opportunity to write.

Please forgive me if this letter is greatly delayed.

In Defence of Political Prisoners

On 22 November **Yu. Fëdorov**'s mother appealed to Brezhnev to pardon her son, in view of his alarming state of health. On the same day, **A. Murzhenko**'s wife appealed to Brezhnev to pardon her husband.

On 1 December **N. Meiman** and **A. Sakharov** appealed to the Madrid conference to save **Yury Orlov**:

> a man to whom the world owes a deeper and wider understanding of the essence and potential of the Helsinki Agreements.

On 12 December **N. Matusevich's mother** appealed to the Madrid conference and to the Red Cross. She writes that she has not been allowed to visit her son since 1978 (Chronicles 54, 56) and that she has not had any letters from him for the past 10 months. The Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions sends the standard reply to her enquiries: Matusevich writes as many letters as he is permitted to.

Releases

At the end of August **Maigonis Ravins** was released from Chistopol Prison at the end of his term.

Alexander Gotovtsev (for his trial see Chronicle 54) was released on 12 September at the end of his one-year sentence.

The following have been released conditionally but subjected to 'compulsory labour': **Sergei Ermolayev** (Chronicle 56),[46] **Georgy Mikhailov** (Chronicle 56), **Mikhail Solovov** (for his trial see Chronicle 56), **Igor Guberman** (for his trial see Chronicle 56), **Vladimir Burtsev** (Chronicle 57), **Viktor Popkov** (for his trial see Chronicle 56) and **Romen Kosterin** (Chronicles 52, 56).

Guberman and Kosterin are working in Krasnoyarsk Territory; the former (since November) as a metal-worker and electrician in Borodino settlement, Rybinsk District, the latter in Emelyanovo village. Solovov is working in the town of Novotroitsk, Orenburg Region. Popov and Burtsev are working in Smolensk Region; the former (since November) in Roslavl, the latter (since December) in Kholm-Zhirkovsky District, on the 'Friendship' gas pipeline. At the end of November **Maris Tilgalis** (Chronicles 51, 52) was released from the Perm camps at the end of his term. **Kalju Müttik** (for his trial see Chronicle 38) was brought from the Perm camps, at the end of his term, to Tallin, where he was released on 13 December.

Shagen Arutyunyan (for his trial see Chronicle 48) was released in December at the end of his sentence. After his release he issued the following statement:

> Respected Comrades!
>
> With all my heart I would like to express my deep gratitude to the Moscow Helsinki Group, to all Western European progressive organizations, and to all those who came to the defence of the Armenian Helsinki Group when we were arrested.
>
> I would also like to thank the Solzhenitsyn fund, the organization Amnesty International and all those who helped my family materially. Such actions, in my opinion, show humanity on the part of the civilized world, and I hope they will continue as long as political prisoners suffer within prison walls.
>
> Shagen Arutyunyan
> Member of Armenian Helsinki Group

In December **Eduard Kuleshov** (Chronicles 53, 56) was released for lack of evidence to support the charges against him. The statement in Chronicle 57 that he had been given a two-year sentence was evidently wrong.

IN EXILE

A psychiatric commission has pronounced **Yury Khramtsov** (Chronicle 57) responsible. He was tried again and sentenced to five years' exile. He is serving this sentence at the following address in Kazakhstan: Kustanaiskaya oblast, Kustanaisky raion, pos. Aleksandrovka, Invalidny dom. This is a home for psychoneurological cases, and the inmates are not allowed out of the house. Khramtsov is allowed to write two letters a month (as in a strict-regime camp).

* * *

On 9 December a KGB official from Moscow tried unsuccessfully to interrogate **Malva Landa** (Chronicle 57). On 25 December she was taken to the police station, where her fingerprints were taken.

* * *

Mustafa Dzhemilev was summoned as a witness to the trial of A. Podrabinek (for his arrest see Chronicle 57). On 31 December he was waiting in Yakutsk to board a plane for Ust-Nera when he was detained on the orders of Colonel N.F. Sergeyev, (Head of Department 5 of the Yakut ASSR MVD), and sent back to Zyryanka. It was noted in Dzhemilev's travel papers that he had been sent back to his place of exile because the trial had been postponed 'for an indefinite period', although the Judge had named 5 January as the day the trial would probably begin. Sergeyev gave an order that in future the local authorities should ask his permission before allowing Dzhemilev to travel. Dzhemilev has not received permission to travel to Ust-Nera again.

Releases

Iosif Begun's (for his trial see Chronicle 50) term of exile ended in August. He has obtained a permit to live in the town of Strunino, Vladimir Region.

IN THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS

Viktor Davydov (for his trial see Chronicle 58) was transferred from Kazan SPH to Blagoveshchensk SPH (Amur Region) in November.

* * *

Nikolai Plakhotnyuk (Chronicle 57) was taken to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow in November. He was told when he appeared before a psychiatric commission: 'It's high time you went home'. The doctors on the commission assured Plakhotnyuk that they would petition the court for his discharge.[47]

* * *

In December, following a decision by a psychiatric commission from the Serbsky Institute, documents were sent to court concerning the transfer of **Ivan Grigorevich Fedorenko** from the Chernyakhovsk SPH to an OPH in his home town. Fedorenko (b. 1932) was responsible for organizing the Literary Museum in Krasnodar. He was arrested on 10 February 1977 after a meeting of writers from Krasnodar Territory at which he had openly criticized Kikilo, who was then First Secretary of the Krasnodar Territory party committee.[48] He was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Investigator Rydvanov of Krasnodar KGB conducted the investigation. During the investigation, a note that he suffered from a stomach ulcer, diagnosed in 1976, disappeared from Fedorenko's medical file. The evidence against him at his trial consisted of particular phrases taken from letters which he had sent through the post.

Releases

In August **V. Gershuni** (Chronicle 57), **V. Gusarov** (Chronicle 57) and **I. Bykovsky** (Chronicle 57) were released from psychiatric hospitals.

AFTER RELEASE

When he returned to the place where he was engaged in 'compulsory labour', after a holiday, **Georgy Mikhailov** (see 'Releases' in the section 'In the Prisons and Camps') was detained and searched on the pretext that he had not obtained permission for a holiday (he did have permission). His correspondence with official bodies concerning the return of his pictures (Chronicle 54) and some private letters were confiscated.

* * *

On 8 December a KGB official came to see **Alexander Shatravka** (Chronicles 51, 53, 57) in Krivoi Rog to ask him for someone's address. Towards the end of his visit, he had already forgotten this pretext and left without asking for the address.

On 10 December Alexander's brother **Mikhail** went to report to the psychiatric clinic where he is on the out-patients' register. Immediately on his arrival, he was taken to a prison, put into prison clothes, and placed in the hospital section. A doctor then started questioning him as to why he had been to Rostov. It soon became apparent that they had confused the two brothers (it was Alexander who had been to Rostov recently). The questioning continued in the office of the chief doctor, who asked Mikhail about his brother's visit to Rostov. Mikhail was unable to tell him anything about it. He was then questioned about the two brothers' unsuccessful attempt to escape from the USSR and the interview ended with criticism that both brothers did not want to work.

EXTRAJUDICIAL PERSECUTION

In January **Igor Khokhlushkin** (Chronicle 45) was beaten up on the street at night (Chronicle 56). In August two strangers beat him up in a compartment of a long-distance train from Kalinin to Moscow. In November his 17-year-old son was beaten up in the street by two men.

* * *

On 15 July three KGB officials named Gromov, Petrov and Solovëv, told **Yuly Kosharovsky** (he has been a refusenik since 1970) to stop teaching Hebrew and threatened him with consequences ranging from 'the fate of Volvovsky (who was deported from Moscow - Chronicle) to that of

Shcharansky (for his trial see Chronicle 50)'.

On 15 September, when Kosharovsky was on holiday in Koktebel, a man fell down next to him on the beach and smashed a bottle. Kosharovsky was sentenced to 13 days in prison.

On 27 November Kosharovsky was again told to stop teaching Hebrew and warned that his lessons would be disrupted. After this, KGB officials came to several of his lessons and stayed to the end.

On 12 December KGB officials threatened Kosharovsky with charges under article 153 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Private Enterprise Activity ...') unless he stopped his Hebrew lessons.

* * *

A local policeman called on Moscow Helsinki Group member **Ivan Kovalëv** at 6.30 am on 3 September. He called Kovalëv a vagrant and said he had been without a job for over six months. Kovalëv replied that he worked as a fireman at the Mayakovsky Theatre.

The same day the theatre's director and manager, Solopov, asked Kovalëv to leave, without giving a reason. Kovalëv refused. Solopov ordered S. Fëdorov, acting chief of the fire department, to write him a report on Kovalëv's professional incompetence. Fëdorov refused. The woman in charge of the personnel department was recalled from holiday and she too refused to dismiss Kovalëv without due cause.

On 22 October Kovalëv wrote a statement asking for a permanent job (he had been employed on 26 August for a two-month period).

On 23 October Kovalëv was handed an order for his dismissal on 25 October - 'since the period of temporary employment has ended'. The order was dated 22 October.

* * *

In April a regular job review was carried out at the Computer Information Centre (CIC) of the Chief Moscow Fruit and Vegetable Plant. Not long previously **S. Khodorovich** had been told by the head of his department, Yu. I. Khasin, that he would be unlikely to keep his post of senior engineer. On the eve of the review Khasin said that **B. Smushkevich** (Chronicle 58) would not be certified for further employment, but that there was no problem with Khodorovich. At the review Khodorovich was asked whether he was really the administrator of the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners and why he did not work on voluntary Saturdays [on certain Saturdays, workers volunteer to work without pay]. Smushkevich was asked who his friends were and what he did after work. He was not approved and was dismissed from his job. The Deputy Director of CIC, E.P. Ledovsky, said that 'some people' were dissatisified with Smushkevich's dismissal. He complained that 'some want one thing, some another'. Right up to December there were numerous attempts to discover where Smushkevich was working: the CIC administration made enquiries among the employees in his former department, Smushkevich received summonses from the military registration office, although he is not liable for military service, and on 9 December a local police officer visited him at home.

In the summer and autumn KGB officials talked to Khodorovich's fellow-workers. In November and December Khodorovich was late for work three times (a total of 12 minutes). The Director asked the local trade union committee to

sanction Khodorovich's dismissal. The employees in Khodorovich's section wrote to the trade union committee asking them not to sanction the dismissal, since the last two occasions on which Khodorovich had been late were soon after his return to work after a serious illness of some weeks' duration. (Khasin was the only one not to sign the letter, saying: 'I could have dismissed him earlier!')

The CIC Director, L.F. Ostroushko, talked to the union committee members individually and sanction was given. On 29 December Khodorovich was dismissed for 'gross violation of work discipline'.

* * *

Leonid Oves, a fifth-year student of the Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty at Leningrad University, was expelled 'at the request of the Komsomol office', after the KGB announced that he had 'not behaved with sincerity at an investigation'. Oves had refused to take part in the investigation of a case against his father, who was charged with attempting to pass secret documents to the American Consulate (his father was sentenced to 12 years' camp under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code in December).

* * *

In September **R. Lert**'s (Chronicles 52, 53) telephone was disconnected. In October **V. Shcheglov** (Chronicles 56, 57), member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR, had his telephone disconnected. In December they disconnected the telephone in the flat where the deceased **I. Kaplun**'s (Chronicle 57) aunt, mother and daughter live.

MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

Tatyana Grigoryants, wife of the recently released **Sergei Grigoryants** (Chronicle 56), was attacked not far from her home in Moscow on the evening of 11 September. The assailant knocked her down, tried to strangle her and inflicted several wounds with the blade of a safety razor. With great difficulty, she managed to free herself and escape. When she returned to the scene of the crime with her neighbours, Grigoryants found a razor blade and a military registration card in the name of Shumsky.

On 12 September Grigoryants sent a statement, enclosing the military registration card, to Moscow Police Station No. 138. She was sent for a medical examination, but the razor blade was not included in the case file and no one was sent to investigate the scene of the crime.

Shumsky's home was searched and a suit with traces of blood on it was confiscated, but Grigoryants was not permitted to send in her bloodstained clothing for analysis. Grigoryants saw and identified Shumsky as her assailant. Then she was asked to a meeting with Shumsky by Titov, head of the police station. Shumsky tried to persuade her to retract her statement and not to try and have criminal charges brought against him. Titov explained that it would be difficult to bring charges against Shumsky, since he was a legal consultant and what he had done did

not constitute a crime.

Grigoryants received an official refusal to bring criminal charges against Shumsky from the investigation authorities. She was informed that she could notify a court that she intended to prosecute privately.

* * *

At the beginning of September, **Georgy Vladimov**'s play The Sixth Soldier, Natalya Vladimova's private notes, and 50 roubles out of the 500 that had been lying next to the play and the notes, disappeared from the Vladimovs' flat.

* * *

Nina Komarova, wife of V. Nekipelov (for his trial see Chronicle 57), received a warning 'according to the Decree',[49] concerning the translation she and her husband had made of M. Osadchy's story Cataract and her part-authorship of an article entitled 'About Our Searches'. Verbally, she was informed that she had already brought up 'one son' badly and that she would 'go the same way as her husband'. (Sergei Nekipelov is not her son.)

* * *

On 8 December KGB Lieutenant-Colonel Khokhlov 'had a talk' to **Andrei Golitsyn** in Moscow. Khokhlov asked Golitsyn about his acquaintance with R. Medvedev, L. Agapova, the driver V. Baranov (Chronicle 53) and the photographer Sychëv. Golitsyn replied that he knew only Sychëv. Khokhlov asked whether he had informed foreigners about the campaign 'Elections-79'. Golitsyn answered that he had nothing to do with it. Khokhlov said that Golitsyn mixed 'too much' with foreigners and mentioned his acquaintance with the Belgian cultural attache, Jean-Louis Mignot - 'a very harmful man'. Golitsyn was also asked which members of the Helsinki Group he knew. He replied that he did not know any of them. At the end of the 'talk' Golitsyn was presented with a 'warning' that he was responsible for 'deliberately false and slanderous fabrications'. He refused to sign the warning or even to read it. He was informed that his activities were not 'yet' criminal, but that he might be charged later. Khokhlov phoned Golitsyn at the end of December and asked him whether he wished to say anything. Golitsyn answered that he did not.

* * *

On 27 August Izvestia published an article entitled 'The Masks are Torn Off', which stated that **Valentina Mashkova** was a 'dedicated anti-Soviet' woman and that the organization Amnesty International was anti-Soviet. In a telegram to Brezhnev at the beginning of September Mashkova demanded an investigation and the punishment of the slanderers (the article was signed by V. Barsov and M. Mikhailov.

On 29 September Mashkova was summoned to the Tarusa District Soviet EC, where the deputy chairman, A.A. Postnikov, said that he had been instructed to tell her that there would be no enquiry about the article, since nothing published in Izvestia was open to doubt - it was a central Soviet newspaper. In answer to Mashkova's objections that the article described as her acquaintances people she had never even heard of, Postnikov simply reiterated the same sentence.

* * *

On 13 November Taganrog Pravda published a satirical article by T. Azizova entitled 'Floating on the Waves', about pensioner **Elena Grigorevna Pavlova**. The article describes how Pavlova, a former teacher, began, when she retired, to enjoy the broadcasts of [the West German] Deutsche Welle. She taped Western radio broadcasts, transcribed them into an exercise book and gave it to her friends to read. She also dictated books published abroad into a tape-recorder. Nothing was mentioned about any 'measures' applied to Pavlova.

* * *

On 6 November **A. Smirnov** (Chronicles 7, 53) was warned by the administration at his place of work 'not to show his face anywhere'. He was told that he could 'betray the collective' and that his bosses had been 'summoned by the organs' [ie the KGB].

* * *

On 25 November the **Ginzburgs**' adopted son **Sergei Shibayev** (Chronicles 53, 54, 56), who has recently been demobilized from the Army, travelled to Tarusa to obtain a passport. When he got there, Danilov, Head of the Tarusa section of the Kaluga KGB, 'had a talk' with him. Danilov insisted that Shibayev stop seeing A. Ginzburg's friends (he mentioned V. Timachëv and V. Lashkova), and said that if he wanted to work in Tarusa, the 'organs' would help him to get a job. Shibayev said that he would think about it.

* * *

On 25 November the telephone in the **Sakharovs**' Moscow flat was working from 3 pm to 8 pm.

* * *

On 9 December **Anatoly Rybnikov**'s opera, based on the narrative poem 'Juno and Avos' by A. Voznesensky, was performed in the branch of the A. Rublëv Museum in the Church of the Shroud at Fili. The work is an unusual sort of rock-opera with Orthodox church chants. The leading role was sung by Gennady Trofimov and a female part by the composer's daughter. Foreign correspondents K. Klose[50] and T. Kent were invited to the performance, but after a telephone call 'from above' they were not allowed into the hall. The Museum's director was summoned by the KGB and threatened with dismissal because she had allowed foreigners to be invited to the performance. Instead, five KGB officials were sent specially and occupied seats in the hall.[51]

* * *

In October 1980 **Alla Aberson, Mikhail Bakhmutsky, Igor Vinogradov, Lazar Drabkin, Aleksei Lorentsson, Lev Tukachinsky, Grigory Rozenberg** and **Irina Shchegoleva** got together in Moscow to form a Jewish theatre. They chose H. Fast's novel My Glorious Brothers for their first production. The premiere was scheduled to take place on the eve of the feast of Chanuka and the first rehearsal on 11 November. The rehearsal did not take place, however, because KGB and police officers threatened the participants with detention unless they dispersed to their homes. Nevertheless, they began to hold rehearsals in the flats of the various actors. When only a few rehearsals remained before the performance, KGB officials began threatening the partici-

pants by telephone and personally, demanding that they stop rehearsals and cancel the production. A rehearsal which was to take place at Lorentsson's flat was disrupted by police, who blocked the entrance to the flat and detained the theatre's director, **O. Zhits**. The threats of the authorities notwithstanding, the play was performed on 10 December.

Human Rights Day in Moscow

The traditional silent demonstration (Chronicles 43, 48, 52, 55) by Pushkin's statue was due to take place at 7 pm on 10 December.

Towards 6 pm the police surrounded Pushkin Square, closed the underground walkways and the metro exit by Pushkin's statue. At about 7 pm a police officer using a megaphone asked the people gathered on the corner of Gorky Street, outside the Izvestia offices, to move away, because 'repairs are being carried out'. At 7 pm, at least 20-30 people who were standing right next to the police cordon took off their hats. The chain of police, vigilantes and people in civilian clothes began to push the demonstrators, ordering them to leave the small square. **V.G. Briken** tried to protest and was dragged away to one of the police cars. Klaid, son of Yury Grimm (Chronicle 58), **L. Makar-Limanov**, **K. Popov** and **O. Solovëv** (Chronicles 52-4, 57) were also detained. An hour-and-a-half later, after their identity had been established and they had been interviewed briefly - chiefly to ascertain whether they had been in the square by chance or on purpose - they were all released.

At 4.30 that day E. Alekseyeva and I. Kovalëv were detained by two officials in plain clothes as they left A. Sakharov's flat. They were escorted back to the flat, where they were placed under house arrest until 8.30 pm.

The following also found themselves under house arrest on 10 December: **Marina and Boris Rumshisky** (they were driven home from work and their telephone was disconnected until 9 pm); **Yu. Velichkin, E. Armand, I. Kristi, V. Serebrova, S. Sorokina, M. Petrenko, E. Gaidamachuk** (the telephone in her communal flat was disconnected all day) and **V. Tomachinsky** (see 'Letters and Statements').

A 'plain-clothes man' came to see **N. Meiman** on 9 December and warned him not to go out the next day. On 9 December police were stationed all day outside the house where **G. Pavlovsky** lives. On the evening of 10 December they entered his flat under false pretences and took away a guest of his to the police station.

E. Shapoval, N. Lisovskaya, B. Smushkevich and **T. Pletnëva** were detained at work on 10 December. Pletnëva was 'interviewed' about the forthcoming demonstration, about her behaviour when interrogated in connection with Osipova's case, and also about her relations with **L. Volokhonsky**.

S. Khodorovich and **V. Timachëv** were taken to police stations after work and released a few hours later. **E. Smorgunova** was taken to a police station as she left for work in the morning; she was reluctantly allowed to go in the evening to collect her child from kindergarten.

On 17 December the Moscow Helsinki Group put out its Document No. 151: 'Dispersal of a Peaceful Demonstration in Pushkin Square, Moscow, on 10 December':

... On 10 December 1980 the authorities clearly showed

that the citizens of the USSR do not have the right to hold peaceful demonstrations - a right which citizens of other countries belonging to the UN enjoy without restraint and which is proclaimed in the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the Soviet Constitution.

The Breaking-up of Unofficial Seminars

A regular meeting of the Moscow independent seminar on the humanities and legal subjects (Chronicle 55) was due to take place on 12 November at 12 o'clock. Around 10.30 seven people arrived at the flat where the seminar was to be held. Without presenting any documents, they took the occupant of the flat, **V. Yu. Maksimenko**, and two of the participants in the seminar who had already arrived to a police station, where they were detained until 9.30 pm. As a result, the seminar had to be held in another flat.

* * *

The weekly meeting of the Sunday Science Seminar was due to take place in **V. Brailovsky**'s flat on 23 November (the seminar was organized in 1973 by **A. Voronel** and **M. Azbel** and has been held in Brailovsky's flat since 1976). At 11 am, half-an-hour before the start, two KGB officials and a policeman appeared at the door of the flat. Professor **S. Alber**, who had arrived about 40 minutes before the seminar was due to start, was the only one of the participants who managed to get into the flat. The KGB officials grabbed **V. Magarik**, Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, by the elbows and forcibly escorted him out of the building from outside the door of the sixth-floor flat, promising him '15 days in prison in the near future' as they went. At 11.40 four 'officials' replied that they were vigilantes, but produced no proof. When asked why they were stopping people going to the Brailovskys' flat, they replied: 'The flat is being disinfected', 'There's something wrong with the flat', 'There's nothing there to concern you', 'There's no one in the flat'. KGB official Viktor Alyabev told the members of the seminar that V. Brailovsky would get eight to ten years for 'raping a minor' as well as three years under article 190-1. Seeing that the seminar members were not dispersing, the KGB officials began to threaten that they would 'get a bus and drive everyone out into the forest', and then pretended that they were ordering a car. After standing outside the building in the pouring rain for half-an-hour, the members of the seminar went to **A. Ioffe**'s flat and held the seminar there. A few days later, Ioffe received a telephone call from the KGB warning him not to hold the seminar in his flat again.

By 11 am on 30 November the entrance to the Brailovskys' apartment building was already blocked by a group of 10 KGB officers and two men in police uniform. A black Volga containing two KGB officials was parked nearby; one of the men was continually communicating with someone by radio. Two KGB officials stood at the entrance to the building making notes about the seminar participants. By the time the seminar was due to begin, some 20 of the participants and a few foreign correspondents had gathered at the entrance. One of the foreign correspondents attempted

to photograph the group of seminar members, but a KGB official immediately seized his camera and exposed the film. The correspondent was given a reprimand for 'incorrect behaviour' and 'interfering in matters that did not concern him'. One of the KGB officers threatened him with 'loss of accreditation'. All the correspondents were then pushed away from the entrance and forced to leave.[52] The policemen and KGB men (about 20 in all) did not show their identification cards, and when it was pointed out to them that they were acting illegally, they said that they knew the law, 'but your seminar will not take place again'. To the demand that their chief be summoned came the reply: 'We're all chiefs here'. The leader of the KGB group stated: 'You should study science at work' and added ambiguously: 'We know what you do up there'. As before, Alyabev distinguished himself: 'Your juridical (!) seminar won't take place again! Get out of here!' Since no one moved away, the leader of the group of KGB officers said: 'All right then, we'll order a car and drive you all off in different directions'. A bustle ensued, with simulated radio messages asking for a car. When someone asked: 'On what grounds do you wish to detain us?', one of the KGB 'joked': 'We received an order from Israel - give everyone a lift home'. The seminar participants stood at the entrance until 12.30 and then dispersed.

On the same day two KGB officials and a policeman tried to enter the flat in the absence of Irina Brailovskaya and her son Leonid. They ordered Irina's mother to give them her passport and for a long time would not let her shut the door.

On 7 and 14 December participants in the seminar gathered, as before, outside the Brailovskys' apartment building at around 12 o'clock. None of them was allowed inside, however. On 14 December the entrance ot **Ioffe**'s and **Yury Golfand**'s flats were also blocked. A policeman and six or seven KGB officials stood outside each flat. The 'guarding' of the flats lasted two or three hours.

Foam

The 'Right to Emigration' group (Chronicle 54) scheduled a press conference for 28 October. It was to take place in the flat of group member **Vasily Barats**, but it was broken up by police, vigilantes and KGB officials.[53]

On 29 october Barats stated that a member of the group named **Vladimir Shepelëv** was responsible for the breaking-up of the press conference and that he was a KGB agent and provocateur. On 5 November Shepelëv announced that he was leaving the group. **M. Novikov** announced in November that he was leaving the group, due to 'lack of contact and changes in the group's activities'.

On 10 November, on Barats's advice, **Vladimir Brodsky** told **V. Kuvakin**, 'as a test', about a mythical plan to issue some leaflets, and asked him to phone his friend 'Dima' to consult him about the text. On 14 November the homes of Brodsky and Dima were searched - for leaflets. The two men were then interrogated.

On 15 November KGB Captain Rogachev conducted a search of Kuvakin's flat. The manuscript of an 'Appeal to Scientists of the USSR and the World' by the Leningrad historian Fëdorov, and a letter from **Skvirsky** (Chronicle 53), were

confiscated.

On 19 November Kuvakin and V. Shepelëv published a joint statement:

> During the past few weeks, the Barats couple and V. Brodsky (who once groundlessly accused Vladimir Albrekht, secretary of the Moscow group of Amnesty International, of collaborating with the KGB) published 'relevatory' statements, accusing us of collaborating with the Committee for State Security. Similar statements were made to representatives of the Western press.
>
> Now, when the follow-up conference on the Helsinki Agreements is taking place in Madrid, and when, as a result of the massive blow the authorities have dealt the democratic movement, its ranks have thinned out, we consider it essential to point out that these irresponsible statements by V. and G. Barats and V. Brodsky are helping the KGB, intentionally or unintentionally, to disrupt and compromise the human rights movement.

On 22 November Barats sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, describing his 'test' and the conclusion he had drawn: that Kuvakin was a KGB agent and provocateur.

On 29 November Kuvakin published a Press Statement:

> ... the spy mania of Brodsky and Barats, who have ready too many detective novels, constitutes a serious internal threat to the democratic movement.
>
> ... each of us ... is obliged to show healthy caution and vigilance.

LETTERS AND STATEMENTS

20 signatures:[54] 'Poland, Gdansk, Lenin Wharf, to Mr Lech Walesa' (11 September 1980)

> We congratulate you and all the Poles on the start of democratic reforms, which the whole socialist camp is in need of.

Lithuania and Estonia

V. Tomachinsky: 'To the UN Secretary-General' (10 December 1980)

> ... Today, 10 December 1980, I have been under preventive arrest since 7 am - a present from the Soviet government on the anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights. Tomorrow we will find out (though not completely) how many other Soviet citizens were under arrest on the occasion of Human Rights Day.
>
> The Soviet government views these arrests as a way of isolating publicly active people from society and of averting possible discussion of the question of human rights on the day when one's attention is naturally drawn to it...
>
> The one small fact that people are arrested because it is Human Rights Day shows, more graphically perhaps than a detailed list of thousands of other facts, the way in which the Soviet Union flouts all the rights of its citizens...

V. Tomachinsky: 'To KGB Chairman and Member of the Politburo

of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov' (31 December 1980)

... My first summons to the KGB in 1975, when attempts were made to draw me into the ranks of the informers, marked the beginning of my transition to the role of active citizen ... If the KGB had not shown such tenacity in persecuting me for my refusal to collaborate [Chronicle 41], I would to this day have remained known only to the narrow circle of my clients - as a car mechanic and foreman.

It is your department which is responsible for my reputation as a civil rights activist and 'well-known democrat', as a Western radio-station recently put it.

After my protest demonstration on behalf of Yury Orlov on 18 May 1978, I happily experienced a period when prudence dominated state policy and the KGB left me completely in peace until 14 March this year. You know now that during these two years I did nothing 'subversive'; I am not subversive by nature, but interested in conservation and creation.

On 14 March my flat was thoroughly searched for 10 hours. Part of my personal library, some manuscripts and papers were confiscated, and the state thus pushed me back into the thick of the civic struggle for human rights. When I was called as a witness in the case of the journal Searches, it not only served no useful purpose as far as the investigation was concerned, it made me a knowledgeable source of information about the course of the investigation and caused serious unpleasantness for investigator Burtsev and the Moscow City Court. As far as the court was concerned, a witness such as I was not only unnecessary, but actually harmful, for my evidence about the ideological examination in Case No. 50611/14-79 had the effect of a bombshell on everyone [Chronicle 58].

My actions on 8 November this year were a reaction against the events of the autumn, when I and those close to me experienced and witnessed the flouting of Soviet laws and the Constitution by numerous state institutions - the Procuracy, the courts, the KGB and others - on a scale I have not seen before.

Finally, the recent farce of 10 December, when I did not intend to take part in any demonstrations, shows that I have already been included in the 'especially dangerous' category. I was the only one, it seems, to be honoured on that day by a guard of several dozen State Security officials. This is all a clear example of the way in which the KGB itself creates a 'political oppositionist'.

If one considers that in the period 1976-8 I made numerous requests for permission to leave the USSR, that the MVD officially replied that it did not object to my leaving, yet your Committee warned me as far back as 1975 that it would only allow 'a person under our jurisdiction' to leave the country, then one can conclude that the KGB is deliberately keeping me under its protection so that after some time, like good wine, I can be made into a dedicated anti-Soviet element. My existence can then be reported and used to justify the further strengthening of the KGB apparatus. But quite frankly, there are no sane enemies of the existing regime in Soviet society today.

All this makes me anxious about my own fate. It is

not very pleasant to acknowledge that one is in the position of a lovingly cultivated victim; but I have only to look up from my own situation to the large and complex world about me to realize that my own case is not unique.

The activities of your department in actual fact create hidden opposition, while the elemental Russian urge to rebellion and destruction has not disappeared from the depths of the popular soul. The crisis over material resources and industry could be a strong catalyst of popular frenzy.

In connection with what I have outlined above, I would like:

1) to inform the Politburo of a few ideas about ways of averting the approaching national catastrophe, which, in my opinion, will escalate into a world-wide one ...

2) if the first is impossible, to recommend that you let me leave the USSR, since, given the way the state has treated its subjects until now, my presence inside the Large Zone[55] will, objectively speaking, harm state interests.

Letters by A.D. Sakharov

'To the Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, E.P. Velikhov' (12 August 1980)

Deeply Respected Evgeny Pavlovich!

I am writing to you with a personal request which is of great importance to me. I do not therefore wish to discuss the general question of my illegal 'deportation' to Gorky and the problems associated with it, although some of them concern the prestige of the Academy as well as myself. I will come straight to the point.

I am asking you to help our son's fiancee, **Elizaveta Konstantinovna Alekseyeva**, to obtain permission to leave the USSR, as she requested in her statement of November 1979 (her documents are at the Moscow Regional OVIR)...

I trust you will understand that due to lack of support from the Academy of Sciences, I will be forced to make this letter public - a necessity brought about by the tragic situation in which I and those close to me now find ourselves...

Liza Alekseyeva's difficulties began as soon as she became involved with our family. Under a false pretext, she was not permitted to take the State examinations and so was unable to complete her degree. She was dismissed from her job, where she was well regarded, by order of the authorities. Her main difficulties, however, arose when she tried to emigrate - she faced obstacles at every stage. When Aleksei tried to send an invitation to her, as his fiancee, the Soviet Consulate in the USA refused to authorize it (usually a formality), saying 'That is not in their [the authorities'] interests'. American consular officials were told more or less the same thing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. Here they used the false argument that Aleksei was inviting his ex-wife to the USA. In this way the authorities clearly demonstrated their peculiar attitude to the case. Liza's difficulties also stem from the attitude of her parents - they are convinced that all emigrants become CIA agents. They are prepared to use every means

at their disposal to stop her departure, thus condemning their grown-up daughter to suffering and despair. Their attitude 'warms up' and cools down accordingly. There is evidence of this. In November 1979, after numerous difficulties and delays, Alekseyeva managed to send her documents to Moscow Regional OVIR. Attached was a telegram from me and my wife, stating that we are prepared to settle any material claims her parents may have. Nine months have since gone by, but there has been no reply.

'To the Head of the Theoretical Department of FIAN [Institute of Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences], V.L. Ginzburg' (14 September 1980)

Deeply Respected Vitaly Lazarevich!

I always value and derive great joy from the visits of my colleagues from FIAN, for they give me the opportunity for personal discussion of current scientific questions and for keeping in touch with the scientific life in the Theoretical Department. A visit from Efim Samoilovich Fradkin and Andrei Dmitrievich Linde, which you mentioned in your letter, would be especially important and enjoyable. But at the moment I am forced to ask you not to send them. The main reason is the uncertainty over whether V. Ya. Fainberg and D.A. Kirzhnits will be permitted to come to Gorky (their visit is particularly important, in view of the closeness of our scientific interests). Only four members of FIAN's staff are allowed to visit me, which is more than strange. In principle it is inadmissible that any 'official bodies' should influence the deciding of such questions - the decision should be entirely up to the persons directly concerned. I regard the 'regime' imposed on me on 22 January as quite illegal, but even this 'regime' prohibits only foreigners and 'criminal elements' from contact with me. I can in no way agree that V. Ya. Fainberg and D.A. Kirzhnits (and, apart from the four, the other staff of FIAN) are 'criminal elements' and I am sure that you share my opinion.

My other reason is as follows. On 12 August I wrote to E.P. Velikhov at the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, asking him to do something to help our son's fiancee, E.A. Alekseyeva, to obtain permission to leave the USSR. I explained in the letter why this matter has assumed such importance for me, and I also described how the FIAN party organization had been involved. I have not yet (14 September) received a reply from the Presidium. Alekseyeva turns out to be a hostage, a situation which I cannot allow under any circumstances. Therefore, I have decided that until Alekseyeva is allowed to leave the USSR, and the order not to visit me, which is imposed on all but four of the staff of FIAN, is revoked, I will refrain from all contact with Soviet scientific institutions, in particular with the Academy of Sciences and FIAN.

P.S. The gravity of my situation may force me to publish this letter.

'Open Letter to A.P. Aleksandrov, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences' (20 October 1980)

Respected Anatoly Petrovich!

I was prompted to write this letter after reading about your meeting with the President of the New York Academy

of Sciences, J. Lebowits, during which you talked about my situation. Although the meeting took place on 15 April, I have only just been able to obtain a report of it. Apart from this I consider it important to state my position on fundamental questions, to assess the actions of the authorities in my case, to answer several public accusations and also to assess the attitude adopted by my colleagues in the USSR, especially the Academy of Sciences and its leaders.

In 1980 I was in Gorky and you, the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, talked to the President of the New York Academy of Sciences, who had flown from the USA in order to see you. What did you say to him? You spoke in the spirit of the disgraceful statement by 40 Academicians in 1973, which laid the foundation of the persecution of me in the press, but you spoke with even greater cynicism and disrespect for the intelligence of your listener, who is our colleague in science.

Yes, I am in a better position than those of my friends who have been sentenced to long years of imprisonment, or are awaiting trial. Among them are several colleagues - yours and mine. I will name but a few of them: the biologist Kovalëv, the theoretical physicist Orlov, mathematicians Velikanova and Lavut, the young cyberneticist Shcharansky, the medics Nekipelov and Ternovsky, mathematician and cyberneticist Bolonkin (the latter is the only one whom I do not know personally). None of them has broken the law, used or advocated violence, but they have tried to achieve their ideas orally and in writing - as I do. It is not possible to make a distinction between us. In my opinion, it would be natural for the Academy of Sciences to defend arrested scientists, instead of allowing its President to slander them. My case is different, however, because here the authorities have disdained even that pitiful semblance of legality which they have displayed in the persecution of dissenters over the past few years. This is impermissible - both because it creates a precedent and because it is a throw-back to earlier times. Not one of the official bodies which are called upon to represent the law accepted responsibility for the act of deporting me. You know as well as I do that only a court can establish someone's guilt, decide the nature of his punishment, and, therefore, his sentence. My case is scandalously illegal in all these aspects and consequently my demand for an open trial is deeply serious and a matter of principle. I do not ask for clemency - I demand justice. You say that I can continue my scientific work in Gorky. Yes, I do work, but it is not for a member of the Academy of Sciences - the body which is helping to organize a 'prison laboratory' for me - to speak of this as of a miracle. Yes, I have a roof over my head (they say in Gorky that this flat was once a secret address for the KGB) and my wife brings meat, butter, cheese and curd cheese, which are unobtainable in Gorky, from Moscow. This does not alter the fact that the law is being broken, although you try to justify yourself in this way. The regime which has been imposed on me is completely illegal (those exiled in accordance with the Code of Criminal Procedure are not treated in this way). Who is responsible for this - the KGB, the MVD, the Procuracy? I do not know, and you cannot tell me. A policeman is stationed at my door 24 hours a day and anyone who visits

me is taken to the police station and subjected to a great deal of unpleasantness. I do not find out about the attempts people close to me have made to see me - a doctor and close friend, my 80-year-old aunt - until much later, and I may never know about others. But despite the policeman and without his knowledge, KGB agents enter the flat through the window, violating the sanctity of the home and making things potentially dangerous for me. You have not answered the telegram about this which my wife sent you in July - I consider this insupportable. A personal jamming system was set up for me - the firm spares no expense - even before general radio jamming was resumed by the USSR. I am shamelessly watched 24 hours a day, agents follow me everywhere, look in at my windows, and run to the post-office ahead of me to stop me using the telephone.

In your talk with Dr Lebowits, you hint that I have disclosed State secrets and you groundlessly accuse my friends, saying that someone tried to export some secrets which they had received from me, either directly or through friends. In time-honoured fashion, you identify yourself and the Academy with the criminal investigation department when you say: 'We detained this man'. But juridical facts stand out from demagogy and philistine talk by their solidity: here there was no solidity, nor could there have been. A groundless assertion in such a serious context has another name - slander. With surprising legal flippancy you state that I could be sentenced to five years' imprisonment for my appeals to foreign governments. Why five? The maximum sentence under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code is three years; under article 70 it is seven years; under article 64 it is 15 years or the death penalty. You also mentioned that I could have been assassinated, like Kennedy or Martin Luther King. I am not a member of a foreign parliament and I have never made direct appeals to anyone about anything. But I do consider it my duty to express my opinion on matters of importance and to condemn those actions of the USSR which flagrantly contravene the international obligations and international norms it has accepted...

On 12 August 1980 I wrote to Academician E.P. Velikhov, Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences, as a representative of the Academy's Presidium, and also to you personally, requesting help in a matter which has become extremely important to me. it is this. Frequent threats to our children and grandchildren (beginning with a 'visit' from Black September terrorists in 1973), and intensified pressure and provocations forced us to persuade them to emigrate. This decision was not easy and still entails tragic consequences. Our son left behind his fiancee, Elizaveta Alekseyeva. For three years now she has tried unsuccessfully to join her loved one; she is blackmailed and threatened by the KGB. She, a member of our family, is not allowed to visit me in Gorky. My wife is forced to spend most of her time in Moscow because she fears for Elizaveta's life. Liza Alekseyeva has actually become a hostage. I have asked for help in trying to obtain permission for her to emigrate. For two months the Vice-President did not reply to my letter, nor to several telegrams. Finally, on the evening of 14 October, a telegram arrived, saying that 'steps are being taken to ascertain whether it

will be possible to fulfil your request'. It is quite incomprehensible why it should be so complicated for someone who has had no access to State secrets. I have the impression that this telegram is simply a ploy by the KGB to gain time. The very fact that someone is being held to ransom because of me is something I cannot put up with and I will be forced, in this case too, to turn for support to my colleagues abroad.

You told Dr Lebowits about my colleagues from FIAN coming to visit me as proof that I am able to pursue my scientific work. Nevertheless, however important these visits may be to me while I am isolated from everyone, deprived of literature, etc, the total control of them by the KGB, which selects which scientists will visit me and when, to suit its own convenience, cannot be allowed. Thus, the first visit by FIAN scientists was arranged to coincide with Dr Lebowits's visit, so that you could mention it when you talked to him, and the second to coincide with a visit from the secretary of the UN National Academy, for the same reason. I have worked at FIAN since 1969, and before that from 1945 to 1950, and I should have the right to choose with whom I will discuss science, and should not be dictated to by the KGB.

I wrote to Academician Ginzburg on 14 August about the inadmissibility of KGB control and asked him not to send FIAN staff to see me. Because of the attitude of the Academy and the insupportable conditions attached to my contact with FIAN, I am severing my official scientific contacts with Soviet scientific institutions, in particular with the Academy and FIAN. I am sending you this letter to inform you of this.

Before the General Assembly of the Academy of Sciences in March 1980 I wrote to the Presidium of the Academy asking them to guarantee that I could travel to take part in the meeting, which is my right and duty according to the statute. I received the following reply: 'Your presence at the General Assembly is not foreseen'. The meaning of these words was clearly brought home to me by the actions of KGB agents, who, pistols in hand, would not allow me into a carriage of the Gorky-Moscow train on the evening of 4 March, the day before the meeting. I had accompanied my aunt to the station and wanted to put her luggage on the train. In this way the Academy's Presidium allowed the KGB to interfere in its affairs; formally, I have remained a member of the Academy, but I have been deprived of one of the basic rights of an Academician.

In sending you this open letter, I hope that you will reply openly and in a reasoned fashion to all the questions I have raised, especially to the following:

Is the leadership of the Academy of Sciences prepared to actively defend my violated rights and the rights of other arrested scientists, in accordance with the wishes of the worldwide scientific community?

Is the leadership of the Academy of Sciences prepared to demand my immediate return to Moscow, the establishment in an open trial of my guilt or innocence of law-breaking, and, in the case of my being found guilty, a court decision on the nature and length of my punishment?

Is the leadership of the Academy of Sciences prepared, in deed not word, to defend me from blackmail in connection with E. Alekseyeva, who is a member of my family,

and thus facilitate her departure from the USSR?

I will draw your attention once again to the fact that the position of the Academy and its leaders does not accord with the traditional concept of solidarity among scientists - not only in my case, but in those of other arrested scientists. Scientists today carry a great responsibility for the fate of the world, and this means that they must be independent of caste-ridden bureaucratic institutions and, even more, of the secret police, be it called FBI or KGB. I still hope that the USSR Academy of Sciences will exhibit such independence.

These letters were given to foreign correspondents on 25 November. Sakharov had not made them public until then, because he was still hoping to receive a reply.

After the Trial of Sokirko

In mid-October V. Sokirko's (for his trial see Chronicle 58) 'case-officer' asked him to meet a Novosti Press Agency [NPA] correspondent. The meeting took place on 24 October. At the end of it Sokirko signed a Press Statement, but began to regret it the next day and rang up to retract it (for this reason the Chronicle is not publishing this statement).

On 12 November **S.V. Kalistratova** wrote an 'Open Letter to V.V. Sokirko (K. Burzhuademov)', in which she asks him eight questions in connection with his Press Statement. On 15 November Sokirko sent a written retraction of his Press Statement to NPA, enclosing a 'Statement for Western Readers' instead.

On 16 November **I. Kovalëv** and two others came to see Sokirko and showed him Kalistratova's 'Open Letter'. Kovalëv told Sokirko that someone he knew had told him that a Western radio-station had described Sokirko's views in terms similar to those of his Press Statement, and that Kalistratova wanted to know Sokirko's reaction to her 'Open Letter'. She would then decide whether to publish it in samizdat. Sokirko replied that he could answer only by private letter. (In a samizdat publication Kovalëv expressed his regret that 'although I explained the reason for my visit to Sokirko, I did not refer to it again before I left, assuming that his lack of objections to the publication of Kalistratova's letter indicated his tacit consent'). Sokirko also told his visitors that he had written to NPA retracting his Press Statement and enclosing his 'Statement for Western Readers', but that he could not allow this statement to be published in samizdat.

On 7 December Kalistratova sent her 'Open Letter' to NPA. Sokirko's Press Statement and Kalistratova's letter were both published in samizdat. On 12 December **G. Pavlovsky** wrote an 'Open Letter to S.V. Kalistratova' in which he discussed the question: 'Is it necessary to know how to capitulate?'

On 22 December Sokirko's wife **L. Tkachenko** wrote an 'Open Reply to S.V. Kalistratova's Open Letter'. With her 'Open Reply' Tkachenko enclosed Sokirko's 'Statement for Western Readers'. Kalistratova's 'Open Letter' and that part of Sokirko's reply in which he answers Kalistratova's questions (the Chronicle therefore considers it permissible to publish these).

Having read Tkachenko's letter, Kalistratova said private-

ly that she wanted no more part in this fruitless discussion and that she was sorry she had 'involved herself in this affair'.

Statement for Western Readers from USSR citizen Viktor Vladimirovich Sokirko, former member of the editorial board of the journal Searches and compiler of the samizdat collections In Defence of Economic Freedom (under the pseudonyn K. Burzhuademov); arrested 23 January 1980; released 4 September 1980; sentenced to three years' imprisonment, suspended, by Moscow City Court.

The main purpose of this statement is to assure Western readers that my statements (in court on 29 September 1980 and the recent one of 24 October) which were publicized in the West by NPA were made with my full consent.

Unfortunately, the specific nature of the old single-party tradition in the Soviet press compels the author of statements published by NPA to use words and phrases which are not his own and to resort to evasion and hints. This fact may and has caused the Western reader (especially if he is familiar with my samizdat works) to think that I made these statements under pressure. Such an opinion has already been formed regarding the first statement. The second was intended to correct this impression, but I think it will probably have the opposite effect. I have no intention of blaming the NPA reporter, who helped me write my statement of 24 October. He behaved very gently and literally bewitched me, but my total lack of experience with the press, and the inertia induced by my prison memories, made the second statement also sound forced. I therefore hope that this final statement, which will be reported to you by a Western journalist, will finally clarify and put an end to the Sokirko 'question'.

The fact of the matter is that I really do not regard myself as a 'victim' of the Soviet regime; on the contrary, I have to thank our authorities for my release.

I stated in court that I was not guilty of slandering the Soviet system, but I did not ask for acquittal, only leniency; I knew that although the law does not consider the circulation of one's views a punishable offence, in the opinion of many of my compatriots (I believe the vast majority of them) I deserve an even greater punishment for the many years I spent discussing my bourgeois-communist views than the maximum prescribed by the article of the law under which I was charged. (I have heard the phrase 'Such people should be shot' on many occasions from different people). The concepts 'Motherland', 'Soviet regime' and 'Soviet State' are synonymous in the popular consciousness. I can see how true to life Hegel's old thesis is: 'Every nation deserves the government which rules it'. In this, I think, lies the fundamental tragedy of some Soviet dissidents.

So it was with me, too. As can be seen from my samizdat works, I was seized by a great fear for our country's future, because of the poor state of the economy, falling production and rising consumption, the wastage of natural resources, lack of thrift, delay of urgent reforms, dangerous attempts to achieve unnecessary influence abroad, etc, etc. I sincerely believed that in my samizdat activities I was performing my civic duty and so, in my enthusiasm, I ignored the warnings of the investigation authorities. And then in prison, where I was sent in

the name of the people, I bitterly agreed that my views and activities were contrary to the views and wishes of the people, and that in this sense my activities could be described as against the people's interests or antisocial. There is no falsehood in this change of opinion, simply a contradiction between the Future and the Present. Before my arrest, renunciation of the Chronicle of Current Events or of samizdat would have seemed to me like betrayal of the future Motherland (I wrote about this in my letter 'On the Arrest of T.M. Velikanova'). After my arrest, however, I began to think about how I could remain at peace with the present Motherland. Until my arrest I could think that the people and the State would engage in an open dialogue, that they would take note of my advice; after my arrest it became clear that in their eyes I was nothing but a traitor and a criminal. I therefore stated that I would accept whatever verdict the Soviet court gave me, as the verdict of the people.

I have not renounced my beliefs (the court did not order me to and no one is capable of changing his beliefs to order), nor have I abandoned my fear for the future or my efforts to do all in my power to help. But samizdat is now closed to me - I realized and decided this myself even before the trial, for if I were to go back to it again I would automatically end up in prison or an emigre - in other words, I would for all practical purposes disappear. I do not desire either of these alternatives. Now I can only live as an ordinary Soviet working man and just remember that I gave part of my life to fearless thought and discussion in samizdat of the fate of my country, knowing that what I wrote during those years, if it has any sense or meaning, is already living independently of me. I hope that the future will bring new forms of free intellectual life which will be more acceptable to the Soviet people (and the authorities) and which will involve the development of all that was valuable in what we did. I believe that such a return to normal life from prison is better than disappearance. However this is, of course, only my opinion.

V. Abramkin and Yu. Grimm, my colleagues on the journal Searches, found another way: the road to the camps. I share the admiration for their steadfastness and great moral qualities, and sympathize with the suffering of their families and with them in their difficult fate. At the same time, however, I am sorry that they did not try to reach a mutual understanding with the investigation and judicial auhtorities and did not come out of prison. (Chronicle: Compare the following extract from Abramkin's letter, published in Chronicle 58 [pp 59-60]: 'The "conclusions of the specialists", which I studied after the investigation was closed, gave grounds for timid hopes of a dialogue; true, with our rights extremely reduced and with dishonest rules imposed by them, but a dialogue all the same ... I honestly submitted petition after petition, I was prepared to wait for the philosophers and historians, whether they were called witnesses or whatever, for anyone, to wait a month, even to remain in custody for a year without trial ... I used every opportunity to obtain a dialogue. And it is not my fault that it did not take place'). Yet at the end of 1979 it seemed to me that they were beginning to search for a way out from their opposition to the

authorities. They agreed with the other members of the journal's editorial board that suspension was essential (ie that the editorial board should actually disband). The arrests stopped this search. I know from my own experience that it is much harder to find this sort of way out in prison, where it entails direct moral defeats and a compromise with one's conscience. But to renounce the search and to go for the most severe sentence, for increased sorrow and bitterness, is also wrong. For me personally it would have meant betrayal of my liberal principles. I believe that in leaving prison without hurting anyone, I acted honourably and consistently as regards the main thing - the search for understanding and empathy between dissidents and the authorities.

Finally, I must explain the most difficult point: although I believe in the free circulation of information and was grateful for the publication in the West of my first book and my articles, and later for the sympathy and help given to my family during my imprisonment, I look unfavourably on my involuntary part in the growing Western propaganda campaign against 'Soviet totalitarianism' - ie in the ideological war.

In my former statement through NPA I protested against my works and my name being used for purposes hostile to my country and the Soviet State. I quoted an example: in April this year the Paris-based newspaper Russian Thought published an article about my arrest which included some such expressions as: 'executioners from the Lubyanka' and 'long-standing Bolshevik terror'.[56] These are typical anti-Soviet cliches, fit only for sowing hatred. This arouses indignation in a person of liberal views, so much more so in me. Now, having been in a Soviet prison, I know for a fact that even in the most difficult circumstances - among criminals, in a damp, underground punishment cell, or on the fifteenth day of a hunger-strike -my feelings towards the investigators and warders who were responsible for my condition were varied. I felt indignation and anger, but I never lost either my understanding of the necessity for their work, or my human sympathy for many of them.

But anti-Soviet cliches are not the only point at issue. I love Western civilization and I believe that my country, in reality, can rise towards the achievement of its communist ideas only through an independently chosen, Western way of development. To be aware that this development may be interrupted by a world war (in which, evidently, China will join with the West against us), and that you yourself may have been involved in its ideological origins, is simply insupportable.

I fear the involvement of Western states in our country's internal political struggle, I fear that the internal conflicts between dissidents and the authorities may lead to international tension. For this reason I have always approached Western help with extreme caution. For this reason I admitted in court my political guilt for the possible use the opponents of our country abroad might have made of my name and my work. For this reason, now, with your help, I appeal to the mass media: forget about me, free me from my guilt complex about the growth of hostility between the Soviet and Western peoples and governments. I do not need anyone's help, especially now, after my release. Your efforts would be better

directed towards the search for mutual understanding between our countries.

In conclusion I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to explain myself fully and to confirm that this 'interview' is my first and last. It was occasioned by the not entirely successful statements put out through NPA, but I will not publish any more statements because I am determined to carry out the responsibilities I have taken upon myself.

Open Letter to V.V. Sokirko (K. Burzhuademov) [by S.V. Kalistratova]

On 24 October 1980 you made a statement about your trial to Novosti Press Agency. I do not know what NPA did with your statement. It has still not appeared in the Soviet press, although it was signed and delivered by you.

I do not wish to enter into an argument with you, I do not wish to justify or to reproach you. But knowing you to be a person capable of logical thought, I would like to ask you several questions which arose when I read your Press Statement:

1. If in the course of two years you sincerely believed that by helping to publish the journal Searches and publishing your articles in it, you were 'performing your civic duty', why was it only during your stay of over six months in prison that you found 'enough time to analyse your actions and understand the reasons for what happened'?

2. If you do not regard your imprisonment (you left four children behind at home), during which, as we now know, you spent some time in an underground punishment cell and staged a 15-day hunger-strike, as pressure, what would you call pressure?

3. On what statistics do you base your claim that, according to the 'absolute majority' of your fellow-citizens, the material published in the journal Searches harmed the Soviet people, if none of this material was ever published in the Soviet press, and consequently the people were not only unable to express, but even to form an opinion on these matters?

4. You consider that your arrest was 'in conformity with the law'. Do you consider that the arrest of your co-editors Valery Abramkin and Yury Grimm was 'in conformity with the law' also?

5. The court judged you guilty under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, ie of compiling and circulating fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet political and social system. In other words, you have been convicted of slander. You thank Soviet justice for this verdict. Does this mean that you admit that you and the other editors and contributors to Searches are slanderers?

6. You state that you are conscious of your political guilt before the people and the state. Do you admit your legal guilt, ie the criminal nature of your activities? Do you consider yourself a political or a criminal offender? What is your attitude to the official statement made by a number of responsible Soviet leaders that there are no political offenders or political prisoners in our country?

7. You state that you never asked anyone abroad to defend you. Do you think that anyone in a Soviet prison

(in particular, you, or Abramkin, or Grimm) has a practicable, realistic opportunity to request anything from any person or organization abroad?

My final question has two parts: have you ever read the Paris newspaper Russian Thought, and where did you get the information that it is an 'organ of the NTS [People's Labour Alliance]'?

If my Open Letter is not published in the Soviet press (which is more than likely), and if you are unable to reply in the press (which is also likely), I will be happy to receive a written answer from you at my home address: Moscow 121068, ul. Vorovskogo 18, kv. 17.

From G. Pavlovsky's 'Open Letter to S.V. Kalistratova':

... how did it happen that the first work by K. Burzhuademov to sting many of us - and sting us hard - was his statement to NPA?

Viktor Sokirko, with or without the pseudonym, talked to us for ten years of compromise, of the worthlessness of Opposition as a political instrument for solving general, national problems; of the necessity of stubbornly looking for a premise on which to build a compromise and for a language in which citizens could talk to each other...

Physically feeling the lack of response which met him from two sides, especially the near side - that of dissidents and samizdat ... he feverishly wrote the last articles before his arrest, and these formed the backbone of the eighth issue of Searches. They were articles that compromise, dialogue with the Stalinists, about a concerted national effort to avert political and economic ruin... [see extracts in Chronicle 56]

Nevertheless, Viktor Sokirko is not paying for his freedom. He is paying the price for his doubts. Today the price turns out to be capitulation. This is a high price to pay for the right to uncertainty. But tomorrow, perhaps, the price will not appear so high.

Allow me to consider Sokirko's folly morally equal to Abramkin's aristocratic conduct. Both of these worthy men bear witness with equal selflessness to the fate of the movement. One can take the actions of these people at their word - each at his own, personal word ...

From Sokirko's letter to S.V. Kalistratova:

Respected Sofia Vasilievna!

I am replying to your letter of 7 December, first of all point by point:

1. It is well-known that there really is a lot of time in prison for 'analysing one's actions'. However, I also went in for such analysis before my arrest. K. Burzhuademov's point of view was always one in which membership of the editorial board of Searches co-existed with loyalty in principle to the Soviet regime. You can easily verify this by reading my former articles.

2. Imprisonment undoubtedly constitutes pressure and I have never denied this. In my 24 October statement I only refuted the claim that the position I have adopted and my statement in court were caused by pressure and threats alone. I admitted my political guilt for the potential use my situation afforded the opponents of the Soviet regime, because I believed this to be the truth.

3. I have never anywhere said that the subject matter

of Searches was harmful to the Soviet people. But, as a result of personal contact with many Soviet people with whom I have discussed my beliefs, I know that they would regard my articles (I am referring to them only) as criminal (on the principle that 'such people should be shot'). I cannot change my views on account of this realization and I still remain a dissenter, but I cannot harbour the illusion that my views have popular support.

4. In prison I came to the conclusion that 'my arrest was in conformity with the law' in the sense of 'inevitable' (not at all in the legal sense). I believe that V. Abramkin's arrest was inevitable, but I still do not understand why exactly they arrested Yu. Grimm instead of allowing him to emigrate (as they did P.M. Egides).

5. I have never called myself, or the other editors and contributors to Searches, slanderers. This is confirmed by a note in the verdict: 'The judicial board cannot agree with Sokirko's statement that the subject matter of the journal Searches and the collections In Defence of Economic Freedoms, which was examined during the court hearing, is not deliberately false.' I am grateful to the investigation and judicial authorities, not for their verdict, which labels me a criminal, but for the fact of my release from punishment.

6. Yes, I denied that my actions were criminal, but I realized the practical inevitability of my sentence in view of the very negative attitude of the authorities and the majority of the Soviet people towards my activities. I did not ask the court for my acquittal but for leniency and a less severe sentence.

Deep in my heart, I consider myself neither a political nor a criminal offender, but the court found me guilty of slandering the Soviet system, which is a crime according to the RSFSR Criminal Code. I have no opinion on the official statements by Soviet leaders that we have no political offenders or political prisoners, since I have not read any such statements. If such statements have been made, then it was from the formal point of view, for legally, even such a purely political article as 'Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda' (article 70) is actually part of the Criminal Code.

7. It is general knowledge that people in prison during their pre-trial investigation can make contact with the outside world only through their investigator, and so, naturally, they are unable to send complaints abroad, except through unofficial channels, which is very difficult. As far as I am concerned, I expressed my cautious attitude to help from abroad even before my arrest. I am, of course, grateful for the help and support given to my family while I was in prison, but I do not wish my situation to be used in any way against our authorities, or to contribute to a worsening of political relations with other states.

8. Finally, I am sorry that I called the Paris-based newspaper Russian Thought an organ of the NTS in my 24 October statement. I did this at the insistence and persuasion of the NPA correspondent. On his part, evidently, it was dishonesty, and on mine - embittered trust...

From 'Open Reply to S.V. Kalistratova's "Open Letter"' [by L. Tkachenko]

Dear Sofia Vasilievna!

You know that my husband Viktor Sokirko gave an undertaking to the authorities that he would not publish anything in samizdat. By writing him a letter in the form of questions, you have faced him with a choice: either to defend himself openly and go to prison, or to remain silent and thus appear to agree with your accusations and 'return to his private life' defamed.

He is content to lead his own private life, but he is not content to lose his good name. For seven months in prison they hammered into him: 'Admit that you are a slanderer and you will return to your family - otherwise, what you have written will stretch to three article 70s'. Finally, the authorities accepted a compromise: they agreed to do without evidence from him about other people and without an admission that the activities of Viktor and his colleages at Searches were slanderous. Vitya [familiar form of Viktor], on the other hand, agreed to sign a statement containing words which were not his own and incorrect.

Before actually answering your letter, I will remind you of our last meetings.

1. On 28 September, the day before the trial, Vitya came to you for advice. You said then that it was time he stopped sitting on the fence, that it was impossible not to admit being a slanderer and still hope to be released. And you even advised him not to take any risks - to admit his guilt and afterwards take up 'chess', for instance. Vitya did not agree with you, yet I interpreted your advice as fear for him. Do you remember that conversation?

In October I showed you my transcript of Vitya's trial. You read it without comment, but, judging by your 'Open Letter', you simply tried to forget it. I am now making this transcript public (see enclosure 1), thus depriving you of the opportunity to ignore it. I have recorded everything of any significance that Vitya said, including the bad, programmed moments.

Read it once again and tell me: did Vitya defame Searches and In Defence of Economic Freedoms in his open and loyal defence? Did he agree to call them slanderous? Did he betray the main idea of Searches - that of mutual understanding - or did he stand by it in court, as in freedom, with all his strength? Did he betray his comrades V. Abramkin and Yu. Grimm or did he defend the main idea of Searches along with them?

2. Now I will remind you that we let you know the day after it was signed about the circumstances surrounding Vitya's unfortunate statement for NPA (which was only for publication abroad). We told you that Vitya regarded it as his greatest mistake, that he had already dissociated himself from it by telephone, and in his despair was willing to meet foreign journalists so that he could explain freely to Western readers where he stands. You refused to help him do this - on your own behalf and on behalf of your friends. You comforted me, saying that the NPA statement was, of course, unpleasant, but still within acceptable limits; that no one but evident extremists would condemn Vitya and that he ran a very great risk of imprisonment if he gave such an interview. You returned the text of the proposed interview to me, but asked me to leave you the statement, so that you could compare it with the official version, should NPA decide to publish it.

While regretting your refusal (it turns out that both

you and NPA did not consider it necessary for Vitya fully to understand his situation), we could not but thank you for your protection. On 15 November Vitya wrote to NPA retracting his statement and enclosing instead the text of the interview which had not taken place. You found out about this in a couple of days - you should have judged Vitya in the light of this document. However, you ignored it, explaining that 'it is even worse!', which horrified Vitya: you seemed to think that a statement written under 'enforced pressure' from an NPA correspondent was better than a freely composed explanation of his position.

I have now decided, on my own initiative, to make Vitya's 'Interview for Western Readers' (see enclosure 2) public, so that no one will be able to ignore it and imagine that Sokirko is a slanderer and an apostate...

3. On 16 November three friends of yours came to see us. They came and went at night, when I was asleep. My son told me later that they acted very like a tribunal, sitting drinking tea in the kitchen and plying his distracted father with questions. They officially informed Vitya that the substance of his NPA statement was already being broadcast by Western radio-stations and then showed him your Open Letter, asking for his reaction. Naturally they did not mention the possibility of forestalling the publication of your letter and did not ask Vitya's permission to unseal his statement. The letter with his statement attached was an accomplished fact.

Vitya said that he felt he was expected to repent and ask for mercy. He did neither of these things, saying that he did not regret his release from prison...

Your friends did not leave him a copy of your letter, but promised to send him one as soon as possible. They did not keep this promise. The information that the NPA statement was being broadcast on Western radio proved untrue and you were told (as you yourself said) that as a result of that night's conversation, Vitya consented to the publication of his NPA statement and your letter.

4. At the beginning of December we found out that your letter and Vitya's statement were being circulated together. We finally received your letter on 10 December (after I had telephoned to remind you). I brought you Vitya's reply on 15 December. I was extremely agitated when we met, for I was expecting a miracle, such as your saying: 'This has not been done by you'. But we had, as you said, a distressing conversation. You immediately began energetically refuting the points of Vitya's reply. It seemed as though you very much wanted to return his letter and forget it. You refused our request to give a public explanation of certain circumstances which were well-known to you, and of Vitya's replies.

Therefore I have decided to make part of Vitya's letter public (see enclosure 3) - together, naturally, with your questions - so as to deprive you of the opportunity of pretending that it is 'logically' impossible to answer them.

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

Document No. 120 (29 January 1980): 'Persecution of the Free Moscow Journal Searches Continues' (Chronicle 56).

Document No. 132 (26 May 1980): 'New Arrests and Trials of Democrats who have Served or are Serving Sentences'.

Document No. 138 (20 August 1980):

...Voices are now being raised in the West in favour of a boycott of the Madrid Conference, because of the incursion of Soviet troops into Afghanistan. It is our opinion that such a boycott would be wrong. The Madrid Conference can and should be a forum from which public attention can once more be directed towards human rights, which are inextricably linked with world-wide security...

Document No. 139 (27 August 1980): 'On the Appeal in the Case of V. Nekipelov' (On 25 August the RSFSR Supreme Court left the verdict of the Vladimir Regional Court - Chronicle 57 - unchanged).

Document No. 140 (29 August 1980): 'The Trials of Tatyana Velikanova and Father Gleb Yakunin' (Chronicle 58).

Document No. 141 (23 September 1980): 'On the Trial of A. Ogorodnikov' (Chronicle 58).

Document No. 142 (25 September 1980): 'On Razmik Markosyan's Second Sentence' (Chronicle 58).

Document No. 143 (26 September 1980): 'The Trial of Iosif Dyadkin and Sergei Gorbachev' (Chronicle 58).

Document No. 144 (2 October 1980): 'The Trial of Vyacheslav Bakhmin' (Chronicle 58).

Document No. 145 (10 October 1980): 'The Trial of Valery Abramkin' (Chronicle 58).

Document No. 146 (30 October 1980): '30 October - USSR Political Prisoners' Day'.

Document No. 147 (13 November 1980): 'The Trial of Yury Grimm' (Chronicle 58).

Document No. 148 (13 November 1980): 'A New Sentence Threatens Paruir Airikyan' (see 'In the Prisons and Camps' in this issue).

Document No. 149 (25 November 1980): 'Persecution of Jewish Refuseniks in Kiev' (see 'The Right to Leave' in Chronicles 56, 57 and this issue).

Document No. 150 (12 December 1980): 'The Sentencing of Vazif Meilanov' (see this issue).

Document No. 151 (17 December 1980): 'Dispersal of a Peaceful Demonstration in Pushkin Square, Moscow, on 10 December' (see 'Human Rights Day in Moscow' in this issue).

SAMIZDAT NEWS

GennadyPerkov: 'Beware, Stalinism!' (1980)

The author describes the party's successes in developing the national economy, but considers that 'the party is acting against the laws of social development'. At the end of the article he writes:

The unwillingness of the one-party state to depart from Stalinist methods of government frightens all honest people and kills any hopes they may have that some day they will be able to speak out loudly without fear of punishment. It undermines faith in the very idea of free relations between communists...

In Stalin's time the party branded dissenters as enemies of the people and shot them. Later it began to pay attention to them, sympathize with them and assure them that

justice would triumph. After a while they began to call dissenters renegades and deport them from the country, which amounts to moral liquidation of the individual...

The CPSU, being the leader of human thought, has set itself the task of subordinating thought itself, thus laying the foundations of its own disintegration. The decline of the party's policy of 'unity' has today become as obvious as it is natural. Anyone who clings to the method of party 'unity' in a one-party system will never bring society to communism. Communism means, above all, Freedom and the Rule of Law for everyone.

On this basis we draw our main conclusion: the USSR must embark on a transformation from a state of party power to a genuinely multinational state in which it will be compulsory for dissenters to be represented in the Soviets.

I. Kovalëv: 'A Possible Position' (December 1980; 7 pages)
The author suggests a certain line of conduct for people charged under a 'political' article. He advises the accused to participation in the investigation of whether he intended to 'undermine or weaken the Soviet regime' (if he is charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code), or whether the incriminating documents contained 'deliberately false fabrications' (in the case of article 190-1), but not to participate in the investigation of the accused's degree of involvement in incriminating 'incidents'. Kovalëv's reasons are as follows: in the first part of the judicial investigation it can be shown that the incriminating actions or documents are not criminal - a fact which the court will, of course, ignore.

Therefore I do not consider it possible for me to give evidence to such a court about the degree of my involvement in any particular episode that interests it; this would clearly indicate that I agree with the charges and that I regard as criminal actions which in actual fact are nothing of the kind.

V. Gershuni: 'Ideologists from the Great Road' (December 1980; 5 pages)

The trials of Abramkin, Grimm, Sokirko and Sorokin, and the recently opened investigation of the writer Mikhail Liyatov (M. Yakovlev - Chronicle) are all part of the one trial of the journal Searches - the first, unprecedented, 'serialized' trial of free journalism...

I. Rusin: 'Poland - a Catastrophe' (1980; 7 pages)

...the events in Poland are a guarantee of the future catastrophe of socialist bureaucracy.

B.I. Kanevsky, V.A. Senderov: 'Intellectual Genocide (Examinations for Jews at Moscow University, Moscow Physics and Technology Institute [MPTI] and Moscow Physics and Engineering Institute [MPEI])' (2nd revised edition, 1980; 21 pages)
The authors (Chronicle 56) describe several 'instances of admission to the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Moscow University' and give the numbers of graduates from five Moscow schools admitted to MPTI and MPEI (75 out of 107 non-Jews were accepted; of 61 Jews, seven were accepted, three of them related to scientists working in the institution to which they had applied).

'Through the Swamp' (155 pages)
From the introduction:

This collection of various samizdat materials is intended to explain the concept of socialism in its theoretical and historical aspects.

The collection includes: an article by V. Ronkin and S. Khakhayev (in 1965 Leningrad City Court sentenced them to seven years' strict-regime camps and three years' exile each for belonging to a secret Marxist circle called 'The Bell') entitled 'The Past and Future of Socialism' (23 pages; this article was published earlier in the eighth issue of Searches - Chronicle 56); Ivan Belov's article 'On the Historical Role of the Separation of Creative and Routine Work' (25 pages); essays entitled 'How do you Believe?' (6 pages) and 'Towards a Critique of Political Economy' (9 pages), signed 'V.N.'; M. Bolkhovskoi's essay: 'Apologia for Plekhanov' (3 pages) and his article 'The Fate of the Revolutionary-Socialist Intelligentsia in Russia' (80 pages).

Bulletin No. 10 of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR (10 December 1980; 35 pages)
After a long absence, group member **Faizulla Khusainov's** (Chronicle 51) name appears on the title page again, next to those of **Yu. Kiselev** and **V. Fefëlov**.

The Bulletin begins with a greeting to Soviet invalids from Yu. Kiselev, V. Fefëlov, O. Zaitseva and F. Khusainov, telling them of the UN resolution to make 1981 the International Year of the Disabled.

The Bulletin comprises the Group's Document No 18: 'Through a Slit in the Lock...' (about the persecution of Fefëlov - Chronicle 57) and No. 19: 'What We Want'; also articles - 'On Human Rights Day' and 'A Minute of Silence in Pushkin Square'; the Group's international and national correspondence (I. Utavlinov obtained a flat thanks to the petitions of the Initiative Group); an account of the decision of the Brest Regional Court in the case brought by V. Prokopchuk (Chronicle 52) against the Kamenets District Education Department and Brest Regional Hospital (an appeal hearing), and Prokopchuk's complaint against this decision. There is also an appendix: 'Persecution of Members of the Initiative Group Continues' (see this issue).

Information Bulletin No. 24 of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes (20 September 1980)

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

During his interrogation **Fuat Ablyamitov** (Chronicle 57) testified that he obtained part of the material confiscated from him during a search, from **A. Shuster** (Chronicle 49).

The Case of Gorbal

From his final speech in court (Chronicle 56):

You once tried me on account of one poem, an unfinished one, which you took from my writing desk. For this I was sentenced to seven years in prison, camps and exile. Those were not easy years - only I know how much they cost me. But I assure you that I thank fate for leading me along the slave's paths of Mordovia, the Urals and Siberia. In captivity I met some wonderful people and I made real friends. All my recent 'activities' in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, consisted of always speaking to everyone in Ukrainian. But even this was regarded as defiance and I am being tried for 'attempted rape'. Today, in the court building, I witnessed the following scene: a lawyer came to the detainees' room to see one of the prisoners and asked a guard in surprise: 'Why have so many vigilantes and police been crowded in today?' The policeman answered: 'Oh, they're trying some nationalist'. You see - a NATIONALIST. Isn't this the reason why I am not allowed to leave the country? Once again I find myself among the humiliated, the insulted, the unfortunate. Today I declare myself a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group for human rights.

A few days after receiving my invitation from the USA, I was subjected to provocations by the authorities, who are longing to settle accounts, not only with me, but with others in the same situation. True, I am perhaps the first among the people known to me to have a case fabricated against him on the basis of such a nasty charge. To a certain extent the authorities have long been trying to compromise the moral integrity of those in opposition to them.

From a letter:

When I was returning from work on 23 October I met an acquaintance called Naimytenko on the Kreshchatik [Kiev's main street]. She said that she usually went shopping after work. 'Learning' that I was going straight to see her girl friend, she decided to make use of my company and come with me. When we were already on our way in the tram, she remembered that she had to take something to her friend. She lived just close by, next to the tram stop - she only had to run into the house for a minute. We got off opposite the Polytechnic Institute. The stop is actually called 'Polevaya'. We walked along a narrow, badly-lit path for about 50 metres and found ourselves by the railway embankment. I asked: 'Where is your hostel - there, beyond the embankment?'. 'No, we have already arrived'. 'And where are we going?'. 'We're just walking'. This put me on my guard, especially since a minute ago she had asked me to give her my poems to read, if I had them with me. I said that I did not have them with me, so she asked me to write down her telephone number and if anything were to happen, to remember her. After this I no longer doubted that she was a sex-trap and wanted to gain my confidence to find out something, but I could not know that I had only a few minutes of liberty left. Suddenly, she lit a cigarette and, placing her hands on my shoulders, said: 'Embrace me'. This was said so awkwardly and crudely that I said: 'Listen, I'm afraid of you'. And that is

all I had time to say. I heard the sound of footsteps from beyond the embankment. 'Were you calling for help, young lady?' Two men twisted my arms behind my back, threw me down and rolled me on the ground. They hit me in the face with their fists and stamped on my chest. I noticed that there were two or three more standing farther off, one of them with a dog. The girl ran off with one of the men to summon a police car, which was evidently already waiting at the corner of the street, since it arrived without delay...

17 January this year was memorable for me for two reasons: my trial opened and Pavel Stokotelny was sent off to join his wife abroad (Chronicle 56 - Chronicle). This was undoubtedly no coincidence, since only Pavel was able and willing to draw attention to this travesty of a trial. As it was, a quiet trial was assured.

The Case of Chornovil

From V. Chornovil's Appeal (80 pages). (For his trial see Chronicle 57.)

The pivot of the verdict in my case is the premeditated, preplanned slander by citizeness Blokhina, cast in the role of 'victim'. The other evidence consists of uncoordinated and aesthetically composed data which do not substantiate the facts of the 'crime'.

Since the court so boldly constructed its version of 'attempted rape' almost exclusively on the evidence of the 'victim' herself, and the details of the 'attempt' exclusively on the information from Blokhina, it is most important, indeed crucial, when examining my Appeal to study the precision and consistency of all Blokhina's testimony in comparison with mine, and also the 'victim's' character from the viewpoint of the possibility of slander.

During the investigation and trial I did not once change my testimony regarding the de facto political reasons behind my illegal arrest, or the smallest detail of the incident. I did not get confused, or offer the excuse of a 'bad memory', a 'nervous disposition', etc. You will not find the slightest contradiction in my testimony, which is indirect proof that it is true.

The testimony of the 'victim' is another matter. I directed the court's attention to the fact that she spoke confusedly and contradicted herself, not only when describing the events of the evening of 9 April, but even when talking about herself (see vol. 2, p. 9 in the case file and my objection No. 6 to the court record). There are even grounds for doubt as to the actual existence of a person with such a name.

Blokhina gave very contradictory information about her place of work and where she lived.

It is very significant that not one original document belonging to Blokhina, not even a passport, appears in the evidence or was exhibited in court. My petition, which was supported by my lawyer, that I should be shown Blokhina's work-book, was rejected by the court without due reason.

Blokhina gave just as contradictory evidence about the reason for her presence in Mirny, about her life there before she met Chornovil, and about what happened on 8

April and during the night of 8-9 April.

In fact, it was not only the presence of witnesses Dokshin and Ivachev which compelled Blokhina and the Procurator to alter their plans during the trial. Blokhina herself found it too absurd and open to question that, while she was all but hostile to me and my beliefs, she sat with me in a restaurant, went to see Ivachev and, when it was past 3 am, came to a man's room in the hotel, where she sat with me for a whole hour, then later returned to me, etc.

It is easy to understand why there are such abrupt changes in the 'victim's' testimony. It was necessary to explain somehow the difficult fact that Blokhina obstinately refused to leave until 5 am, until, finally, she had arranged the conditions necessary for the provocation. Does not the very fact of such a radical change of testimony to suit the new variation of scenario tell you, Judges, that Blokhina always describes everything, not as it was in reality, but in the way required to fabricate the charges?

What actually happened during that moment in the hotel Vilyui, in the almost polar town of Mirny, which had such dramatic consequences for me? As I have testified consistently and on several occasions - on the day of the 'incident', in statements to the Procuracy and then to the court, Blokhina returned to my room in 10-15 minutes. She did not say anything about a coat, but whispering, drew me to her in the darkness. She said she was alone, that her room-mate had not arrived (it would be interesting to know what they did with her - V.C.). She asked me to bring the remaining wine and to come, not with her, but a little later, 'so that no one sees us together'. It seems unnecessary to comment upon such an invitation, it is unambiguous; particularly when one takes into account that the conversation in my room had already assumed an intimate character, for the first time that evening. However, the realization of Blokhina's plan was impeded by the presence of driver Dokshin, who, though asleep, was nevertheless a different type of witness from the hotel porter and the policeman, who were part of the conspiracy.

So I went. I walked into a trap, towards a filthy charge planned by the KGB and an attempt to discredit me morally as an active member of the human rights movement in the USSR.

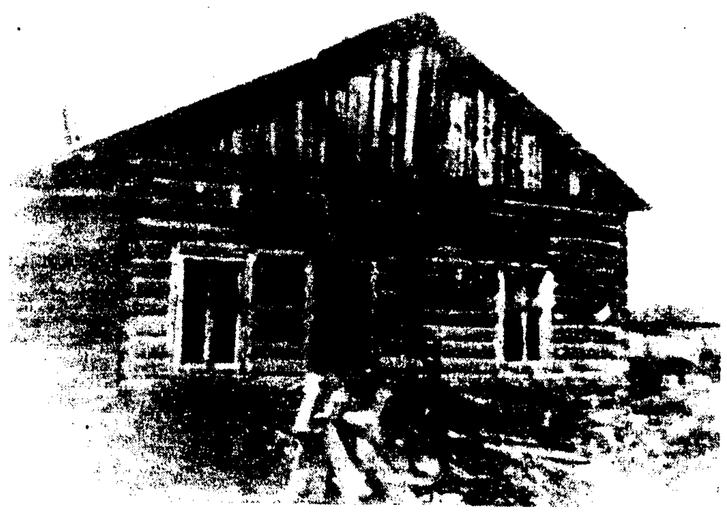
Now, during the hungry, sleepless nights in my prison cell (I declared a hunger-strike the moment I was arrested), I often think back to that night and wonder why I did it? I was aware, after all, that I had not been sent to Mirny to obtain spare parts for tractors. When she appeared in the witness box, my wife Atena Pashko confirmed that she had received the following telegram from me: 'Strange trip to Mirny; necessary to someone for something' (vol. 2, p. 112 of the evidence; objection No. 106 to the court record). (Incidentally, I did not receive her answering telegram asking me to be careful and look after myself, although it was sent three days before I left Nyurba for Mirny. This fact speaks for itself, as does the fact that my wife's telephone was disconnected a month before my arrest and that I was not allowed to receive telephone calls from abroad, and all letters written by my wife and others during the month or six weeks before my arrest did not reach

me ... clearly, when preparing the 'operation', they cut off my contact with the outside world.) I was expecting a possible provocation and I talked about it. Even Ivachev and my boss Shnaper confirmed this in court.

I foresaw everything, but in my dear, understanding fellow-countrywoman Tanya, who raised her glass to the freedom of the Ukraine, I for some reason did not discern a KGB provocateur, although now, with hindsight, I realize that I could have done so...

And yet I had no right to go to someone else's hotel room and to stay there alone with a woman, having guessed why she had invited me (but then, of course, I did not have a provocation in mind). I did not have the right from the moral point of view, nor did my responsibilities give me the right, for I realize that, due to my position in society, my life is not entirely my own.

But I went ... When I entered, Blokhina was waiting for me by the door and she locked it behind me. She did not switch on the light. It was not very dark in the room, because of the street lights. She went up to the right-hand side of the bed, rather like a stranger. She kicked off her shoes, half leapt on to the bed and sat leaning against the back of it. I sat on a stool by the bed. We talked about various things, nothing political of course. We agreed to keep in touch. Blokhina herself suggested that we drink the wine and she poured it out. We drank a little. I sat near her on the edge of the bed. We embraced and kissed. Things were obviously moving towards intimacy, but obviously no force was involved. Not only were there no noises - which were invented afterwards - our conversation sank to a whisper.



28. Vyacheslav Chornovil's log cabin in Nyurba, his place of exile prior to his 1980 arrest

Then there was a knock at the door, not at all loud. I heard the word 'Police' - not from outside the door, but from Blokhina herself (so she knew whom she was waiting for!). She pronounced the word with obvious relief. (Like an agent who has not quite mastered her part of sexual provocateur and does not want to go too far, although this would have been desirable as regards the charges. But perhaps the knock came too soon.) Realizing what had happened, I quickly moved across and sat on the other bed. When I was leaning over Blokhina, one of my shoes had come undone, one of my socks had partly slid down and my shirt had come out of my trousers a little. This was all the 'disorder' in my clothing which those coming in could have seen (but they 'saw' a great deal more). Blokhina had taken off her jeans earlier on and when she heard the knock at the door she made a sharp movement with her hands at her breast: either tearing her jacket or making scratches (it was difficult to tell in the semi-darkness). Then she tried to open the door, dressed in tights and a long jacket (the police actually thought it was a dressing-gown). From the knock at the door to the entrance of the police took no more than one or two minutes. Incidentally, it was I who replied: 'Who is it?' to the knock, not Blokhina, as incorrectly stated in the verdict. Three policemen came into the room (a captain and two lower-ranking officers), followed by Azarenko. The policemen said nothing, but approached me. I asked why they had come. Azarenko replied instead: 'I heard a noise and a girl crying, so I called the police'. I asked: 'What noise?' and turned to Blokhina, asking: 'Were you crying?' (Azarenko surprisingly described this moment accurately in court: 'You weren't crying' - vol. 2, p. 108 of the evidence). Blokhina was silent, covering her face with her hands (either pretending to cry, or concealing the fact that her face was not tear-stained, but rather satisfied). I then said: 'This is a provocation!' In my presence Blokhina did not tell the police anything and did not accuse me of rape. Therefore there were not even any formal grounds for my arrest. However, two more policemen appeared - and took me away.

Chornovil lists the many contradictions and absurdities in Blokhina's testimony about the night of 8-9 April. He describes the evidence of the 'defence witnesses' (occupants of the hotel). who were not summoned to court and the contradictory evidence of the 'prosecution witnesses' (the hotel orderly Azarenko, police captain Kovalchuk), the way the law was broken during the taking of material evidence and the carrying out of expert examinations.

The record of Blokhina's interrogation, which was supposedly conducted by investigator Ivanov from 9.15 to 10.15 on the morning of 10 April 1980, is especially significant as regards fabrication. Having read the record, I pointed out that Blokhina's replies were made with obvious reference to evidence obtained during the investigation, evidence which did not yet exist on the morning of 10 April (for example, my statement to the Procuracy of 13 April, in which I described the real circumstances of the incident, etc). Furthermore, this record conveniently differs from the records of Blokhina's interrogations on 9 and 10 April and her confrontation with me on the evening of 10 April, when she gave incomplete and contradictory evidence. In this record, however, the picture of the 'crime' is painted in all its details and ready formulas, and it was included in the indictment and the verdict unaltered. This record differs radically, both in terminology and even style (in a way convenient to the prosecution) from the other records of Ivanov's interrogations of Blokhina, including those with a later date. I also pointed out that it would be impossible to conduct this type of thorough interrogation (the record consists of 12 closely-typed pages - vol. 1 pp. 42-47 of the evidence) in an hour; an investigator would require at least one complete working day. Finally, one more telling circumstance has emerged. At the time when he was supposedly interrogating Blokhina, Ivanov was actually interrogating other people; this is reflected in the case evidence. From 9.30 to 10 am on 10 April Ivanov was interrogating witness Trofimov (vol. 1, pp. 68-69 in the evidence), and from 10 to 10.15 am - witness Afanasev (vol. 1, pp. 72-73 of the evidence). This conclusively exposes the forgery...

It is very significant that all mention of this forgery has been carefully removed from the court record, although I and my lawyer referred to it several times.

The investigation not only deliberately omitted a number of investigative actions which might have interfered with the charges (people who shared a room with Blokhina were not questioned, nor was her mysterious neighbour, Lukyanov, from room No. 29, nor the policeman who remained in room No. 28 with Blokhina; the document concerning the defendant's injured hand was not included in the evidence, although I asked that it should be, etc, etc), but concealed certain results of the investigation because they did not uphold the charges. A glaring example: the orders to take samples of my nails for biological examination, together with the samples themselves, were added to the evidence, at my insistence, only during the trial (vol. 2, pp. 63-65 of the evidence). I should point out that if such an examination had been carried out on 9 or 10 April, the charge that I caused Blokhina some sort of 'bodily harm' would have been eliminated.

An extremely important violation of the Code of Criminal Procedure (article 264) is the marked incompleteness and deliberate falsification of the court record. I have discovered several places where the record states, not what the 'victim' or the witnesses actually said in court, but what they were prompted to say during the pre-trial investigation and what was stated in the indictment. There was an obvious tendency to use the record to make the constantly confused testimony of the false witnesses and the 'victim' more uniform and therefore valid as evidence. In this case Judge Sleptsov, who presided over the trial, was guilty not only of tendentiousness, but of elementary dishonesty.

Not long before my first trip to Mirny, my statement about my being a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and my appeal to others to follow my example was published...

Chornovil details the evidence for his statement that his trip to Mirny was 'engineered'. On 24 July the Judicial Board for criminal cases at the Yakut ASSR Supreme Court, consisting of K.P. Sedykh and P.P. Fëdorov, with A.V. Adrianov as Chairman, left the verdict of the Mirny City

Court unchanged.

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

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FOURTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

THE TRIAL OF MOROZOV

From 5 to 13 January the Supreme Court of the Komi ASSR, presided over by Vice-Chairman of the Court Ermilov, heard in Vorkuta the case of the exile (trial - Chronicle 53) Mark Morozov (born 1931, arrested on 24 August 1980 - Chronicle 56), who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator Shcherbakov. Morozov refused the barrister appointed by the court and filed a petition requesting that his brother, who was present in the courtroom, be invited to act as his defence counsel. The petition was granted, but on 8 January Morozov refused the services of his brother too because the two men disagreed over the line of defence.

In the indictment it is alleged that while serving his term of exile Morozov 'did not abandon his ideological struggle'. He is charged with writing an article, 'USSR - the Politics of Deceit', and attempting to send it to the West through A. Stupnikov, who was detained during a search at the home of I. Kaplun (Chronicle 56). Singled out in the article are assertions of the type 'wherever communists rule there is terror and persecution of dissenters'. According to the indictment, the article describes Soviet foreign policy as aggressive, and claims that bacteriological weapons which threaten detente are being developed in the USSR. When he was already in an investigations prison Morozov prepared another three manuscript copies of the article to send to Stupnikov, Shubina and Nagle (Chronicle 57), one of which was intercepted at the post-office in a letter to Shubina, whilst the other two were confiscated during a search of his cell.

Morozov is also charged with sending a letter about his labour dispute with the administration of Pechora Mine Construction [PMC] to the Madrid Conference. In addition, Morozov is charged with circulating in Vorkuta The Gulag Archipelago and I. Pomerantsev's article 'The Eye and The Tear'. The investigation proposed that separate criminal cases be brought against A. Stupnikov, I. Kaplun and I. Nagle.

Morozov pleaded guilty 'not to all the charges'. He stated that he had begun to give evidence to the investigation on 20 November. Morozov categorically denied that he was the author of 'USSR - the Politics of Deceit', claiming disagreement with its contents: 'It seemed to me to have been written harshly and hastily ... What sane man would raise objections to detente?' Morozov said that he had personally recopied the article from another copy passed to him in his cell through a warder; the typewritten copy confiscated from Stupnikov had not passed through his hands at all - he had personally become acquainted with it just before his arrest. The copy of the article was sent to Shubina 'to deflect the attention of the KGB from the real author'; the two others were kept by him in his cell 'to expose stool-pigeons'. Morozov admitted that he had given The Gulag Archipelago to Olga Gamburg for her to read, 'because she threatened to cut her wrists if she didn't get the book', but claimed that the book hand landed up in Lyutikov's hands only for safe-keeping: 'Whoever knows this man (he works as a barman) knows that he doesn't read books'. Morozov admitted to circulating Pomerantsev's article, but stated that he did not believe

its circulation was prohibited in the USSR.

Morozov read out a statement about the inadmissible investigation methods of Investigator Turkin (Major Turkin, head of the Investigations Department of the Komi ASSR KGB, promoted to the rank of Lt-Colonel during the investigation - Chronicle). Morozov dwelt on his persecution by the administration of PMC (Iskra, Andryushechkin, Potëmkin): 'Sosnovsky opened my eyes to the abuses committed by these people'.

Stupnikov, questioned next (a former television journalist, sacked from the Vorkuta television centre in November), testified that he had not known the contents of the envelopes which Morozov had sent to Moscow through him, nor had he received The Gulag Archipelago from him.

Witness **O. Gamburg** (born 1959; out of work since October 1979) testified that she had got to know Morozov through Lyutikov. She had received The Gulag Archipelago from Morozov, then passed it on to Lyutikov at Morozov's request. Gamburg stated that Morozov had held anti-Soviet conversations with her: 'He said that the socialist system did not suit him, nor did the capitalist system. I don't know what does suit him ... He said that wherever communists rule there is terror and tyranny ... He tried to persuade me to emigrate to Southern Canada'.

Olga Gamburg denied that she had put pressure on Morozov in order to obtain The Gulag Archipelago. A dispute between Morozov and her arose in court on this matter. Morozov pointed out that Gamburg had started giving evidence even before his arrest, in February 1980, while she was still meeting him. 'That means she's an informer'. Witness **M. Lishnevskaya**, O. Gamburg's mother, confirmed her daughter's evidence.

Witness **Glushkov** (in 1979 warden of the hostel where Morozov lived, now editor of the Agitprop Department of Vorkuta television) confirmed the 'circulation' by Morozov of articles by Pomerantsev and E. Neizvestny, of letters to E. Berlinguer and USSR Procurator-General Rudenko, and of holding 'anti-Soviet conversations' - specifically, of proposing that he emigrate and that he write a book with Morozov about the Vorkuta camps.

Witness **I. Volkov** (equipment repairer) testified that he had been present when Morozov handed The Gulag Archipelago to Lyutikov. 'Lyutikov's wife found the book and showed it to me. I realized that the author of the book was an enemy ... Together we devised a plan to take it to the KGB'.

Witness **Potëmkin** (head of the department of PMC where Morozov worked) was highly critical of Morozov's work record and testified that Morozov had tried to persuade him to emigrate.

Witness **Korostelev** (a local policeman who carried out surveillance of Morozov): 'He saw a portrait of Stalin on the table in my room and said: "How can you keep this on your table when 66 million people died because of this man?" I replied that as far as I knew it was only 20 million'.

Witness **Shugaliyeva** (who worked with Morozov) testified that Morozov had conducted 'anti-Soviet agitation': 'He mentioned one of our leaders and said he had gone senile. I won't say his name (Judges - 'We've understood'). He spoke about events in Afghanistan, although we all understood it was fraternal assistance. He spoke about communism, but, after all, the weather's been bad, so the harvests

are poor. We have to be patient. The leaders aren't to blame'.

Witness **Zamostovsky** (a camera-man at the Vorkuta television centre) gave evidence about conversations with Morozov in which the latter had spoken critically about the CPSU.

> Procurator But it says here in your evidence...
> Zamostovsky Yes, as long as he has the strength to do so, he'll go on fighting against shortcomings.
> Procurator Against the Soviet system, the regime?
> Judge It says here 'shortcomings'.
> Zamostovsky But I never supported him.
> Judge Don't you think it's necessary to fight against shortcomings?
> Zamostovsky I don't see how one can do anything after 63 years of Soviet rule.

Witness **Sosnovsky** (an engineer, who was formerly in prison for serving in the Nazi SS) testified that Morozov had proposed to his daughter that she emigrate ('But why to his daughter? She has a house and an inheritance...') and given him The Gulag Archipelago and Pomerantsev's article.

At Morozov's request **Lyutikov**'s evidence was read out. Lyutikov alleged that The Gulag Archipelago had been given to him by Olga Gamburg for safe-keeping; two days later Igor Volkov and his brother had taken it to the KGB.

In his speech Procurator Shcherbakov rebutted Morozov's accusations levelled at the investigators:

> The investigation was carried out marvellously. All the witnesses testified to this. It was a good job.
> ... Morozov thinks there's nothing terrible about the article 'The Eye and The Tear', and that the first three issues of the journal Syntaxis[57] aren't considered criminal by the Ukrainian KGB. But this article is from the fourth issue. We asked for the fourth issue and were told it wasn't in the KGB archive. But why not suppose that the journal altered its line from the fourth issue?
> ... The KGB is a part of the Soviet system, which means the author is attacking the Soviet system as a whole. Morozov writes letters to our enemies in the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, enemies who just love to sing about our shortcomings.
> ... Morozov is guilty under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code of actions aimed at subverting the social and political system. This has been proved by the investigation and, although he is an ill man, I propose he be given ten years of strict-regime camps plus five years of exile, and that the period of exile not served under the previous charge be annulled.

In his defence speech Morozov again denied he was the author of the article 'USSR - the Politics of Deceit', disputing expert opinion on this matter.

> The text of my letters is the only grounds for the charge. At interrogations I testified that I agreed to be considered the author of the article in order to gain the support of a certain influential section of human rights defenders in connection with the administrative persecu-

tion unleashed against me at work...

According to Morozov, Investigator Turkin tried to persuade him to name the author, suggesting Stupnikov and Ryazanov 'as authors'. 'A crime has been committed - an anti-Soviet article has been written'.

Morozov pointed out that the evidence of his cell-mates was not proof, since it had not been examined at the trial, besides which '...for my own purposes I did not conceal what I was writing. Against their will three stool-pigeons confirmed my innocence'.

Regarding the circulation of The Gulag Archipelago, Morozov drew attention to the fact that only one incident had been proven - that he had given the book to Olga Gamburg; all the rest was speculation on the part of the Procurator.

> The only truth in the Procurator's speech was that the country is in reality moving forward ... But there are people who long for the past. They cannot live according to new norms and they pull the country backwards ... The regime drags down those around them by its actions. It is thanks to them that such filth has been thrown up in my investigation as Glushkov, Gamburg, Sosnovsky, Magomedov and Sleptsov. Glushkov gets 30 pieces of silver for his dirty deeds and a job at the TV centre ... now we have a professional provocateur and slanderer in charge of communist education in Vorkuta.

In his final speech Morozov limited himself to the statement: '...It's pointless saying anything since I am being judged not in accordance with justice, but by the regime'.

From the judgment: M. Morozov arrived in Vorkuta in July 1978 to serve five years in exile on a charge of circulating anti-Soviet material, but his repentance was not sincere. From the early days of his stay in Vorkuta M. Morozov conducted anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, slandering Soviet life; this is contained in the evidence of witnesses Sosnovsky, Glushkov, Gamburg, Shugaliyeva and others.

... Morozov engaged in the circulation of slanderous literature. With Mesyatseva's help, he printed several copies of Pomerantsev's article 'The Eye and The Tear' from the fourth issue of the journal Syntaxis. He gave one copy to Sosnovsky.

He engaged in the circulation of the book The Gulag Archipelago, gave it to O. Gamburg, Lyutikov and Sosnovsky to read, and promised it to Glushkov.

He wrote letters to the UN Commission on Human Rights and the Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Berlinguer, in which he made slanderous references to our way of life. He had prepared the letters to send, but they were confiscated during a search at Morozov's home.

As has been established by the evidence of witnesses, the article 'USSR - the Politics of Deceit' was written by him, printed on a 'Consul' typewriter in Sazhnov's room over the course of several evenings. The article was sent to Moscow with Stupnikov's help and confiscated during a search of I. Kaplun's home. The article is directed against detente and slanders our way of life.

While in prison, Morozov prepared another three copies of this article and placed them in envelopes addressed

to Nagle and Stupnikov. The third copy was sent through the post by a person unknown to Shubina's address, to be forwarded to The New York Times.

His sentence: eight years of strict-regime camps and eight months of camps in lieu of exile outstanding, plus five years of exile.

PERSECUTION OF THE WORKING COMMISSION [ON PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE]

The Trial of Alexander Podrabinek

On 6 January the Supreme Court of the Yakut ASSR, presided over by a member of the court, P.P. Fëdorov, examined the case of a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, the exile (trial - Chronicle 50) Alexander Podrabinek (born 1953; arrested 13 June 1980 - Chronicle 57), who had been charged for the second time under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator Petrov. Podrabinek refused the barrister appointed by the court.

In the indictment A. Podrabinek is charged with:

- producing and circulating in June 1979 an 'Appeal to the US Congress' containing fabrications about the Soviet system and claiming that 'the Soviet Union has a tendency towards aggression against other states and violates international agreements. Ratification of the Salt-2 Treaty will facilitate war'. This appeal, written by A. Podrabinek and T. Osipova, was not only not sent, let alone allowed to enter samizdat of its own accord, but was not even written 'in a fair copy'; the investigation had at its disposal only a draft confiscated from Osipova during a search on 11 October 1979 (Chronicle 54);
- continuing in exile editorial work on his book Punitive Medicine,[58] for writing which A. Podrabinek has previously been convicted. The investigation appointed a literary expert, to whom the question was put: 'Do the corrections introduced strengthen the ideological tendency, condemned by a court, of the work Punitive Medicine, or the reverse?' The conclusion of expert V. Gusev (deputy editor of the newspaper Sovetskaya Yakutia) says that out of 23 corrections to the text, four 'are aimed at strengthening the ideological tendency condemned by the court'; six are not; no opinion is submitted about the remaining 13. In this connection A. Podrabinek was also charged with sending letters to the exile M. Dzhemilev containing 'fabrications about the internment of mentally healthy people in psychiatric hospitals'. In the indictment it was pointed out that M. Dzhemilev, interrogated as a witness in the case, 'refused to give a straight answer, which ... indirectly confirms the guilt of A.P. Podrabinek' (Chronicle 60);
- circulating in May 1980 a photocopy of an historical work by an unknown author, sent through the post, which, according to the indictment, contains 'anti-Soviet and slanderous fabrications about the history of the socialist

revolution in Russia'. Such a verdict on the text was given in the course of a 'literary examination' by a senior lecturer on CPSU history at Yakut University, G.G. Makarov (who was asked to reply to the question: 'Do these pages belong in the realm of scientific work and does the content of the pages correspond to the truth?').

After A. Podrabinek was refused permission to engage the barristers he had chosen and his other petitions were not granted, he refused to take part in the court examination, but reserved his right to a final speech.

Witness **Shvetsov** testified that he had received a photocopy of the historical text which A. Podrabinek was charged with circulating from Dmitriyev (at an interrogation on 18 June 1980, under direct pressure from Investigator Prokopev, citizen Dmitriyev testified that he had received the photocopy from A. Podrabinek). Witness **R.S. Dorofeyeva** also supported the charges against A. Podrabinek and stated that 'such people should be imprisoned'. **Alla Khromova** (Chronicle 57) was summoned to the court as a witness in her husband's case and interrogated last.

In the course of the trial witnesses were asked questions which bore no relation to the main episodes of the indictment: did the accused listen to foreign radio broadcasts, etc. Neither the 'deliberateness' nor the 'falsity' of the 'fabrications' in the charge was an object of court examination. The investigators had followed the same line. From the indictment:

> ... the guilt of A.P. Podrabinek ... is fully proven by the case materials. Thus, at a search at the home of A.P. Podrabinek ... material was discovered which characterizes Podrabinek as a person likely to commit the sort of crime covered by article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

In his prosecution speech Procurator Petrov stated: 'There is not even any point in proving that Podrabinek's allegations are deliberately false - that's obvious in itself!' He described the editorial work of the accused on the book Punitive Medicine as criminal, referring to the conclusion of expert Gusev and to the fact that Podrabinek had previously been convicted for writing this book.

In his final speech,[59] after analysing in detail the investigation and court proceedings, A. Podrabinek rejected the arguments of the prosecution.

> Having set themselves the goal of depriving me of freedom, the investigative and judicial organs have cooked up this charge hastily and clumsily. The charge ascribed to me is absurd and not proven, whilst the pre-trial and court proceedings have been full of violations of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

According to A. Podrabinek's calculations, the requirements of the Code were violated no fewer than 76 times during the pre-trial investigation, and during the trial at least 110 times. 'It's quite clear' - he said - 'that the authorities can conduct this case only at the price of such procedural violations'. Podrabinek dwelt on the refusal of the court to attempt to prove the 'falsity' or 'deliberate falsity' of the 'Appeal to the US Congress' and the book Punitive Medicine.

> To sum up, it can be said that the charges brought against me should be dropped for at least two reasons: the actions with which I am charged do not constitute a crime under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; there is not a single piece of evidence in the case file that the information circulated by me is false.

Referring to the interrogation of witnesses, Podrabinek described pressure on them from the investigators and the court.

> All the more respect is due to those who were drawn into a political trial for the first time, but who could not be intimidated. I mean **N. Ostrovskaya** (Chronicle 60) and **R. Belopolsky** (Chronicle 57). As for Shvetsov and Dorofeyeva, I think they have been punished enough by the fact that in the eyes of their friends, neighbours and work-mates they have been revealed as informers.

Dwelling on the essence of the case under examination, A. Podrabinek suggested that the real reason for it had not been mentioned at the trial.

> I think that the most vital reason for taking me to court was that I was still involved in the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes ... Another reason for today's trial is, of course, my 'Appeal to the US Congress' ... That was my personal point of view. I don't force it on anyone and I don't even propagate it. But for the fact that I dared to express it openly I am being tried today. Incapable of rebutting it with words, they apply force - the usual reaction of a primitive dictatorship.
>
> The two other episodes of the charge are definitely not reasons for taking me to court.

Podrabinek drew attention to the use of his letters to M. Dzhemilev as juridical evidence:

> This part of the indictment surprised me. We're used to letters being opened and inspected, to secret searches; but a charge based on private correspondence is a revival of the traditions of the evil '30s and '40s. It's an alarming symptom.

Regarding the final episode in the indictment, Podrabinek said:

> ...I don't acknowledge state censorship of literature. I don't acknowledge that some bureaucrat has the right to decide what I can read and what I can't; what I can give to others and what's barred. And I reserve the right, which internal Soviet laws do not directly specify ... I reserve the right to freedom of speech.

A. Podrabinek concluded his final speech thus:

> In a final speech it is accepted practice to request the court to pass this or that verdict on the case. More by virtue of this tradition than in the hope of a just decision, I demand a verdict of not guilty in view of the lack of any crime in my actions. Nevertheless, I have no doubts that the sentence for a crime I have

not committed has been long decided ... But whatever camp term is meted out to me now, I shall remain confident that honest people will pass their own verdict on the case: not guilty for me, and guilty for my present judges.

His sentence: three years of ordinary-regime camps, plus six months and 13 days of camps in lieu of exile outstanding.

* * *

On 29 January the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 155 'The Second Conviction of the Brothers Alexander and Kirill Podrabinek' (see 'In the Prisons and Camps'):

... Despite the procedural violations committed in the pre-trial investigations and trials, despite the unproven charges against the brothers Podrabinek, it is evident from the sentences themselves that they were convicted solely for free expression - orally (Kirill) and in writing (Alexander) - of their opinions and convictions, which cannot for them be deliberately false, ie they have been convicted in the absence of any crime in their actions.

Such a conviction is particularly tragic because both Kirill and Alexander fell seriously ill while serving their first sentences. In the harsh conditions of exile Alexander suffered from serious hepatitis which took on a chronic form. Kirill fell ill with pneumonia in prison; as the result of a late diagnosis and inferior treatment, the process (tuberculosis) is developing, and at present Kirill is diagnosed as having 'a spreading tubercular inflammation in his right lung'.

We call on the heads of governments of the states which signed the Helsinki Agreement, and on Soviet and world public opinion, to raise their voices in defence of the freedom and life of the brothers Podrabinek.

* * *

In February A. Podrabinek arrived in camp (see 'In the Prisons and Camps').

* * *

After the trial his wife **A. Khromova** requested Judge Fëdorov to return the typewriter. Fëdorov directed her to the administrative section, where she was informed that the typewriter had been destroyed, and shown a document saying that due to its technical condition the machine was not suitable for second-hand sale.

The Arrest of Serebrov

On the morning of 8 January a member of the working Commission and the Moscow Helsinki Group, Felix Serebrov (born 1930), was taken from home to an interrogation. At the time his 80-year-old mother-in-law, who is almost blind and deaf, was the only person at home. The search was conducted by Moscow KGB Investigators Popov and Konovalov. The confiscated items included typewritten and handwritten texts, notepads with notes, notebooks, a duplicate of a work-book and military card, personal letters, photographs, a receipt of payment for international tele-

phone calls and telegrams.

During the search **Lev Ziman** arrived at the flat. During body-search two notebooks, a note with telephone numbers on it and a cassette tape were confiscated from him. After the search Ziman was taken to the KGB and interrogated about his reasons for visiting Serebrov.

Serebrov did not return home. He was detained in a KGB Investigations Prison (Lefortovo) and is being charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

* * *

Against the day of his arrest Serebrov wrote a letter, 'Instead of an Autobiography':

...From 1918 to the present day the only argument the authorities have had to suppress 'dissent' has been arrests, trials, concentration camps and prisons ... My parents were Leninist communists. My father was a party member from 1919, my mother from 1926.

When I was just 17 I was sentenced to ten years of camps by a military tribunal ... The Gulag sea tossed me back and forth. Taught me to live by my wits. Brought me into contact with 'fascists' ('fascist' is the post-war camp nickname criminals give to political prisoners convicted under article 58 - now articles 190-1 and 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code).

...I was released - worked, studied, settled down to married life. Once again I landed up in the 'Archipelago' - for exceeding the appropriate level of 'self-defence' (until you've been beaten to death, don't dare try and defend yourself). The 'Archipelago' had changed. Again I was released, passed the secondary school exam and entered an institute on an external degree course ... Every day I came into conflict with Soviet reality. I was a lone rebel. I was lucky not to land up in prison. I got to know dissidents. I signed letters and statements in anyone's defence, but was really speaking more for myself. In 1975, after close acquaintance with former political prisoners from psychiatric hospitals, I devoted myself entirely to fighting against the abuses of psychiatry. At the beginning of 1977 the individual efforts of Irina Kaplun, Slava Bakhmin, Sasha Podrabinek and myself against the repressive use of psychiatry were coordinated when the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes was formed. Somewhat later Leonard Ternovsky and Irina Grivnina became members of the Commission...

In conclusion, I won't quote lines of my poetry, which I've been writing for a long time (people will both type them and read them without my help), I'll state my credo for KGB bureaucrats and their inferiors one more time.

I deeply despise your department. Almost 30 years ago fate brought me into contact with one of its pillars at the time - Lt-General Kabulov, who said: 'I'd shoot you with my own hands!'

Remember, gentlemen bureaucrats of the KGB, the fate of your predecessors. 'Yes, I believe you will all sit in the dock,' - was the answer I gave to one of your colleagues, Kapayev, Senior KGB Investigator for Moscow and the Moscow region.

You can arrest me like my friends, sentence me to years of imprisonment, ultimately - shoot me. But it

is you who will sit on the bench of shame, not I. Today, when Russia is threatened by starvation, you will guzzle your fill as before. What business is it of yours that the population is starving? When the sons of simple mothers are dying in Afghanistan, you are convulsed with rage that you can't drop an atom bomb on it.

When the Poles have won the right to free trade unions, you grit your teeth with fury that it's not in your power to tear them to pieces, to crush them with the tracks of your tanks. Everything frightens you, but most of all you fear free, uncensored speech. This I have uttered.

* * *

After the arrest of Serebrov only the consultant psychiatrist A. Koryagin was left in the Working Commission (see below, however). Four people were left in the Moscow Helsinki Group after Serebrov's arrest: E. Bonner, S. Kalistratova, I. Kovalev and N. Meiman.

* * *

On 9 January **Nina Komarova**, V. Nekipelov's wife, wrote:

...There are no words to express my mental anguish at what has happened. So many people who are near and dear to me have disappeared recently behind deaf stone walls entwined with barbed wire! So many words of protest and appeals to public opinion have been written that their very repetition is terrifying! But clearly this is inevitable. Because Felix Serebrov - a gentle, kind person, whose smile is wonderfully warm and affectionate - is the next in line of many who have gone before him...

He joined the Helsinki Group without any fuss after V. Nekipelov's arrest. This quiet, but very determined, very honest, loyal and courageous man could not have done otherwise. He knew the camps better than most. He knew the camps of the 'fifties and then the camps of the 'seventies. Isn't that enough? Yet he could not stand on the side-lines, he could not betray the holy of holies - his conscience, courage, loyalty.

For all your kindness, for all the good deeds you have done for people, for all your tenderness and kindness - thank you, our friend and brother. May you find Strength, Courage, Hope and Faith.

On 25 January the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 154, 'The Arrest of the Last Member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, Felix Serebrov':

...Where did this man who has already passed fifty, who suffers from high blood pressure, who works a full day at his job, who has remained a good family man and a friend to many, find the incredible strength for such a vast amount of work?

He found this strength in his unshakable awareness of his civic duty, in his heart of gold, in his consciousness that every man is responsible for all the evil and all the injustice in our country ... For his thought, his free speech, his truthful information, his striving to help people, human rights defender Felix Serebrov will be tried...

The Arrest of Koryagin

A psychiatrist at the Kharkov Regional Psycho-neurological Clinic and a Doctor of Medicinal Science, Anatoly Ivanovich Koryagin (born 1938) has been a consultant of the Working Commission. On 5 February the head doctor at the clinic, G.A. Nikitin, arranged an emergency meeting of the collective: the Kharkov Regional Procuracy had requested a report on a doctor at the clinic, Anatoly Koryagin, and on his work relating to the Working Commission. In the letter from the Procuracy the members of the Commission were called 'criminals who have engaged in anti-Soviet activity'. The deputy director of Kharkov Regional Health Department, Trunov, was present at the meeting.

After listening to the contents of the letter, Koryagin left the meeting. At the meeting Nikitin, head of the medical organization department N.I. Zederei and Trunov were not in the least embarrassed to describe A. Koryagin's cooperation with the work of the Commission as 'anti-Soviet activity hostile to the State and unworthy of the title of citizen and doctor', concluding that 'there is no place for him in the collective'. Zederei described an incident in the summer of 1979 when he and Nikitin had tried to beat Koryagin up: 'I hit Koryagin for saying he hated communists and the Soviet regime'. In this connection Trunov said: 'You should have killed him'.

The contents of their speeches revealed a surprising amount of knowledge of the relations between Koryagin and the KGB, such as, for example, details of a search carried out at his home. Those conducting the meeting demanded that a nurse who worked with Koryagin either censure him or confess to 'complicity with him'.

The members of the collective present at the meeting, although they knew nothing about the specific nature of Koryagin's work for the Commission, nevertheless voted to condemn this activity as hostile to the state. Later Nikitin refused to give Koryagin a copy of the minutes of the meeting, advising him to contact the Regional Procuracy on the matter.

On 13 February Koryagin was arrested on his way from Kharkov to Moscow. His wife, who was travelling with him, was told that it was a 'detention'. For several days his relatives did not know where he was. On 17 February Senior Investigator of the Kharkov KGB, Major V.A. Sidelnik (Chronicle 60), told Koryagin's wife that her husband 'had been detained as a suspect and is being kept in an investigations prison'.

On 18 February a search was carried out at Koryagin's home without the authorization of the Procurator. Senior Investigator Murzin, who conducted the search, told G. Koryagina that A. Koryagin was being charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code.[60]

On 19 February Koryagin's nurse was told that if she did not testify against Koryagin she would be tried for complicity.

* * *

Koryagin became the consultant of the Working Commission in 1979 (Voloshanovich left in February 1980 - Chronicle 56). In the summer of 1979 Nikitin and Zederei attempted to beat Koryagin up during a work trip, calling him a

'dissident', 'renegade' and 'traitor'. In December 1979 Koryagin was detained and searched at Kharkov Station without any reason being given. In September 1980 a search was carried out at his home by Kharkov KGB officials; personal notes, addresses and a typewriter were confiscated.

Not long before his arrest Koryagin wrote an 'Open Statement':

> In the event of my arrest and proceedings being brought against me under any article of the Criminal Code, I request that the following statement be published:
>
> I have not committed any criminal action punishable by law. I regard my arrest and the criminal case brought against me as the latest act in a logical chain of persecution by the authorities, to which they are subjecting me as revenge for my participation as a consultant doctor in the work of the Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes.
>
> The diagnosis of psychiatric illnesses is my professional duty as a doctor and can be an object of criticism only for competent professionals in the field, not for representatives of the KGB, the Procuracy or the courts.
>
> The results of the investigation and trial in my case have been decided in advance. I refuse to take any part in them whatsoever, since I regard them as an example of blatant lawlessness - as persecution dressed up in legal guise always is.

29. R to l: Irina Grivnina, Dr Anatoly Koryagin, Felix Serebrov, all arrested members of the Working Commission, and Olga Ternovskaya

The Case of Grivnina and Serebrov

On 21 January **V. Tsurikov** (Chronicle 51), who had earlier renounced his Soviet citizenship and been repeatedly hospitalized in psychiatric hospitals, was summoned to Procurator Vologuzov in Krasnoyarsk. At one time he was examined by A. Voloshanovich and A. Koryagin, who found him healthy, and F. Serebrov sent a letter about Tsurikov to the head psychiatrist of Krasnoyarsk. Subsequently this letter was redirected to Vologuzov, and now it was used as grounds for a conversation with Tsurikov about Serebrov.

From 26 January to 15 February, in the case of I. Grivnina (arrest - Chronicle 60), Popov and Konovalov interrogated about 20 of her work-mates from the Research Institute on Electronic Information Systems [Informelektro] (some of them are now working for other organizations). Some of the interrogations took place in the 'Informelektro' building and not all were recorded in writing.

At the end of January or beginning of February **Mikhail Makhov** (a former work-mate of Grivnina) was summoned to Investigator Kapayev of the Moscow KGB. To Kapayev's question whether Makhov knew anything about Grivnina's 'criminal activity' the latter replied that he did, 'either from Myaskovsky, or from the KGB' (I. Myaskovsky, also a former work-mate of Grivnina, emigrated at the beginning of December 1980).

On 12 February **M. Petrenko** (Chronicles 56, 57) was summoned to Kapayev. She handed Kapayev a statement:

> On 2 December 1980 I sent a statement of my reasons for refusing to take part in any investigation in which the object of the proceedings is opinions and not an actual crime. My refusal was sent to the Chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security and to the Investigations Department of the KGB.
>
> I do not consider it possible for me to take part in investigations into cases brought under articles 70 and 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code as I consider these articles contrary to the USSR Constitution (Articles 49, 50, 51, 52), the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by the USSR government, as well as the Helsinki Agreement signed by the Head of our State.

Kapayev stated that Petrenko had been summoned in the case of Grivnina. When completing the biographical section of the record, Petrenko said that she refused to sign anything whatsoever in the record, and would not give evidence as she considered the reasons for her refusal to apply. The Investigator warned her of her accountability for refusing to give evidence and put a number of questions to her: where, when and under what circumstances she had got to know Grivnina, what she knew about her criminal activity, what character reference she would give her; where, when and under what circumstances the 'Bulletin' of the Psychiatric Commission was issued, and so on. The same questions were put to Petrenko about Serebrov as well. To each question Petrenko replied with silence, and the Investigator noted down: 'No reply'. The interrogation lasted an hour.

On 26 February L. Ternovsky's wife, **Lyudmila Ternovskaya**, was summoned to Kapayev. Ternovskaya handed Kapayev a statement about her refusal to give evidence (similar

to M. Petrenko's statement). Kapayev asked her to find an article in the Code of Criminal Procedure which said she 'had the right to write such statements', and, while Ternovskaya was looking for the article, he typed out the record without putting any questions to her. The contents included Kapayev's questions about Ternovskaya's acquaintances and her description of them. Her 'answers' were recorded as if in Ternovskaya's own words: knows so and so and gives an excellent character reference of each person. Ternovskaya stated that she had not been asked these questions and refused to give evidence in cases of this sort.

On 3 March Konovalov interrogated the mother of S. Ermolayev (see 'After Release'), **M.P. Ermolayeva**, in the Serebrov case. Ermolayeva said she had seen Serebrov only once. On 5 March Kapayev interrogated L. Ternovsky's daughter, **Olga Ternovskaya**. The questions concerned her acquaintance with Grivnina and Serebrov, O. Ternovskaya's signature under a letter in defence of V. Bakhmin (she did not deny she had signed this letter) and what she knew about the Information Bulletins of the Working Commission (Ternovskaya said she knew of their existence but had not read them).

On 6 March Kapayev interrogated **V. Serebrova**. Three questions were put to her on the case of Serebrov, two on the case of Grivnina. Serebrova was asked when she became acquainted with her husband, what their relationship was like, and when they got married; about Grivnina - when they became acquainted and what their relationship was. On the same day Popov interrogated **Dmitry Leontev** (Chronicles 50, 51, 55). Leontev refused to give evidence: 'I do not wish to facilitate the conviction of my friends'.

On 11 March **V. Serebrova's daughter** was interrogated. They were interested in what conflicts arose through everyone living in one flat, and expressed their certainty that such conflicts had to exist. The investigator showed his dissatisfaction with the answer 'A marvellous stepfather and grandfather'.

* * *

Grivnina's husband **Vladimir Neplekhovich** has received two written reports from the administration of Lefortovo Prison about his wife's state of health. The first one (dated 22 January), which was in reply to Neplekhovich's request for permission to send Grivnina a parcel of honey, said that owing to her state of health she did not require such a gift (by the time the reply was received the honey had already been accepted). The second (dated 20 February) said that in connection with complaints about her state of health Grivnina had received the necessary treatment.[61]

TRIALS

The Trial of Lazareva

On 12 January the Leningrad City Court examined the case of Natalya Lazareva (arrested 26 September 1980 - Chronicle

30. *Natalya Lazareva*

60), who was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and under article 196 ('Forging ... documents ...'). Lazareva was charged under article 196 with having a forged entry in her work-book. She pleaded guilty to this charge.

The grounds for the charge under article 190-1 was a draft manuscript confiscated during a search, which, according to the indictment, was intended for publication abroad. Lazareva at first pleaded not guilty under this article, but in her final speech changed her plea.

During the trial **E. Borisova** (Chronicle 60) and **G. Grigoreva** (Chronicle 60) were removed from the court-room. The Procurator demanded one year of imprisonment. Her sentence: ten months of ordinary-regime camps.

The Trial of Magidovich

From 7 to 9 January the Tula Regional Court examined the case of Alexander Magidovich (born 1933; arrested 23 May 1980), who was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Magidovich was accused of 'circulating fabrications in oral form' (four witnesses claimed that when he delivered telegrams to them he engaged in anti-Soviet conversations) and 'producing a text of slanderous content' (meaning an exercise book with a text in code which was confiscated from Magidovich during a search).

Magidovich is an engineer and, since 1976, a 'refusenik'. He had recently been working as a telegram deliverer. Since his arrest Magidovich has not been allowed to receive a single parcel. Magidovich was defended by barrister V. Petrov; the accused found this out only at the trial. His sentence: two-and-a-half years of ordinary-regime camps.

The Trial of Myasnikov

From 28 to 30 January the Moscow City Court, presided over by N.G. Baikova (she convicted Bakhmin, Sokirko and Ternovsky - Chronicles 58, 60), examined the case of Aleksei Myasnikov (born 1944; arrested on 19 August 1980 - Chronicle 60), who was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and article 228 ('Producing or selling porno-

graphic objects'). The prosecutor was Procurator O. Sergina, the defence counsel - barrister V.Ya. Shveisky.

Under article 190-1 Myasnikov was charged with producing in 1977, and circulating, the article '173 Reasons for National Shame, or what the Constitution Keeps Quiet about', under article 228 - with producing and circulating the story 'Meetings' (expert Galperin ruled it pornographic). Myasnikov pleaded not guilty.

Witness **Oleg Popov** (Chronicles 54, 60) stated that he regarded Myasnikov as an honest man, incapable of writing a lie, and therefore he did not believe he was guilty.

> Regarding Investigator I.A. Kudryavtsev, I wish to report the following. When showing me the door of his office, Kudryavtsev threatened me: 'If this were another place I'd talk to you differently'. I wish to ask the comrade Judge: what is this 'other' place? How do they talk to witnesses in this 'other' place?

Judge Baikova readdressed these questions to Investigator Kudryavtsev (Chronicle 60). While Popov was being questioned by the barrister, it became clear that although he had been interrogated only once, on 13 December 1980, and written on to the record his refusal to give evidence, there were three records of interrogations of him in the case file.

In his speech for the defence the barrister said that all the witnesses questioned at the trial had said that Myasnikov had not given them the article '173 Reasons...' to read, while witness Gurevich had not appeared; thus, circulation has not been proven in court. Neither in the case materials, nor in the evidence of witnesses at the trial was there any proof of slander, let alone deliberate slander, in the accused's works; the thoughts expressed in them were the author's personal opinions. The story 'Meetings', ruled pornographic by the investigation, had been sent for review several years earlier to the writer Yu. Petrov, who had testified that he did not regard it as such; thus the question of its pornographic nature was disputable. The fact of its circulation was not proven, since, apart from witness Gurevich, who had failed to appear, no one had confirmed having seen it.

When Myasnikov was making his final speech, Judge Baikova interrupted him repeatedly: 'Refute but don't quote. We won't allow you to engage in anti-Soviet propaganda'. Myasnikov announced that the police had confiscated 'Meetings' from him several years before, but later returned it. The story had been written seven years ago. As a first literary attempt it had not been intended for publication and circulation. His sentence: three years of ordinary-regime camps.

* * *

After Myasnikov's trial was over an 'Open Letter to the 26th Congress of the CPSU', in his defence, appeared in samizdat (copies to the editorial boards of the newspapers Pravda and Izvestia), which throws light on the trial's preparation and conduct:

> ...A.A. Myasnikov was unexpectedly arrested at work on 19 August 1980 and interned in a Preliminary Detention Cell at Police Station No. 22, Dzerzhinsky District, Moscow. As Myasnikov stated at the trial, during the

> three days he was in the cell Senior Investigator of the Dzerzhinsky District Procuracy, I.A. Kudryavtsev, who was interrogating him, demanded that he give false evidence against his comrade O.A. Popov, otherwise Kudryatsev threatened A.A. Myasnikov that he would fabricate a criminal case against him. Myasnikov did not accede to the illegal demands of Investigator Kudryavtsev. On 21 August he was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and interned in a KGB Investigations Prison (Lefortovo). In the middle of November 1980 he was transferred to an Investigations Prison on Matrosskaya Tishina Street.
>
> As became clear during the court examination, crude violations of the Criminal Procedural Code and the RSFSR Criminal Code had been committed at the pre-trial investigation. Witnesses N.B. Omelchenko, O.A. Popov and V.E. Velichko, who spoke at the trial, cited examples of the illegal methods of conducting interrogations used by Investigator I.A. Kudryavtsev - deliberate distortion of witnesses' evidence, additions to records, threats, blackmail and deceit.
>
> At the trial it was revealed that Investigator I.A. Kudryavtsev, in the absence of witness O.A. Popov, had compiled a post factum record containing signatures of witnesses (!!!) and recording his alleged refusal to give evidence: in this way he had committed a blatant forgery.
>
> The following circumstance is also startling. It was clear from the indictment that the principal prosecution witness was a former close friend of Myasnikov, M.A. Gurevich, a resident of Perm. Gurevich did not appear at the trial, giving as the reason for his absence 'a lengthy business trip connected with an urgent requirement of his enterprise'. The defence counsel and accused petitioned that M.A. Gurevich be summoned to the trial but the Judges turned the petition down, despite the fact that: (1) the evidence of M.A. Gurevich contradicts the evidence of other witnesses and constitutes not facts but mostly references to what other people said; (2) during the court examination it became absolutely clear that many of Gurevich's allegations were deliberately false (and this was not disputed by the Procurator). In his 'evidence' Gurevich slandered, and accused of serious crimes, people with whom he was either not acquainted at all, or had seen only once (he called one witness an American spy, another - an alcoholic and moral degenerate; a third was described as 'anti-Soviet'). Yet evidence of such a nature formed the basis not only of the indictment, but also of the whole inquiry both at the stage of the pre-trial investigation and at the trial itself.
>
> Nevertheless, despite the evident facts and common sense, in his speech for the prosecution the Procurator considered that Gurevich's evidence was 'worthy of trust'! The Judges assessed his evidence in identical manner, in effect merely repeating in their judgment all the allegations in the indictment prepared by the investigative organs.
>
> The court considered Myasnikov's article '173 Reasons for National Shame, or what the Constitution Keeps Quiet about' to be deliberate slander, even though the accused himself and the defence counsel proved convincingly the absence of deliberate slander at the time the article

was written. The precise opposite - in his final speech, which was basically his defence speech, Myasnikov proved that the purpose of the article was to point to the things which prevented the spirit and letter of the Constitution being put into practice, and prevented us from operating the economy effectively and working efficiently.

The court examination showed that systematic circulation of the article had not occurred. From the time it was written over three years ago to the present day no one had read the article except for witness M.A. Gurevich. It had not been published.

It is also surprising that the court considered the opinion of a little-known literary critic, Galperin, who evaluated the story 'Meetings' as a pornographic work, as final. The petition of the accused and defence counsel that a group of more authoritative writers be called to give an expert opinion was turned down...

ARRESTS

The Arrest of Batarevsky

In December 1980 or January 1981 legal consultant Oleg Vladimirovich Batarevsky was arrested in Sigulda, Latvian SSR. He was charged under article 183-1 of the Latvian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

The Arrest of Zotov

At the end of January Mikhail Vasilevich Zotov (Chronicles 49, 51-3, 56, 57) was arrested in Tolyatti, Kuibyshev region. He was held in Syzran prison. He has been charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.[62]

The Arrest of Georgy Shepelëv

On 24 February in Moscow Georgy Shepelëv (Chronicle 60) was taken after a search to Butyrka Prison. The following items were confiscated from him during the search: the list of demands of the inter-factory strike committee in Gdansk (translated from a Polish newspaper), letters, photographs, telephone numbers of foreign correspondents and samizdat.

G. Shepelëv has been charged under article 96 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Petty theft of state ... property') for allegedly removing four bottles of champagne from the champagne factory where, until 20 February, he worked (he was arrested just beyond the check-point). An investigator from the Department for Combating Theft of Socialist Property, Tatyana Eshchenko, is conducting the case.

Shepelëv's brother Vladimir (Chronicle 60) stated that the confiscated materials belonged to him, not Georgy,

and wrote a protest to the district Procurator regarding the confiscation of materials which had no bearing on the case. Eshchenko replied that investigations under the article G. Shepelëv was charged with took up to 20 days, and promised to return all the documents which had no bearing on the case. Eshchenko also said that she did not even know about the search. Throughout V. Shepelëv's conversations with her a plain-clothes man was present in her office (the search was also carried out by two plain-clothes men who, when asked by Shepelëv's mother about the reasons for the search, said: 'We were looking for one thing, but we've found something different').

G. Shepelëv's mother and wife wrote letters of protest to the RSFSR Procuracy and to the delegates of the 26th Congress of the CPSU about the lack of grounds for holding him in detention.

Despite the fact that G. Shepelëv had been working at the factory for only 17 days, a work reference was provided which reported that 'he showed himself to disadvantage'. G. Shepelëv's mother went to the secretary of the factory party organization and asked why such a reference had been given. The latter did not recognize his signature on the work reference and asked her to leave it behind for his reconsideration. Subsequently it turned out that 'officials of the Department for Combating Theft of Socialist Property' had confiscated the reference.[63]

SEARCHES

A Search of Aleksei Smirnov

On 19 January at about 19.00 hours investigator of the Moscow City Procuracy V.V. Krylov carried out a search, 'as a special assignment', for Case No. 50611/14-79 [the Searches case] at the work-place of Aleksei Smirnov (Chronicles 7, 53, 60).

Witnesses were found at his work-place (the RSFSR Ministry of Procurements) and the following items were confiscated from Smirnov's brief-case: No. 57 of The Chronicle of Current Events, Document No. 153 of the Moscow Helsinki Group (see 'Letters and Statements'), the sixth issue of the Group's Collected Documents (published by Khronika Press), the brochure The Covenants on Human Rights (same publishing-house), and a manuscript of an informational nature, about which one of those carrying out the search exclaimed: 'So that's how the Chronicle is made!'

Blank paper and both used and unused carbon paper were also confiscated. Holding the used carbon paper up to the light, the same officer remarked with satisfaction: 'Now we know where the documents of the Helsinki Group are typed'.

Smirnov was then taken home. Before the search started Krylov inquired whether Smirnov had 'similar' materials at home. The latter replied that he did not keep such material at home. The first confiscated items to be entered in the record were the awards and medals left by the family of P.G. Grigorenko (Chronicle 48). Amongst the other items were: poems by Galich, personal correspondence, notebooks,

31. Aleksei Smirnov (r), with General Grigorenko holding his son (1975)

photographs, four tape-recorder tapes, and a 'Moskva' typewriter. A sample of the type-face was taken from a second typewriter belonging to Smirnov's wife, who is a professional typist. Smirnov protested about the confiscation, pointing out that not one of the documents confiscated contained 'deliberately false and slanderous fabrications'.

Krylov asked Smirnov to come the next day for an interrogation by Yu. A. Burtsev, but Smirnov refused to attend without a summons and asked Krylov to tell Burtsev that he would not talk to him, since he had already written to him, refusing to take part in the investigation in the case of the journal Searches (see Chronicle 56).

A Search at the Home of Vul

On 20 February Moscow KGB officer Capt. V.N. Kapayev (Chronicles 54, 56) carried out a search at the home of Leonid Vul. The search warrant - relating to Case No. 538 - had been signed by a department head of the Investigations Section, Balashov.

Vul was arrested while returning home and taken to a police station. There, a KGB officer who did not introduce himself ('I don't want my name to be broadcast on Western radio tomorrow'), 'had a talk' with him. The talk began with the statement: 'You must realize that the democratic movement hampers us'. During the talk Vul was asked: 'What would you say if someone suggested to you tomorrow that you leave the USSR?' Vul replied that it was a complicated

question which needed thought: when it was suggested to him, then he would think about it. Interest was shown in whether Vul knew T. Velikanova. At the end of the talk it was suggested to Vul that he voluntarily hand over any anti-Soviet literature he had at home. After Vul replied that he did not know what the officer regarded as anti-Soviet literature, he was taken off to a search.

At the search the following items were confiscated: the manuscript of No. 59 of the Chronicle of Current Events (most of the text had been handwritten by Vul and Yu. Shikhanovich - Chronicle 57), materials used in its preparation, a set of tamizdat [reprinted in the West] issues of the Chronicle, a typewriter, a book-binding machine and an invitation to Israel.

* * *

Leonid Davidovich Vul (born 1949) graduated in 1972 from the evening school of Moscow University's Philological Faculty, having specialized in Russian language and literature. He was unable to find work to suit his education. Since 1977 he has been working as a knife-sharpener.

His grandfather Efim Davidovich Vul worked for the NKVD [secret police] and was a camp head. In 1942 he was arrested, sentenced to eight years and released in 1950. In 1951 he was arrested in Moscow for 'violating the residence regulations' and exiled to Kazakhstan. He died the same year.

The brother of Leonid Vul's grandfather worked for the Cheka [the secret police under Lenin]. In the '20s he was head of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department and in the '30s - head of the Moscow police. In approximately 1939-40 he was arrested and shot. He is mentioned in The Gulag Archipelago.[64]

Miscellaneous

On 28 January a search was carried out in Moscow at the home of **Roza Fedyakina's mother** (in the same case and the same investigator as carried out the search at Roza's home - Chronicle 60). Bed-linen with hospital markings (Fedyakina's mother works in a hospital) and personal letters were confiscated. Specially summoned representatives of the Department for Combating Theft of Socialist Property were present when the linen was confiscated.

At the search they were looking for a carved bone which had allegedly been sent to Moscow by an acquaintance of Fedyakina's brother[65] from Magadan. This acquaintance had asked for the bone to be sold and the money donated to the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners; he had testified to this himself while being investigated under article 206, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Malicious hooliganism').

* * *

On 20 August 1980 Investigator of Kaluga Procuracy O.B. Kashtanov and Senior Inspector of Kaluga UVD I.P. Boretsky carried out a search at the home of pensioner **Georgy Georgievich Demidov** (he is 72). A citizen who did not introduce himself also took part in the search. In a resolution dated 24 June it said that the search was being carried out with the purpose of looking for and confiscating 'mater-

ials and documents containing deliberately false fabrications which slander the Soviet political and social system, and other materials and objects which could be of significance for the case'.

Letters, a typewriter and a notebook were confiscated, as well as books written by Demidov over a period of 20 years after his release from imprisonment: the many volumes of his monograph From Dawn to Dusk - three sets; his trilogy Tales of the Year '37 (The Orange Lampshade, Two Procurators, Fanny Kvas); A Miraculous Planet - tales of Kolyma slave labour; and a collection Captivity and the Muses. In addition, the book One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich (Moscow, Soviet Writer Publishing-house, 1963) was confiscated.

In 1937, when an assistant professor of Kharkov University, Doctor of Technical Science Demidov was sentenced to 20 years. He spent about 15 years in Kolyma. His first sentence was reduced because he introduced a rationalization of the work system. After rehabilitation Demidov lived in Ukhta, worked in a factory, was foreman of a workshop which won the Banner of Communist Labour, and wrote his memoirs. He was summoned to the KGB, where he was told neither to duplicate nor to circulate his works; however, Demidov continued to give them to his friends to read.

THE CASE OF BRAILOVSKY

On 6 February the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 156 'The Arrest of V. Brailovsky and Dispersal of the Scientific Seminar of Refuseniks' (Chronicle 60):

> On 13 November 1980 Viktor Brailovsky was arrested. Scholar, Doctor of Science, secretary of the scientific seminar of refusenik Jews, he has been refused permission by the authorities to leave for Israel for many years. Brailovsky has been charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, which specifies punishment of up to three years in corrective-labour camps. Almost three months have passed since his arrest, but no information is available about the investigation or Brailovsky's state of health.
>
> Immediately after Brailovsky's arrest the authorities made further work by the seminar impossible. For the last three years it has taken place at Brailovsky's home. Without any explanation policemen in uniform and in plain clothes prevented the participants of the seminar from entering his flat.
>
> The scientific seminar has been in existence since 1972, constituting for many of its participants the only available form of scientific contact and international scientific cooperation. In the course of eight years, besides the regular Sunday seminars, four international sessions have been held, with scholars from many countries, including Nobel Laureates, participating. The last international session took place in April 1980, and Viktor Brailovsky played an active part in its preparation. A few Western scientists, when applying for a visa to enter the USSR, indicated that the purpose of their visit was to participate in the seminar; the fact that they received visas constituted official recognition of the seminar, the entire activity of which was in accordance with the spirit of the Helsinki Agreements. During the time which has elapsed since the April international session, nothing has changed in the nature of the seminar's work. The arrest of Viktor Brailovsky and the closing of the scientific seminar are symptomatic of the change in the authorities' attitude to the Helsinki Agreement and are a violation of the Helsinki Final Act.

* * *

Before 12 February Senior Investigator of the Moscow City Procuracy Yu. A. Vorobëv interrogated refuseniks **I. Essas** (Chronicles 43, 45), **Yu. Kosharovsky** (Chronicles 43, 60), **V. Shakhnovsky** (Chronicles 43, 46, 47), **V. Prestin** (Chronicles 43, 44) and **P. Abramovich** (Chronicles 43, 47). A member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, **N. Melman**, was also summoned, but he did not go. At the beginning of March **L. Shabashov** (Chronicles 43, 47) was interrogated.

* * *

On 19 February Procuracy Investigator of the Kuntsevo District of Moscow A.A. Ivanov carried out a search at the home of refusenik **A.B. Gurevich**. The following items were confiscated: photographs and addresses, cassette tapes, copies of various letters from refuseniks to official bodies, a great deal of samizdat on the 'Jewish question', poems, a typewriter, the resolutions of the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (Soviet publication).

During the search **L.I. Lubenskaya** and **L.G. Tesmenitsky** (Chronicle 60) arrived to see Gurevich. The former had a file containing 239 sheets of paper - copies of letters from refuseniks to official bodies - confiscated from her bag; the latter had a draft of a letter from a group of Jews to the Soviet authorities taken from his briefcase.

Gurevich protested at the search of his friends, and also at inaccuracies in the search record.

INTERROGATIONS

Leningrad. At the beginning of February **M. Tkhorzhevskaya** was interrogated at the KGB in the case of **N. Maltseva** (Chronicle 60). She admitted she was the author of a pseudonymous story published in the almanac Women and Russia[66] (Chronicle 55), and claimed that Mamonova (who left the USSR in July 1980 - Chronicle 57) and Maltseva, who had 'involved' her in feminist activity, had inspired its publication. Tkhorzhevskaya repented of her 'deed' and in order to 'expiate her guilt' promised to speak as a witness at Maltseva's trial. This, the investigator informed her, would be transmitted on television.[67]

Moscow. On 12 February **G. Pavlovsky** (Chronicle 60) was summoned to Yu. A. Burtsev. When Pavlovsky asked in what

capacity he had been summoned (in the warrant he was designated as a 'witness'), Burtsev did not reply. Burtsev let it be understood that Case No. 50611/14-79 was being closed, but that a charge would be brought (see Chronicle 60) against the three members of the editorial board of Searches who were still at liberty (Lert, Gershuni, Pavlovsky). The investigator attempted to clarify who else was a member of the editorial board besides those named.

* * *

The same day Burtsev interrogated **V. Godnev** (Chronicle 57). Burtsev asked three questions:

- Have you got anything new to add since the last interrogation? Answer: No.
- Will you carry on engaging in human rights activity? Answer: I never did.
- Will we meet again? Answer: I don't know.

'TALKS'

At the end of January and beginning of February another 'week of prophylactic talks' took place (Chronicle 56). In January a 'talk' was held with **L. Aptekar** (Chronicle 52) at work about why he was sending parcels to psychiatric hospitals (the names of the addressees were mentioned).

On 29 January **L. Boitsova**, wife of S. Kovalëv, was summoned to a 'talk' with the Party secretary of the Moscow University laboratory where she worked. An instructor from the Party district committee and a representative of the University trade-union committee took part in the 'talk'. The main issue was Boitsova's signing of letters in defence of Velikanova and Bakhmin. The Party secretary explained to Boitsova that these actions discredited the collective, the laboratory, the University and the Soviet state, since Western propaganda used the letters she had signed for 'vile anti-Soviet purposes'.

On 29 January **M. Utevsky** (Chronicle 37) was summoned from work to the district offices of the KGB. Lt-Col. Nikolayev conducted the 'talk', which lasted about half an hour. The conversation concerned Utevsky's signature of a letter in defence of Bakhmin. Utevsky was asked: 'Why do you think these letters will help?'

On 29 January **S. Grimm**, the wife of Yu. Grimm (trial - Chronicle 58), was summoned to Procurator V.I. Molochkov at the Moscow City Procuracy. The 'talk' lasted about half an hour. Molochkov threatened Grimm with arrest for 'continuing the activity for which your husband was convicted'. The Procurator demanded that Grimm stop going to see 'anti-Soviet types', said that 'we'll educate your son ourselves', and reminded her that she had been warned not to go to Pushkin Square on 10 December but had gone anyway. S. Grimm reminded him that she had asked for permission to emigrate. Procurator: 'That's not our decision'.

On 30 January **D. Leontev** was summoned to a police station, where a 'talk' was held with him concerning letters he had signed in defence of V. Bakhmin and T. Velikanova.

* * *

At the end of January or beginning of February **Lina Borisovna Tumanova** was summoned through the personnel section of the institute where she works, the Research Institute on Technical Aesthetics, to the Babushkino District Soviet EC in the part of Moscow where the institute is located.

A councillor and a plain-clothes man were present in the room, as well as the deputy director and a Party organizer from Tumanova's work-place. The councillor began to clarify her biographical data. Tumanova refused to reply and asked why she had been summoned.

- Regarding your behaviour.
- I'm not a fifteen-year-old schoolgirl - I don't have to account for what I do.
- I'm talking about your anti-Soviet activity.
- What do you mean by 'anti-Soviet activity'?
- Was there a search at your home?
- Yes. (In the summer of 1980 in the case of **Mazur** - Chronicle 57.)
- Well, prohibited literature was confiscated then.
- What literature?
- Moskva-Petushki[68] and work by F. Iskander. (Turning to Tumanova's work-mates: 'These materials here - pointing to the plain-clothes man's briefcase - and a lot more besides was confiscated.')
- Like The Gulag Archipelago. As for Moskva-Petushki and the work by F. Iskander - that's top-rate literature, while Solzhenitsyn describes facts known to everyone. Do we really have prohibited literature?
- We certainly do!
- Then there should be an index of prohibited literature. As long as that doesn't exist, neither does prohibited literature.
- Why do you keep pretending! You really know that it's anti-Soviet literature.
- No, what does that mean? By 'anti-Soviet literature' I understand works which call for the overthrow of the Soviet regime. But literature which describes facts isn't anti-Soviet, it's the facts which are anti-Soviet.
- There are facts and insignificant facts.
- I don't understand the distinction.
- All the same, why do you pretend not to understand? I mean Solzhenitsyn, whom you support, doesn't live in the Soviet Union.
- Half of my library consists of authors who don't live in the Soviet Union.
- You know I'm talking about the fact that this man has been deprived of Soviet citizenship.

Plain-clothes man: 'Where did you get this document from?' (Displays a typewritten set of texts of an informational nature).

- Who might you be? Questions like that are for the KGB to ask and should take the form of an official interrogation. (The plain-clothes man keeps quiet and closes the document case.)
- Do you now see what your anti-Soviet activity consists of?
- No, I don't.
- I've just proved it to you.
- You haven't proved anything to me. Everything you've said is unsubstantiated.
- Evidently we haven't understood each other, and I must warn you that a case will be brought against you.

- That's not your function either, and I won't talk to you about it.

* * *

On 2 February **Zarina Dzeboyeva** (works as a drawing teacher in special school 402), the wife of V. Shcheglov (Chronicles 56, 57) - a member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR, was summoned to an 'ideological commission' at the District Soviet EC. The director of the school where she works was present at the 'talk'. Dzeboyeva was told that a 'signal' had been received from the Moscow Soviet that she, Dzeboyeva, 'was conducting religious propaganda' amongst her pupils. She was also warned not to engage in the 'transmission of information to the West'. After the 'talk' the director of the school asked Dzeboyeva to resign, which she promptly did.

* * *

32. R. to l: Yury Gastev, Maria Slepak, unknown, Sofia Kalistratova, Irina Korsunskaya

On 4 February a KGB officer who introduced himself as B.B. Karatayev's (Chronicle 57) assistant came to see **Yu. Gastev.** He informed Gastev that Karatayev wanted to 'talk' to him, so Gastev should 'drop by'. Gastev agreed but asked him to wait until he had finished his dinner. Karatayev held a short talk with Gastev in the nearest police station. The essence of the 'talk' was the fact that Gastev was offered a choice: either to leave the USSR before April, in which case the KGB would give him every guarantee that his relatives would not be prevented from leaving either, or to give a signed undertaking not to engage in any 'activity'. Gastev replied that he could not leave right away - he needed about a year to tidy

up his affairs. They 'reached an agreement' that the KGB would 'find' Gastev at the end of April and they would continue the conversation.[69]

* * *

On 2 March a plain-clothes man who introduced himself as a police officer came to see **Yu. Denisov** (Chronicle 57) at his work-place. In the presence of the director of the Budapest restaurant, where Denisov works, he had a 'talk' with Denisov about his acquaintances.

* * *

At the beginning of March **Z. Gorbachëva**, wife of S. Gorbachëv (trial - Chronicle 58), was summoned to the Kalinin KGB. During the 'talk', which lasted two-and-a-half hours, KGB officer A.M. Antonov said he had summoned her just because he 'wanted to get to know her better'. Antonov briefly described his career (about five years' service in the KGB), spoke about the difficulties of working for the 'organs' in the past (in the Khrushchev era 'liaison' was bad - practically no 'signals' reached the KGB, but now, thank God, things had changed for the better), described the 'everyday work' of the Kalinin KGB (the other day we got a signal that a lot of people were gathering in a certain flat in Kalinin. We checked it out. Turned out it was a spiritualism seance. Well, that's not of interest to us. We also know about a lot of people who tell political jokes. But they don't interest us either. Let them joke.). Antonov asked her to tell **the wife of Dyadkin** (trial - Chronicle 58) not to accept money from the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners: 'Let her work-mates help. But money from Solzhenitsyn - you know what our attitude is towards him. We're concerned that Dyadkin's son has falen in with **Lozovsky** (Chronicles 56-8) - he's even worse than Dyadkin'. Antonov warned Gorbachëva not to agree to any financial assistance, otherwise it would be 'bad, very bad', not only for her, but for her husband as well. In conclusion Antonov gave Gorbachëva his work telephone number and asked her to ring whenever she liked: 'The organs are always ready to help you'.

EVENTS IN THE UKRAINE

The Trial of Meshko

On 5 and 6 January the Kiev City Court examined the case of the last [active] member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Oksana Yakovlevna Meshko (born 1905; arrested 14 October 1980 - Chronicle 60), who was charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code).

None of Meshko's relatives or friends knew about the trial. After the trial O. Meshko's daughter-in-law, **Zvenislava Vivchar**, received notification that the trial had taken place. Her sentence: six months of strict-regime camps and five years of exile.

At a meeting with Vivchar, Meshko described how she had suffered from an attack of purulent pleurisy during an in-patient psychiatric examination at Pavlov Psychiatric Hospital No. 27. She told her daughter-in-law that she wasn't saying goodbye for ever as she hoped to survive.

On 7 February the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 157, 'The Case of Oksana Yakovlevna Meshko':

...After spending seven years in camps (under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code), Meshko's only son is at present in exile in the Khabarovsk region. She has no other close relatives capable of work. Thus an old sick woman has been inhumanly condemned by the authorities to a lonely existence in harsh conditions of distant exile.

Over a number of years Oksana Yakovlevna Meshko has been systematically subjected to persecution by the authorities for her activity in defence of human rights (searches, interrogations, short periods of detention, constant surveillance). Before her ultimate arrest on 14 October 1980 Meshko was, in the summer of 1980, illegally interned in a psychiatric hospital by the police. Meetings, notes and parcels were forbidden her. On 25 August 1980 Meshko was discharged from hospital but the investigation into her case continued. On 13 October a search was carried out at her home by KGB officers. On 14 October she was summoned to an interrogation by the KGB and did not return home - again she was interned in a psychiatric hospital. In December it became known that Meshko had been ruled responsible by a team of psychiatrists and transferred to an investigations prison.

...We draw the attention of the participants in the Madrid Conference and of international public opinion to the tragic fate of Oksana Meshko and call for voices to be raised in protest against this latest act of judicial tyranny.

On 16 March, a month before her term of imprisonment had expired, O. Meshko was sent into exile. She has high blood pressure.

The Trial of Vladimir Sichko

On 9 January the Dolina Town Court, presided over by Malyuta, examined the case of Vladimir Sichko (born 1960; arrested 6 December 1980 - Chronicle 60), who was charged under article 72 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Evasion of regular call-up for active military service'). There was no prosecutor or defence counsel at the trial.

During the pre-trial investigation the head of the Dolina KGB, Anikin, did not conceal that Vladimir Sichko was being prosecuted in connection with the recent conviction of his father Pëtr Sichko and brother Vasily (Chronicle 55).

In his final speech Vladimir Sichko refused to recognize the jurisdiction of a Soviet court over him, as on 21 September 1980 he had renounced his Soviet citizenship and refused to serve in the Soviet Army.

My reason for refusing to serve in the Red Army is that the university military department was responsible for my expulsion from Kiev State University. It created the conditions needed to prevent me from taking the 1980 winter session exams.

When students in my year showed their indignation at such a barefaced expulsion and sent a telegram to Brezhnev ... the telegram was confiscated by the Kiev telegraph department and forwarded to the dean of the faculty. After this the dean was forced to explain to

the students in my year that I had been expelled not for lack of progress, as stated in Order No. 192 of 21.3.1980, but because my father Pëtr Sichko and brother Vasily are nationalists and have been convicted for this.

Recalling the principle that 'children do not answer for their parents', Vladimir Sichko stated that the authorities were attempting

to make me revile what is most precious to me, ie reject the views of my father in writing, which means rejecting my father too, the man who raised me and taught me to look at the world with open eyes.

...I do not acknowledge any guilt. The reason I refuse to enter the Army is your evil machinations against me. I would enter the Army only as an officer after I had graduated - I do not need other conditions.

In conclusion, Vladimir stated his intention to emigrate in order to receive a higher education, and called his trial an act of wickedness. 'I believe that some day there will be a Nuremberg trial in this country too'. His sentence: three years of strict-regime camps.

On 11 January Vladimir's mother **Stefaniya Petrash** (Chronicles 54-7) complained to the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Courts:

...My son Vladimir finished his secondary education in Dolina in 1977. The same year he entered the Mechanics and Maths faculty of Kiev State University. For two years he studied peacefully, but when he was in his third year his father Pëtr Sichko and brother Vasily Sichko were arrested in Dolina and convicted on 4.12.1979 under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. On 17 December of the same year my son received permission from the military department for one day's home leave. That same day we - my daughter, son and I - went to Lvov to say goodbye to our father and brother. For this my son paid with his university education - he was expelled; this was organized by the military department.

...When my son was arrested (6.12.80), on the same day a Procuracy Investigator summoned me and interrogated me as a witness. After this I was summoned to the KGB several more times on the matter. As I was a witness I presumed that I would receive a summons to appear in court. Besides which, every day I went to enquire when the trial of my son would take place.

...On 9 January I once again went to the court, but after lunch, around 16.00 hours. I waited in the office for a long time because the secretary was with the Judge, I could hear them laughing. When she came back, I said I wanted to know when my son's trial would be. She turned red and her eyes began shifting about the office. She said - on 15 January. But one of the Judges - I don't know their names - said: 'Why do you keep rushing along here to ask? You're his mother, you'll get a summons to the trial'. I fetched my 17-year-old daughter and went to the courtroom again. Through the window we could see the Judges sitting there, trying someone. This was 40 minutes later, ie at 4.40. We ran up to the entrance ... in the dock I saw my son Vladimir. There was no one in the courtroom besides about 15 policemen. At

the table sat Judge Malyuta, two assessors from some factory, and next to them the lying secretary Mayevskaya. The trial was drawing to a close.

...The Judge asked my son which sentence he preferred. My son replied that he didn't understand the question. Then the Judge explained: 'Strict-regime or deportation?' This question was asked before he made his final speech. Maybe because there was no Procurator at the trial my son was asked to fill that role.

...There was no barrister at the trial as I was unable to hire one (three of my family are in prison, and I had to retire without a full pension), but who is interested in listening when the sentence was decided a long time ago? I heard the sentence a couple of days ago from KGB head Anikin.

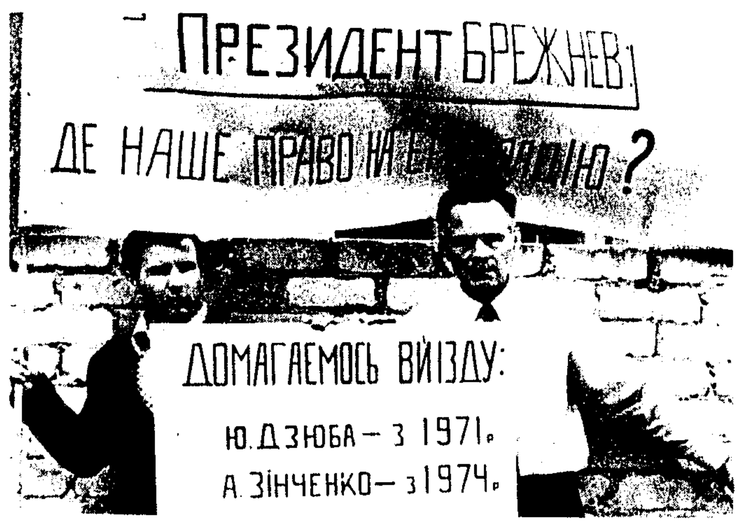
I'm his mother and I could have acted as his barrister since I know the whole truth, but I was not only kept in the dark about the trial, I was deceived. I don't know why I wasn't summoned as a witness; maybe because at this trial no one wanted the truth...

The Trial of Zinchenko

On 7 January the trial began in Kharkov of Anatoly Mikhailovich Zinchenko (born 1925; arrested 22 August 1980 - Chronicle 60), who was charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). After Zinchenko had refused the barrister appointed by the court, the trial was postponed until the barrister engaged by his relatives had recovered his health. It resumed on 15 January. Many friends of Zinchenko - Kharkov 'refuseniks' - were admitted to the courtroom.

Zinchenko was charged with writing and circulating letters and statements confiscated from him at a search on 30 May 1980 (Chronicle 57) - in defence of Sakharov and Grigorenko, and in connection with the wish of Zinchenko's family to emigrate. Copies of some of the statements had been sent abroad. The contents of the letters, as well as of Zinchenko's statements about his disastrous work situation in 1972, were ruled to be slanderous. Besides this, Zinchenko was charged with circulating photographs in which he is shown in the company of **Yu. Dzyuba** (Chronicle 60) and **E. Antsupov** (Chronicle 60) with placards demanding they be allowed to emigrate (Chronicle 57). Zinchenko partially admitted his guilt by saying that certain phrases from his letters could be interpreted as slanderous.

Zinchenko's statement to the investigators was read out by the Procurator; basically it was an accusation against **G. Altunyan** (Chronicle 60 and this issue). In the statement Altunyan is said to be virulently anti-Soviet and to have urged his friends to struggle against the Soviet regime; he had a permanent channel of communication with the West, which he used to receive letters and to send abroad slanderous letters compiled by dubious elements whom he gathered in his flat. Altunyan kept slanderous literature at home and collected money for dissidents; his son was the 'link' between him and Moscow dissidents. Zinchenko stated to the investigation that he had fallen under the influence of criminals and 'anti-Soviet elements' such as Altunyan, **Nedobora** (Chronicle 60), **Zdorovy** (Chronicle 60), Dzyuba and **Kravtsov** (Chronicle 48), who had advised



33. Anatoly Zinchenko (r) and Yury Dzyuba with placards: 'President Brezhnev, where is our Right to Emigrate?' and 'We have been trying to emigrate - Yu. Dzyuba since 1971, A. Zinchenko since 1974'

him to write slanderous letters and sent him to see Meiman, Grigorenko, Alekseyeva and Sakharov.

As became apparent during the trial, Zinchenko had not seen any anti-Soviet literature at Altunyan's flat himself, but only heard about it from Dzyuba, whom he alleged to have seen it. But at a confrontation during the pre-trial investigation Dzyuba denied this, stating that he and Altunyan had a common interest in radio technology.

On the next day of the trial, 19 January, Zinchenko tried to repudiate his statement by saying that he had been misunderstood. But to the Procurator's repeated question about which of his statements could be considered valid, after some confusion he again confirmed his statement to the investigation.

The Procurator's speech for the prosecution was based on Zinchenko's biography, which was presented in the following manner. In 1942 Zinchenko voluntarily left for Germany, from where he sent his mother and sister parcels and financial assistance and news of the official thanks of the Fascists for his good work; the investigation did not know what Zinchenko was engaged in at this time. In 1945 he landed up in Mauthausen concentration camp, from which he was released by the Americans and returned to the USSR. Having evaded military service by a swindle, Zinchenko altered the surname and patronymic on his military card with an eraser: his real name is Anatoly Matveyevich Zaichenko. The Procurator mentioned that a real Zinchenko was presumed to exist, as in his place the accused had received military honours: the medals 'For the Liberation of Prague', 'For the Liberation of Belgrade', 'For Victory over Germany'. Having then bought a blank school-leaving

certificate for 200 roubles, Zinchenko inscribed excellent grades on it and entered Kharkov Law School, from which he was expelled as soon as it was realized that he had different birth dates in his passport and on his school-leaving certificate. Zinchenko then succeeded in graduating from the Kharkov Institute for the Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture. He made a career for himself; by 1972 he was head of the electrical section of 'Metroproekt', chairman of the local trade-union committee, and a respected person. Zinchenko was able to make tourist trips abroad every year, and had a three-room luxury flat and a car.

In 1972, while on a tourist trip in Vienna, Zinchenko went to the West German Embassy and asked for political asylum. But at the last moment before his departure for West Germany he repented in the Soviet Embassy and asked to go back home. On his return to Kharkov he was arrested and charged with treason. But five days later he was released and the case was closed, as he had returned to his native country voluntarily. Soon afterwards Zinchenko and his family decided to leave the USSR and he lost his job. For the last few years Zinchenko has been trying to gain permission to leave (since 1974 - Chronicle 39).

Defence counsel presented another version of Zinchenko's biography (see Chronicle 34), during the presentation of which the courtroom was cleared of Zinchenko's friends and acquaintances. Defence counsel pointed out that if Zinchenko had not been detained in 1972 for five days' imprisonment, he would not have become a criminal. Defence counsel also referred to the fact that Zinchenko was a good specialist, and had received official awards and thanks. Zinchenko himself asked for it to be recorded that he had graduated from a two-year university of Marxism-Leninism; the Procurator supported this request.

In his final speech Zinchenko again confirmed his original statement. Regarding his letters written in Russian to a friend in West Germany, he explained that the 'slander' was the result of his poor command of English. Zinchenko confirmed that he had voluntarily left for Germany in 1942 (which was also confirmed by the evidence of his mother and sister at the trial), but protested at the Procurator's presentation of the incident in Vienna. His version was as follows: he visited the West German Embassy to find out about ways of going to West Germany on an exchange of specialists. His sentence: six years of strict-regime camps, plus five years of exile.

ARRESTS

The Arrest of Five People in Kiev

Some external sixth-year students in the Faculty of Journalism at Kiev University planned to stick up leaflets proclaiming 'Freedom for Political Prisoners!' in memory of the arrests of 1972 (Chronicle 24). They were: **Sergei Naboka** (born 1958), his wife **Elena Parkhomenko**, **Inna Chernyavskaya** (graduate of the Biology Faculty, was working as a research assistant at the Institute of Endocrinology and preparing to defend her dissertation), **Larisa Lokhvitskaya** (graduate of the Faculty of Cybernetics where she specialized in 'mathematical linguistics', working in a research institute) and **Leonid Milyavsky** (was working in the translation department of the Ukrainian Research Institute for Technical Information). The leaflets were typewritten. On the evening of 11 January Naboka and Milyavsky were detained on their way to stick up the leaflets. The others were also arrested. Searches were carried out at their homes. E. Parkhomenko was released because she is pregnant.

The Arrest of Gandzyuk

On 13 January Vladimir Ilich Gandzyuk, who has already served two sentences (Chronicle 39), was arrested. His second term ended in October 1978 (Chronicles 46, 51, 53).

The Arrest of Genchu

On 12 March Anna Trofimovna Genchu was arrested in Odessa. She was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

The Case of Altunyan

In January Altunyan (arrest - Chronicle 60) underwent a psychiatric examination. At the end of January **Vera Lisovaya** was summoned to the Kiev KGB. Senior Investigator Zimich asked her the following questions: did she know Altunyan, and did she know what anti-Soviet documents he had produced? Lisovaya replied that she did not know him and could not therefore know about any documents he had produced.

In January and February Investigator Yakovenko interrogated Altunyan's close friends **A. Tulchinsky** and **B. Ladenzon**. The questions concerned Altunyan's 'links' with Moscow, in particular his acquaintance with Tatyana and Ksenia Velikanova and the Grigorenkos.

Zdorovy and **Dzyuba** were interrogated twice. Yakovenko was interested in whether Altunyan was a nationalist, and in what he read and said. Former Nazi collaborator **Sinyuk** was also interrogated; he informed the investigation that Altunyan had told him the Ukraine would be free by 1985.

On 23 February **V. Nedobora** was summoned to an interrogation; he had stated that he was so close to Altunyan that he regarded himself as a member of his family; therefore he refused to give evidence in his case. Head of the Investigations Section of the Kharkov KGB, Col. N.S. Babusenko (Chronicle 34), who was present at the interrogation, informed Nedobora that in his opinion Altunyan had been 'wrongly' arrested and that a complaint should be written about the incorrect actions of the KGB. Nedobora wrote

such a statement on the spot.

On 24 or 25 February **Altunyan's mother** was summoned to the KGB. When she appeared at Yakovenko's office, she discovered that he was intending to carry out an interrogation and refused to give evidence. The investigator informed her it was time for Altunyan to look for a defence counsel.

At the end of February Altunyan's work-mates were also interrogated. Yakovenko asked them whether Altunyan had held anti-Soviet conversations about Afghanistan or Poland. The investigator told one of those interrogated that Altunyan's guilt lay partly in the fact that he had sent letters and a telegram to A.D. Sakharov, who is exiled to Gorky.

* * *

Altunyan's son Alexander negotiated with 25 Moscow barristers who have the necessary 'pass' [for acting in political cases] regarding the defence of his father. All of them refused to take part in the case: four said they were 'not allowed' out of Moscow to defend people in Kharkov (one of them said that it wasn't worth the effort of looking for a barrister in Moscow); the rest just said they were too busy.

* * *

On 5 March Altunyan had a two-minute meeting with his wife. It took place under the following circumstances. Babusenko telephoned his wife Rimma and asked her to come 'for a talk' (from the very beginning of the investigation Rimma had refused to give evidence in her husband's case). Babusenko asked her to take some food for her husband (the

34. L to r: Alexander Altunyan, his father Genrikh Altunyan, Zinaida Grigorenko, Rimma Altunyan (wife), Yury Grimm and Oleg Grigorenko, c. 1976

investigation had already allowed a few such 'extra' parcels). When Rimma appeared at the KGB she was unexpectedly shown into a room and found her husband; he was equally surprised. He had just managed to ask her about his parents' health when Babusenko separated them, saying: 'This meeting did not take place. No one must know about it!' The parcel was accepted. Possibly such 'liberal' behaviour by Babusenko is connected with his desire to alleviate the consequences of the hunger-strike conducted by Altunyan during the pre-trial investigation.

* * *

On 13 March Altunyan finished studying the case file. To help him in this a Kharkov barrister, Korablev, was engaged by his wife. Whether Korablev will take part in the trial has not yet been decided by Altunyan.

The indictment presented to Altunyan under artical 62 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) is based for the most part on the results of a search at his home on 30 May 1980 (Chronicle 57), Zinchenko's evidence and the evidence of the husband of a first cousin of Rimma, who alleged, in particular, that Altunyan had given him The Gulag Archipelago to read.

Miscellaneous

Lvov. In January the Deputy Procurator of Lvov summoned **Atena Pashko**, the wife of V. Chornovil (trial - Chronicle 57), concerning her complaint that letters from abroad were not only failing to reach her husband in camp, but that he was not even informed of their existence. Pashko received an explanation that a prisoner could receive any letters which had gone through the censorship; in the event of confiscation, the prisoner was informed of this.

Kiev. On 29 January **Svetlana Kirichenko** (Chronicle 58), the wife of Yury Badzʼ (trial - Chronicle 55), was cautioned in the Ukranian KGB 'in accordance with the Decree'.[70] On 3 February **Mikhailina Kotsyubinskaya** (Chronicle 58) was similarly cautioned in the Kiev KGB. Neither of them signed the record of the caution.

* * *

Since his release from a psychiatric hospital (which occurred not earlier than 1979) **Boris Kovgar** (Chronicles 28, 30, 53) has been living in Kiev. At the beginning of 1981 KGB officers carried out a search at his home. A book of his memoirs about psychiatric hospitals was confiscated. He is being summoned to interrogations and threatened with arrest.

* * *

On 28 February, in the Kiev KGB, **Anna Marchenko** was returned the things which had been confiscated from her during a search (Chronicle 60): a typewriter, letters and slides. She was not returned a Bible and the collection Memory No. 3.[71] Then she was asked to sign a caution 'in accordance with the Decree'. She refused.

Kharkov. On 6 February **E. Antsupov** wrote a statement addressed to Brezhnev in which he asks for his 'hatred for the CPSU' to be taken into consideration and, as the authorities

will not deprive him of Soviet citizenship, that he be isolated from society - 'in a prison or psychiatric hospital - whichever the CPSU prefers'.[72]

* * *

See also 'The Arrest of Koryagin' in the section 'Persecution of the Working Commission'.

EVENTS IN ARMENIA

The Arrest of Navasardyan and Arshakyan

On 25 February Ashot Navasardyan and Azat Arshakyan were arrested in Erevan. During searches nothing was confiscated from them. They have been charged under article 65 of the Armenian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) and article 67 ('Organizational activity..., and also involvement in an anti-Soviet organization'). In the case of Arshakyan the investigation is being conducted by Investigator Karumyan, in that of Navasardyan by Investigator Vartanyan.

In 1969 Navasardyan was sentenced to two years under article 65; in 1974 to seven years of camps and two of exile under articles 65 and 67 (Chronicle 34); in 1976 he was pardoned (Chronicle 44).

In 1974 Arshakyan was sentenced to seven years of camps and three of exile under articles 65 and 67 (Chronicle 34); in 1977 he was released (Chronicle 45).

EVENTS IN GEORGIA

The Trial of Zhgenti, Gogia and Chitanava

On 29 September 1980 the Supreme Court of the Georgian SSR sentenced Vazha Zhgenti (born 1943) to six years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile, Zurab Gogia (born 1946) to five years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile, and Vakhtang Chitanava (born 1944) to five years in strict-regime camps, all under article 71 of the Georgian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). The convicted men were charged with disseminating 'anti-Soviet' proclamations calling 'for the liberation of Georgia' - in Tbilisi, Rustavi, Gori and other Georgian towns.

Zhgenti had been working as an instructor for the Znanie [Knowledge] Society in a metallurgical factory in Rustavi; Chitanava had been deputy director for educational work at the Rustavi Professional and Technical College No. 16, and Gogia had been in charge of the letters section on the newspaper in Gardabani.

The Arrest of Samkharadze

On 23 October 1980 the doctor Nikolai Samkharadze (born 1915) was arrested in Tbilisi on a charge of 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. In January 1981 he was undergoing psychiatric diagnosis at the Tbilisi Institute of Psychiatry.

In 1939 Samkharadze graduated from the faculty of history of the Kutaisi Teachers' Training College, and in 1946 from the faculty of general medicine at Tbilisi Medical Institute. Samkharadze taught history in a school and was headmaster of a school. In August 1958, at a history teachers' conference, Samkharadze spoke out against the abolition of Georgian history as a subject in Georgian schools and accused Moscow of carrying out a chauvinistic policy (his speech was published in 1976 in the samizdat journal Georgian Herald, No. 1 - Chronicle 45). In October 1958 Samkharadze was arrested and declared not responsible for his actions; in January 1959 a court sent him for compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital, where he stayed until September 1959. For 10 years after his release Samkharadze could not obtain employment in any of the fields for which he was qualified. In 1969 he renounced Soviet citizenship and asked that he and his family be allowed to emigrate from the USSR. After that, he was appointed a local doctor. KGB officials kept a careful watch on Samkharadze (Chronicle 42). In April 1978 and February 1980 his home was searched. On 23 october 1980, after another search, he was arrested.[73]

Letters by Gamsakhurdia

After reading a report of his own release in Pravda on 7 July 1979 (Chronicle 53), Gamsakhurdia sent a letter to Pravda on 25 July 1979:

> Your remarks create the impression that I have renounced all my former activities, whereas I condemned only my mistakes. With regard to my basic patriotic and humanitarian activities, I HAVE NOT REPENTED of these. I repented only about duplicating and distributing certain emigre and samizdat materials.
>
> I ask you to take this into account if you publish anything more about me in future. I also ask you to publish this letter.

The reply from Pravda, dated 7 September 1979, stated:

> Unfortunately there is no possibility of publishing your letter. Neither are further reports on your case planned.
>
> V. Khalin
> Socio-Cultural Department

On 29 December 1980 Gamsakhurdia (now working again - see Chronicle 50 - as a senior researcher at the Shota Rustaveli Institute of Literature of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences) sent the following letter to Brezhnev and the 26th Congress of the CPSU:

On 19 December 1980, in Saingilo - the eastern part of Georgia - in the district centre of Kakhi (now part of the Azerbaidzhan SSR), the Georgian priest **Moisei Otarashvili** was arrested by the Azerbaidzhani police for lighting a candle in the Georgian church of 'Malaya Alaverdy', where his ancestors used to pray.

For some years now, the Georgian population of Kakhi district have been appealing to the highest authorities in letters and declarations, asking that this church be allowed to open, as there are no functioning churches in Saingilo at all. But no one pays any attention to them, even though, according to the Soviet laws on religion, it should be enough that 20 believers want a church to be opened, for this to be done. Yet here the wishes of hundreds of believers are being disregarded. Even worse, in violation of all laws and constitutional rights, the Kakhi District Soviet EC sent the believers an official refusal (Letter No. 324 of 16 July 1980). Now, to crown it all, a priest has been arrested. Although he was released after a few days, the Azerbaidzhani police are terrorizing the believers by telling them that they too will be arrested if they pray in the church. Can it really be that our country has turned into Albania?

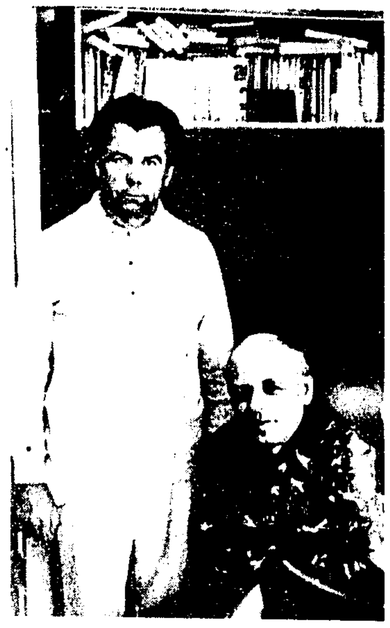
I ask you to take steps against this amazing lawlessness, to satisfy the just demand of the believers, and to punish those Kakhi police officers who beat up and unfrocked the priest.

EVENTS IN ESTONIA

The Trial of Niklus and Kukk

From 5 to 8 January the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR, presided over by Judge Tooming, heard the case of Mart Niklus (born 1934; arrested on 28 April 1980 - Chronicles 56, 57), charged under article 68, paragraph 2, of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code), and Jüri Kukk (born 1940; arrested 13 March 1980 - Chronicle 56), charged under article 194-1 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). The prosecutor was Procurator Kirsipuu, and the defence counsel were Kuusmaa (for Niklus) and Oja (for Kukk). Apart from the 'special public', only Niklus's relatives were allowed into the courtroom; Kukk's wife was told she would be a witness.

At the beginning of the trial the defence counsel asked that it be postponed in view of the weak physical state of the accused: on 23 August 1980, the 40th anniversary of the non-aggression pact signed between the USSR and Germany, Niklus had declared an indefinite hunger-strike; in the autumn he was joined by Kukk, who weighed only 49 kg at the start of the trial. The court, on the basis of a resolution produced on the spot by a special brigade of doctors, led by Regina Koni, head of the Tallin Prison Psychiatric Section, rejected the defence's request. Niklus had given no testimony during the pre-trial investigation. Niklus and Kukk pleaded not guilty. They took no part



35. *Mart Niklus (l) with Andrei Sakharov, c. 1979*

36. *Juhan Valdmann, ex-political prisoner (Chronicles 33, 38, 39)*

37. *Jüri Kukk and his wife Silvi, 1979*

in the trial proceedings.

The charges against Niklus were (according to the indictment):

- in 1966 he wrote, with the aim of dissemination, an anti-Soviet 'Appeal to all people of good will concerning my release from imprisonment' (in 1959 he had been sentenced by the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR to 10 years in camps under article 58 of the old Criminal Code; in 1966 the same court reduced his sentence to seven years), copies of which he kept and disseminated;
- in 1973 he wrote and disseminated 'An Open Letter to the Rector of Tartu State University';
- in 1976-1980 he wrote, stored with the aim of disseminating, and disseminated his 'Autobiography', in Estonian and Russian;
- he stored with the aim of disseminating, and disseminated, 'The Future of Estonia', a chapter from an anti-Soviet book by A. Küng, Estland zum Beispiel;[74]
- in 1978-1980 he compiled, stored with the aim of disseminating, and disseminated commentaries headed 'Reports';
- in 1977 he produced and disseminated a tendentious typescript 'To Professor Saarma' (Chronicle 48);
- in 1977-1980 he wrote and disseminated 'A Trial in Vilnius through the Eyes of an Estonian', 'One-and-a-half years' imprisonment for defending peace', 'Vilnius and its Inhabitants through the Eyes of a Dissident', 'People, be on your Guard', copies of which he published in anti-Soviet illegal publications;
- in 1979 he stored with the aim of disseminating, and disseminated, copies of the appeal of 45 persons to the governments of the Soviet Union, West Germany, NATO countries and East Germany, and to the Secretary-General of the UN (Chronicle 54);
- in autumn 1979 he organized in his home a gathering whose collective aim was to listen to an anti-Soviet broadcast by the radio-station 'Voice of America' (Chronicle 57);
- in March 1980 he persuaded citizen Lõll to take part in his activities, thus engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda;
- in 1977 he produced and stored, with the aim of disseminating, texts of a tendentious nature called 'Some Events in the History of the Soviet Union, 1937-1939';
- and in 1978 he obtained, with the aim of disseminating, the text by Terleckas 'Once more on the Subject of Jews and Lithuanians' (Chronicle 52).

The charges against Niklus were based, apart from the results of searches, on the evidence of witnesses T. Kaljuvee (who testified that Niklus had given him the 'Autobiography'), J. Valdmann (he stated that Niklus had given him the chapter 'The Future of Estonia'), Haud, Ilves and Lõll (they gave evidence about the collective listening to the radio).

The charges against Kukk were (according to the indictment):

- in January 1980 he compiled and disseminated a declaration to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which was included in illegal, anti-Soviet publications;
- in January 1980 he gave foreign correspondents in Moscow an 'Open Letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Secretary-General of the UN, and the people of Afghanistan' and a 'Declaration to the International Olympic Committee and the national Olympic Committee of the USA, Canada and other countries' (Chronicle 56), documents which were published in the bourgeois press and broadcast on anti-Soviet radio-stations;
- in 1979 he compiled and disseminated declarations to Soviet party and state organizations. The charges against Kukk were based on the results of searches and on his own evidence.

Witnesses in court also included employees of the Tartu telephone exchange - in connection with evidence concerning 'slanderous fabrications' overheard during telephone conversations.

In their speeches, the defence counsel demanded that the accused be found not guilty, because of the lack of material evidence to support the criminal charges under the stated articles. Lawyer Kuusmaa, in particular, considered that none of Niklus's public activities had gone beyond the limits set by the Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The court found Niklus to be an especially dangerous recidivist and sentenced him to 10 years in special-regime camps and five years' exile.

> In pronouncing sentence on Kukk, the court takes into account the fact that, until he committed the crime, Kukk was an excellent worker in his speciality and that he has two under-age children to support.[75]

The court sentenced Kukk to two years in ordinary-regime camps.

In their final speeches Niklus and Kukk said goodbye to their relatives and declared that they intended to continue their indefinite hunger-strike in protest at the violence and torment to which they were being subjected.[76]

* * *

The documents of the case include a 'Review of the Conduct of the Trial' written by Niklus (included in the file in the numbered order of pages).

I. A Few Facts

1. On 21 December 1979 KGB official Marat Zhukov said to Julius Niklus, M. Niklus's father, 'Your son will have to undergo terrible ordeals in the future'.
2. On 2 January 1980 Ervin Nielender, an official of the Tartu KGB, told ornithologist Heinrih Veroman: 'We'll soon put Niklus away in a safe place'.
3. At the beginning of 1980 Anti Talur, an official of the Tartu KGB, told members of a French language study group: 'You won't be meeting at Niklus's for long'.
4. In March 1980 KGB officials Ants Ots, Anti Talur and others attacked M. Niklus in a public place in Tartu and put him under arrest for 13 days on the pretext that he was 'disturbing the peace'. This inhuman behaviour was followed by treatment in the department of neurology at 2 Puusepa Street, police following in the wards, discharge at the request of the KGB on 28 April 1980 and then the next arrest on 29 April 1980, when the KGB puppet Erich Vallimäe told me in Tartu Prison: 'Now those doors won't open for you so easily'.

II. The Case takes its Course

1. I was dismissed from my job, on a pretext thought up at the request of the KGB, at the end of 1979, so that it would be simpler to arrest me and then sentence me for 'parasitism' and so on.
2. My arrest followed in the spring of 1980 (involving 13 days' detention in Tartu Prison, where a 'witness', the provocateur Lõll, carried out his orders from the KGB); it was intended to prevent my participation in the court hearing of my legal suit for reinstatement at work.
3. The decision of the Tartu City People's Court, dated 16 May 1980, was kept from me for 136 days, in order to impede my handing in an appeal (the limit is 10 days) to the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR, which, if it had critically analysed the situation and fulfilled all the legal norms, would have reinstated me (the plaintiff) in my job.
4. Rejection of the appeal submitted at the end of 1980, concerning this civil case ... |III|

IV. Conclusion

I consider the charge made against me absurd (which is why I am completely ignoring the so-called 'pre-trial investigation); it loyally fulfils the instructions of the KGB and I cannot see it as anything other than a mockery of human rights, an open violation of the guarantees given at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in 1975 ...

As there is in this case no crime, no evidence of crime or of any injury done to anyone, I demand that criminal proceedings be instituted against Erich Vallimäe, an official of the Estonian SSR Procurator's Office, for artificial fabrication of evidence and misuse of his position. I consider the KGB, headed by A. Ots, to have instigated and organized this juridical crime. Did his 'alma mater' really give E. Vallimäe an education for this - so that he could build a career on the sufferings of an electrochemist of international repute - Jüri Kukk - who was formerly a lecturer at his own university?

I demand the immediate return of all the documents confiscated from me (the 'Autobiography' and the others), as well as my other property, and compensation for the material and moral loss I have suffered. The Procurator's Office of the Estonian SSR (A. Kessler) has violated legal procedure, by ignoring or not really reading, all the declarations I sent in 1979 and 1980, in which a man who was in danger was asking for help against unbridled persecution by the KGB (A. Ots, M. Zhukov, E. Nielender, A. Talur, H. Vallner, A. Molok, J. Lillemäe, E. Lartsev, V. Siitin, K. Vache and others). A whole set of officials of Tartu District Communications Centre also misused their position and broke the law; it is amazing that the Procurator's Office of the Estonian SSR could have used information received from such people in order artificially to fabricate a criminal case. Only malice can explain the fact that they do not wish to include in the case the many declarations of protest sent to the Procurator's Office of the Estonian SSR in defence of Mart Niklus from our country and from

abroad. Reality itself conclusively proves that at the time when the congress of democratic lawyers in La Valetta has just ended, and when the question of violation of human rights and civil freedoms is being raised at the All-European gathering in Madrid, in this country the undersigned fell victim to mafia justice.

My hunger-strike, which began on 23 August 1980, is a protest against physical sufferings, tormenting, the labels hung on me, and the general repression.

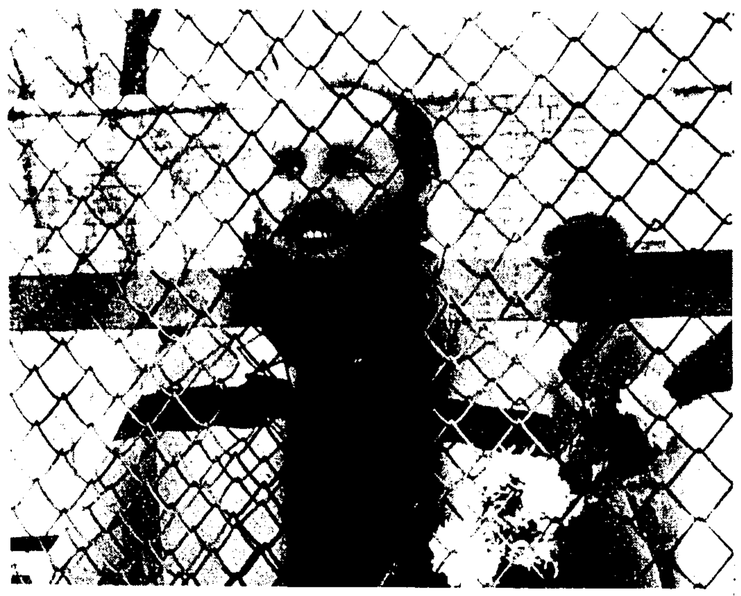
Mart Niklus Paid-up member of the American National Geographical Society. Political prisoner in the USSR.

EVENTS IN LITHUANIA

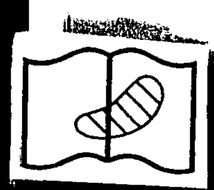
Based largely on material from the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church No. 47 (19 March 1981).

* * *

In the middle of December 1980 **P. Cidzikas** (Chronicles 34, 39, 46) spent 15 days under arrest. From 9 February to 2 March he was held in a psychiatric hospital. The Lithuanian Helsinki Group issued its Document No. 29 in defence of Cidzikas (signed by Ona Lukauskaite-Poskiene, Fr Bronius Laurinavicius, Mecislovas Jurevicius and Vytautas Vaiciunas).



38. Petras Cidzikas, photographed in a Vilnius mental hospital, February 1981.



On 12 August 1980 a search took place in Kelme at the home of **Regina Teresiute**. On 24 December she was interrogated at the district Procurator's Office. On 14 October 1980 a search took place in Kulautuva at the home of pensioner **Felicia Kasputyte**. On 24 October 1980, during a search at the home of **Leksaitis** in Jurbarkas, a copy of Ausra No 21 was confiscated.

In February, in Kaunas, medical student **Marite Velivyte** was summoned for interrogation. She was threatened with incarceration in a psychiatric hospital if she did not give evidence.

In November 1980 the schoolboys **Noreika** and **Sinkevicius** were detained in Vilnius - for shouting anti-Soviet slogans during the |official| 7 November demonstration. According to their parents, at the police station they were both beaten with rubber truncheons.

The following publications have appeared in Lithuania: Ausra [The Dawn] No. 26 (February 1981), Vytis [Knight Errant] No. 6, Tiesos Kelias [Path of Truth] No. 17, and 'Temperance is Strength' No. 1.

PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS

Catholics in Lithuania

A KGB official questioned the cleaning woman of the church at Betigala about links between **Fr A. Svarinskas**, a member of the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights, and the Vatican.

* * *

At the secondary school in the village of Saukenai, a copy of the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church was discovered in a cupboard: pupils and teachers were summoned for interrogation.

* * *

Seventy believers of the village of Klebiskis have sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian CP concerning the fact that the police have forbidden them to invite a priest to bless their houses.

* * *

Fr Z. Navickas has sent a declaration to the District Soviet EC in the village of Uzguostis, protesting against the ban on repairs to the church; the foreman who agreed to carry out the repairs had been barred from doing the job.

* * *

On 30 November 1980 the Telsiai diocesan council of priests (12 members) sent 'Complaint No. 3' to the Procurator-General of the USSR:

> It would be quite impossible for us to list all the crimes committed against the Church, so we shall enumerate only the most disgraceful events of the past three years in Telsiai diocese alone.

They then list 24 cases of burglary and vandalizing of churches, of fires which started in unknown circumstances, and of destruction of believers' tombstones. In the great majority of cases it was reported that the criminals had not been found.

> On 9.10.1980 the priest in the village of Luoke (Telsiai District), **Leonas Sapoka**, was horribly tortured to death. The criminals broke into the flats belonging to the priest and **Juozas Kvetkauskas** (at the other end of the house). J. Kvetkauskas was seriously injured and received medical treatment in Telsiai hospital, but Fr. Sapoka was sadistically tortured for some hours (all the soft body tissue was beaten to pulp and damaged, and his spine was broken). His funeral on 13.10.1980 was attended by over a hundred priests and a large number of believers. This terrible incident aroused great indignation. The people are asking how the sadistic murderers could have spent the whole night carrying out this evil deed without fear of someone discovering them. They broke into the priest's flat very noisily, kicking the door-posts so hard that they broke. The cries of the victims were also very loud. But the criminals weren't afraid of noise: they tormented the priest for several hours, drinking cognac as they did it. At the scene of the crime, officials would not allow any members of the clergy to see the murdered priest's body - not even the Administrator of the diocese, Antanas Vaicius - although they allowed in absolute strangers. There is some reason to think that in this case too the officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs did not want to find out who the sadistic murderers were, or could not find a penalty for them in the Criminal Code; the more so, because the investigators were asking not about the crime, but about the priest's physical defects. The officials in charge of the investigation are spreading a rumour that Fr. Sapoka was not murdered, but died of fright.
>
> It was only a few years ago that, all over Lithuania, the godless organized the demolition of wayside crosses and shrines, and of many monuments of folk art. Now the destruction of crosses is being carried out by official organs of Soviet power. For example, in the town of Akmene, on the tomb of Prelate Doctor Kalikstas Kosakauskis there stands an old cross, listed in the record of monuments protected by the state (No. 187). The EC of Akmene District Soviet decided to demolish this cross, and a new monument, which had nothing to do with religion, was ordered. This is a desecration of a priest's grave - a priest who was a member of the capitular committee of Telsiai diocese and for many years rector of Akmene church. Despite the protests of the believers, the cross will be demolished. The new monument is almost ready - even the Ministry of Culture is powerless to change anything.
>
> At the same time we should like to mention the case of the church in Klaipeda. In 1956, at the time of the former Premier of the USSR, N. Khrushchev, official permission was given for the construction of this church. All the believers of Lithuania built it by their own efforts and on their own financial resources. Just before

the consecration on 15.8.1960, the church was closed and in 1961 it was turned into a concert hall. Three thousand believers immediately expressed their outrage in a declaration, and this was later followed by statements on 6.3.1979 from 10,241 believers and on 19.11.1979 from 148,149 believers, and on 1.4.1980 by a letter of inquiry from 610 believers. The Soviet authorities have not answered the mass complaints and pleas of the hard-working believers. This is an insult to the believers not only of Klaipeda, but of all Lithuania.

Baptists

The Arrest of Minyakov
On 21 January Dmitry Minyakov, member of the Baptist Council of Churches (born 1922) was arrested near Krasnodar. In 1977 he was warned 'according to the Decree' (Chronicle 47). He has already served two 'religious' terms of imprisonment.[77]

The Arrest of Khomenko
On 21 January the worker Vladimir Khomenko (born 1953) was arrested in Moscow. He is now in the Lefortovo KGB investigations prison.[78]

Adventists

The Arrest of Atsuta
On 12 February Ilya Atsuta, a minister of the All Union church of True and Free Seventh Day Adventists (born 1953), was arrested in Kiev region.

The Arrest of Neverova
On 6 March Polina Neverova (Chronicle 53), a resident of Krivoi Rog, was arrested in Kharkov.

THE RIGHT TO LEAVE

Riga. On 14 January **Yury Maksimov**, who has been applying to emigrate since 1975 (Chronicles 51, 53, 55, 56), sent the Procurator-General of the USSR a declaration, in which he asks the following questions:

1. Does a Soviet citizen have the right to emigrate ... apart from doing so on the basis of 're-union with his relatives'?
2. Does a Soviet citizen have the right to apply for renunciation of Soviet citizenship?
3. Are the relevant institutions bound to respond to applications for renunciations of Soviet citizenship within a given period?
4. The law on citizenship of the USSR, article 18, stipulates that a person may be deprived of Soviet citizenship ... for 'actions which disgrace the high title

of "Soviet citizen" and harm the prestige or state security of the USSR'. Would it not be possible to know precisely what kind of 'actions' are punished in such a (very desirable) way?
5. ...Could deprivation of the right to emigrate be considered a state crime against the individual?

On 10 February Maksimov received a reply from Yu. I. Serebryakov, a Senior Procurator of the general surveillance department of the Latvian SSR Procurator's Office:

'The questions mentioned in your letter are not within the competence of the Procurator's Office'.

On 17 February, in a letter to Serebryakov, Maksimov insisted that the questions he had brought up in his letter 'can be resolved only in accordance with the relevant laws', and these are the business of the Procurator's Office. If the Procurator's Office had nothing to do with certain laws, it should have sent his 'Declaration' on to the competent authorities.
On 2 [22?] February, in a declaration to the MVD of the Latvian SSR, Maksimov asked to be deprived of Soviet citizenship and expelled from the USSR.

* * *

Moscow. In a letter dated 20 January to USSR Minister of Justice Terebilov, **Elizaveta Alekseyeva** (Chronicle 60) reports the refusal of the Visa Department to look at her application to emigrate because the documents she had submitted did not include permission from her parents. 'Demanding such a document makes a person dependent on the wishes of another', writes Alekseyeva. In a letter to Brezhnev dated 7 February Alekseyeva calls attention to the fact that her letters to official bodies concerning her emigration remain unanswered. She expresses the hope that in her 'particular case a positive decision will be taken - and an emigration visa will be granted.'

* * *

Tashkent. The Crimean Tatar **Kamil Azizov**, well known in Uzbekistan as an artist and engraver, is trying to emigrate to Canada, where his wife remained in 1979, after going there as part of a delegation.
On 30 January Azizov wrote an 'Appeal' to the International Committee for the Defence of Children:

I, Kamil Azizov, an artist from Tashkent, appeal to you, as I am convinced of your benevolent aims.
My child, Kamilla Azizova, born 1975, was deprived at the age of three of her mother's comfort and care, by the will of fate ... In August 1980, after receiving an invitation from my wife to join her in Canada, and permission from the Canadian authorities to enter Canada, I handed in an application for a Soviet emigration visa on behalf of my family to the Tashkent OVIR at the City Soviet EC, but at the end of August my daughter and I were refused permission to reunite our family ... Dissatisfied at the OVIR decision, I appealed for aid to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and that of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, and to the USSR and Uzbek SSR Ministries of Internal Affairs. But the decision forbidding the reunification of my family remained in

force. There was nothing else I could do but hand in an application to renounce Soviet citizenship (in October 1980) in order to unite my divided family more quickly, but no decision has yet been made and it is not known when it will be.

I ask the International Committee for the Defence of Children to help my family to reunite on Canadian ground, for my child greatly needs her mother's comfort and care.

* * *

Kiev. L. **Murzhenko**, wife of A. Murzhenko, in a letter addressed to the delegates to the 26th Congress of the CPSU (dated 18 February), asks them to give her and her small children 'a real opportunity of leaving the USSR' (Chronicle 60). Pointing out that the majority of people who took part in the 'aeroplane case' of 1970 and were charged with her husband 'have been given the chance to leave the USSR', L. Murzhenko considers that the obstacles put in her way by the officials of Kiev OVIR

> are morally and ethically a form of terror directed against my lawful right to decide my own fate independently, without interference in my personal life by officials from various committees and departments ...
>
> If they want to deprive me of the right to leave the USSR - an inalienable right of every Soviet citizen - why don't they first deprive me of my citizenship? Otherwise it turns out that the status of Soviet citizen, at least in my case, guarantees no real rights at all, except on paper...

* * *

39. Lyubov Murzhenko, c. 1975

Erevan. Former political prisoner **Emil Sarkisyan** (Chronicle 53) has written a declaration to the Presidium of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, dated 21 February. Sarkisyan writes that in 1975 he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment under articles 70 and 72 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, which he served in the Perm camps.

> The result of this punishment, which I was said to deserve, was directly contrary to that which the authorities expected: not only did I not change my stance as a prisoner of conscience - quite the opposite, after meeting people of various generations, with their various life-stories, I became even more convinced that I was right.

Sarkisyan asks to be allowed to leave the USSR.

> If necessary, you can consider my declaration a renunciation of Soviet citizenship.

* * *

Novosibirsk. On 14 February **Vladimir Kozitsky, Yury Mirokhanov, Valery Dedushev, Evgeny Landa, Emil Gorbman, Vladimir Pinus** and **Vladimir Shulemovich** sent identical letters 'To the delegates to the 26th Congress of the CPSU' and to I.A. Lavrov, First Secretary of the CPSU District Committee for Sovetsky District, Novosibirsk. The letters end as follows:

> We demand that the administrative organs of Novosibirsk obey the laws of the USSR and grant us the lawful right to leave the land we live in. We are afraid to live in a country which does not obey its own laws. What guarantee is there that tomorrow our right to life and freedom will not be abolished?

Shulemovich has been trying to join his mother since June 1978 and has had six refusals 'on security grounds'; Gorbman applied to leave in December 1978 and is a refusenik; Mirokhanov and Dedushev have been trying to emigrate since May 1979 and have twice renounced their Soviet citizenship; Mirokhanov has twice been refused because his relatives are 'too distant'; Pinus applied to emigrate in August 1979 and has had three refusals on grounds of 'inexpediency'; Kozitsky and Landa have been trying to emigrate since October 1979 - Landa has had two refusals on grounds of 'inexpediency'; while Kozitsky has renounced his citizenship four times.

In November 1980 Kozitsky sent the People's Court of Central District of Novosibirsk a statement of claim demanding financial compensation from Major Dyubchenko, head of the Novosibirsk OVIR, for 'material losses to the sum of 21,699 American dollars' (in an enclosure he substantiates this amount: if he had been allowed to leave the USSR when he first asked to do so, he would have earned this much more abroad, even if he had been working as a shepherd). The statement of claim was sent back to him

> without being examined, because the People's Court is not legally responsible for deciding the justice of questions of emigration, nor is it therefore responsible for judging claims for material loss in connection with this.

OVIR refuses to give Kozitsky an application form, as he has had no invitation from abroad. Kozitsky, basing his stand on the published laws, considers OVIR's actions to be unlawful.

Pentecostalists

Kherson. After **Mikhail Kramarevsky** (53 years old, with 10 children) handed in an application to emigrate from the USSR 'because of religious convictions', he was demoted at work (his wage fell from 200 roubles to 85 roubles a month) and later sacked. He began to be summoned by

the KGB. In order to feed his family, Kramarevsky gets by through finding temporary work. He cannot get a permanent job. Recently he received a warning that if he did not get a job in the next four months, he would be prosecuted for 'parasitism'. In January a search was carried out at Kramarevsky's flat. Gospels, a collection of psalms and religious literature were confiscated.

During the winter Kramarevsky's son Vasily - a sixth year pupil - was beaten up in front of the botany teacher. This happened after a lesson in which pupils had been told how sectarians humiliated children, and how fanatical believers carried out human sacrifices and other barbaric practices.

* * *

Vilnius. Eduard Bulakh (Chronicle 60) is trying to obtain the right to leave the USSR for religious reasons. On 7 February he declared a hunger-strike, which he intends to continue until he receives permission to leave. The administrative authorities of the factory where Bulakh works have transferred him to especially heavy physical work, which involves carrying weights of up to 70 kg.[79]

* * *

On 8 March, 11 Pentecostalist women[80] carrying a placard which said roughly 'Allow us to Emigrate from the USSR', demonstrated outside the Lenin Library in Moscow. All were detained by the police. In the evening they were all released, and some were sent to the provincial towns where they are registered as residents. The Pentecostalists have announced that if their demands are not met they intend to hold another demonstration a little later, to which they will also bring their small children.

Jews

126 Jewish refuseniks have sent the following document 'to the 26th Congress of the CPSU and representatives of foreign Communist Parties invited to the Congress':

Dear delegates and guests of the Congress,
At the Berlin conference in 1976 the CPSU and the Communist Parties of other countries of the continent whose peoples witnessed, forty years ago, an unprecedented catastrophe which destroyed a third of the Jewish nation, called on 'all states' to strive for 'strict and complete fulfilment of the provisions concerning national minorities in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference'.

The USSR is a multinational state, which has achieved much in this field, although it also has many unresolved problems. However, the position of Jews, compared to that of other minorities, is quite special:

a) Jews are practically deprived of the opportunity to learn and use their national language. The Yiddish language, which at the beginning of the century was spoken by the overwhelming majority of Jews in Russia, has now almost gone out of use. The number of educated people who speak Yiddish is minutely small, as during almost the whole post-war period Yiddish was not taught in a single school in the USSR and no text-books were published for individual study ... An even worse situation

exists with regard to the language of religion, literature and our historic inheritance, a language resurrected in our own century - Hebrew, which is effectively banned in the USSR ... As a result, Jews living in the USSR are under threat of full linguistic assimilation. Even now, the national language is considered their native language by only 14% of them (compared with 18% in 1970 and 21% in 1959). This is lower than for any other national minority in the USSR.

b) Jews in the USSR are practically cut off from their own national history. Since 1930 no book on Jewish history has been published in the USSR, with the exception of a number of research works devoted to ancient history ... Not a single academic monograph has been published in the USSR on the Nazi genocide of the Jews or Jewish resistance to the Nazis (including the rising in the Warsaw ghetto). In the USSR, on whose territory Jews settled over 2,000 years ago and where in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th the largest Jewish community lived, there is no museum devoted to the history, culture or ethnography of the Jews, nor are there any sections in any Soviet museum devoted to such subjects. In school history books, even histories of the Ancient World, not a single paragraph is allotted to the Jews.

c) Recently the position of Jewish culture in the USSR has taken a turn for the better. Two state theatre companies performing in Yiddish have appeared. Sovietish Heimland, the only Yiddish publication, has begun to print short summaries, sometimes translations, of some of its articles in Russian. The main literary journals, after an interval of ten years, have again published prose works on Jewish themes. Gramophone records of Jewish songs have been coming out a little less rarely.

In spite of these positive features, satisfactory conditions for the preservation, study, propagation and development of Jewish culture are not being created in the USSR. Jewish literary and musical folklore remains almost wholly uncollected, unstudied and unpublished ... Not a single academic monograph on the history of Jewish literature and philosophy has been published.

Works of art and handicraft, of Jewish cultural life created over the centuries...are perishing irretrievably or lying covered in dust in the storehouses of Soviet museums, without being studied or exhibited by anyone ... National Jewish culture is not treated as an integral part of the official cultural panorama in the USSR ... The best Jewish contemporary literature is almost entirely beyond the reach of Jewish readers in the Soviet Union...

In the USSR no Jewish song-concerts or visits from theatre groups in other countries, including socialist ones, are organized. No Jewish newspapers from abroad are on sale (not even Communist ones), except that of the Israeli CP.

As a result, in the eyes of our non-Jewish fellow-citizens, and often in their own eyes too, Soviet Jews seem to be a nation without any kind of significant culture or history.

d) In the USSR, Jews as a nation are deprived of any kind of representation - political, cultural or religious - which could formulate and defend their interests and ensure contacts with Jewish communities in other countries of the world. The Jewish communities

of individual towns are not organizationally linked with each other, ie they do not form a religious association headed by a Chief Rabbi, unlike the associations which exist not only in the countries of Western Europe, but also in the East European states...

Soviet Jews are not represented in any international Jewish organization, for example, the World Jewish Congress, which Jewish organizations from a number of socialist countries have joined, or the World Association of Lovers of Hebrew...

e) As they have no organizations of their own to represent and defend their interests, Jews in the USSR often find themselves defenceless when faced by anti-Semitism...

An unprecedented campaign against Zionism has developed in the USSR. Even if the problem of anti-Semitism did not exist in the USSR, such massive propaganda against Jewish nationalism, not balanced by any exposure of anti-Jewish prejudices and theories, could revive Judaeophobia. But in fact, anti-Semitic feelings and prejudices have never disappeared in the USSR...

f) Having turned into a nation without a language, without a culture, without a history, defenceless before the anti-Semitic prejudices of the population, the 'anti-Zionist' propaganda put out by the mass media and the discrimination practised by various state institutions - the Jews of the USSR are destined for national extinction. Forced cultural assimilation into a different national environment, which is often hostile, is deforming the consciousness and self-respect of hundreds of thousands of Jews...

g) The position of Jews in the USSR is made especially difficult by a foreign policy factor - the extreme mutual hostility between the USSR and Israel on the government level...

Unlike other East European countries, which have also broken off diplomatic relations with Israel, the USSR has also broken off all tourist exchanges. As a result, hundreds and thousands of families are deprived, while they remain Soviet citizens, of the possibility of meeting their friends and relatives who live in Israel.

* * *

Because of the circumstances listed above and because they see no good prospects for themselves or their nation in the USSR, many Soviet Jews have decided to take the difficult and fateful step of emigrating from the USSR to Israel or other countries where there are large and thriving Jewish communities.

...It is generally known that the right to leave the country of one's residence is among the basic, elementary rights of man. In particular, it is laid down in the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights, which was ratified by the USSR and has become part of Soviet law.

For many long years Jews in the USSR have been forced to fight for this law's realization and many of them (including over 70 people in the last 10 years) have paid for their insistence on being repatriated to Israel by being sent into exile, or to camps or prisons. But at the beginning of the 1970s, as a result of the fight put up by Soviet Jews and the support they received from world public opinion, Jewish emigration from the

country began ... up to 1980 the number of emigrants had reached 250,000, ie every tenth Jew in the USSR had left...

In 1976-9 the wish to emigrate reached massive proportions (in 1978 36,000 people emigrated, in 1979 - 53,000), but after that the process of expansion was suddenly and forcibly brought to an end. The number of permits to emigrate issued each month has fallen by five to six times over the last year.

...At present the 'army of refuseniks' numbers, on the basis of incomplete figures, about 40,000 people. The difficulty of their situation has grown worse, because those deprived of all juridical rights in this way may find themselves in this position for many years, while there is no set limit on the number of refusals to issue emigration permits...

So the present position of Jews in the USSR can be characterized as follows:

- on the one hand, the whole complex of factors crippling their national and individual development and forcing them to emigrate remains fully in force;
- on the other hand, emigration has become practically impossible.

To sum up what we have said, it can be stated that the Jews in the USSR face the threat of national catastrophe. That catastrophe can still be averted.

This document was signed by: 103 persons from Moscow and Moscow Region, 13 from Leningrad, five from Kishinëv, two from Rybinsk, one from Gorky, one from Pereslavl-Zalessky, and one from Strunino.

* * *

In January there was a '[CPSU] Congress' wave of departures.[81] According to incomplete reports, a few thousand people have received permission to leave since the end of January. A significantly smaller number of people have received refusals. Basically, the latter are people who have academic degrees in the field of the natural sciences.

Serious difficulties have arisen in regard to providing 'those departing' with tickets: at the beginning of March those who had receipts for baggage to be sent by slow transport, were being sold tickets valid only for the end of June.

Moscow

In connection with the sharp increase in the numbers of people leaving, since February a queue to receive emigration documents has formed in front of the Moscow Visa Department [UVIR]. With the aim of keeping it in order, those departing are marked off on lists they have themselves drawn up. In the middle of March, at the moment when a routine roll-call was taking place, a police car drew up. A policeman jumped out, snatched the list from those in the queue and drove off. Some time later he returned to the perplexed 'departers' and returned the list with apologies. The policeman explained his behaviour like this: on seeing a crowd in front of UVIR with some sort of paper, he had decided that the Jews must be signing the usual sort of petition and therefore resolved to stop such a 'disturbance of the peace'. However, at the police station it had been explained to him that the queue for emigration did not constitute such a disturbance, so he was returning the

confiscated document.

* * *

On the morning of 26 January about 50 people entered the reception rooms of the Moscow Soviet with a declaration addressed to Promyslov [Mayor of Moscow]:

> On 23 December 1980 a group of citizens sent a collective letter (Chronicle 60) to the UVIR of the UVD, Moscow City Soviet EC, asking for an explanation of which laws or legal decrees UVIR was subject to in its work of examining the applications of Soviet citizens to emigrate and establish permanent residence in other countries... Unfortunately, the UVIR authorities categorically refused to answer these questions.
>
> As, in accordance with the Decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the work of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, it is their duty 'to organize clarification of the laws to the populace', we request you to answer the questions asked in the letter to UVIR.

The group chose a delegation of two: **D. Grossman** and **L. Korinets**. They were received by Pokarzhevsky, a secretary of the Moscow Soviet. Polovnev, the head of reception at the Moscow Soviet, was present during the talk. The conversation lasted 20 minutes. The delegates handed Pokarzhevsky the declaration to the Moscow Soviet and UVIR. Pokarzhevsky read it aloud. Then he said that UVIR was not under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Soviet; the Moscow Soviet was not responsible for answering declarations about emigration.

> Korinets We're not asking you to answer our declarations on emigration; we're asking you to explain the regulations governing the work of UVIR.
> Pokarzhevsky UVIR acts in accordance with the directives issued by the MVD.

When asked if there could be directives which violated Soviet laws, Pokarzhevsky refused to reply. He also refused to register the declaration, as the Jews were being received without an appointment. 'And in any case', he said 'we received you out of politeness. As your declaration is addressed to Promyslov, you should go to him.' Pokarzhevsky advised them to register their declaration at entrance No. 5 of the Moscow Soviet building.

An hour later Grossman and Korinets took the declaration to the letters section of the Moscow Soviet (entrance No. 5), where they were promised they would receive a reply within three weeks.

(Two weeks later Grossman and Korinets received permission to emigrate.)

A declaration of similar content was taken on the same day to the reception rooms of the Committee of People's Control in Moscow, whose entrance is next to the Moscow Soviet. There the representatives of the group were evidently not expected, and, after a short exchange of words ('UVIR is not under our authority, but under that of the Moscow Soviet. Maybe we'll throw your declaration into the waste paper bin') the group's delegates, **V. Magarik** and **V. Rabinovich**, handed in the declaration to the head of reception. He promised there would be a reply within a month. As on 23 December, policemen and KGB officials

were scurrying in and out of the Moscow Soviet reception building and nearby.

On the evening of the same day a group of almost the same people met near the Moscow Procurator's Office. The group's delegates, **A. Radin** and **A. Shipov** (soon after, he received permission to leave), were received out of turn. However, the head of reception - Lyadov - refused to accept the declaration in the name of the Procurator of Moscow, Malkov, stating that the Moscow UVIR was not under the authority of the Moscow City Procurator's Office. When, after this refusal to accept the declaration, the whole group gathered on the street not far from the Procurator's Office, to decide whether they should stay in the building and try to be officially received, or take other steps, two police cars drove up and demonstratively stood beside them throughout the discussion. About ten policemen and KGB officials were also walking about in the vicinity.

On 28 January the group visited the reception rooms of the RSFSR Procurator's Office. Delegates **A. Rozenshtein** and **I. Shchegoleva** handed in a letter addressed to the Procurator of the RSFSR (with roughly the same text as that to the Moscow Soviet). The delegates were promised that the declaration would be considered within a month. In the following weeks a considerable number of those who took part in the 'visits' to official institutions received permission to leave.

* * *

On 14 January district policeman Pustotin came to the home of **L. Makar-Limanov** (Chronicle 60) and showed him a summons to the police station. Makar-Limanov explained that he could not come, as he was looking after his sick son (his son had broken his leg). Two hours later five persons came to Makar-Limanov's home (one remained on the stairs, two policemen and two men in plain clothes went into the flat) and suggested that he should 'take a walk'. Makar-Limanov refused. He was then taken to the police station by force.

On 15 January Makar-Limanov was taken from Police Station No. 83 to the People's Court of Krasnaya Presnya District. Two policemen appeared as witnesses. They stated that they had asked Makar-Limanov where he worked, and that he had refused to answer. Makar-Limanov explained that he had not named his place of work as he was afraid of being sacked, and that, according to law, he was not obliged to do so. Makar-Limanov's neighbour stated that she had not heard any discussion about work and that Makar-Limanov had not been drunk, and had not used bad language or shouted. Makar-Limanov's wife asked that her statements should be read out, but Judge A.M. Klimakov ruled that these had no bearing on the case.

He put Makar-Limanov under arrest for 15 days for 'disobedience to police officers'. On 21 January 45 people signed an 'open letter' to Grishin, First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee:

> ...The local policeman knew Makar-Limanov personally, so there was no need to check the identity of the flat-owner. A man was forcibly dragged out of his own flat, and a sick child, who could not be moved, was left without supervision... The action of the officer in charge in a private flat can only be described in one way - as an act of vandalism. Later attempts by Makar-Limanov's

wife to obtain clarification of the case through the organs of investigation and judicial authorities are, although they are being undertaken, seemingly useless.

It is precisely because of this that we ask the Party authorities to intervene, and to find and severely punish those responsible for tormenting people like this.

* * *

On 21 January **Maria Fleishgakker** sent a declaration to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

In 1975 I married a Jew. Our personal life developed in such a way that in 1978 we had already decided conclusively to leave the USSR and settle permanently in the state of Israel. In 1979 we collected all the documents necessary for our emigration, with the exception of one. This document was a note from my relatives relinquishing all material claims on me. Of course, they have no material claims on me and can have none - they have already declared this orally more than once at OVIR (or perhaps people who have a monthly income of 360 roubles each are insufficiently provided for?), but they refuse to sign such a declaration...

In my case, the Zhdanov District People's Court of Moscow applied article 78 of the RSFSR Civil Code on expiry of claims, although the law clearly states that expiry of claims cannot be applied to relations between parents and children...

On 5.7.79 we sent our application for emigration to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, so that it would be sent on to OVIR for serious examination. The documents were sent to OVIR and have now been there for almost two years without being examined. I wanted to leave quietly, as a private person, but I am being forced into a fight...

Please explain what actions I should undertake, whom I should consult, in order to be deprived of my citizenship and expelled from the USSR without right of appeal...

M. Fleishgakker sent copies of her letter to the Administrative Organs Department of the CPSU Central Committee and the 26th Congress of the CPSU. On 23 February M. Fleishgakker went on hunger-strike. On 26 February she sent two telegrams, identically worded, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the 26th Congress:

On 23 February I telephoned the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to state that I had declared a hunger-strike because I had now received no answer to my second declaration as well as to my first. My case and that of my family has not moved forward at all in two years. All my declarations and letters remain without an answer. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet covers up for the illegal actions of UVIR and breaks the law itself. I demand that my husband and I be given permission to leave the USSR at once.

* * *

P. Abramovich (Chronicle 60) was detained on the street in February; personal letters were confiscated from his briefcase and he was taken to a police station 'for a chat'. An 'official' told Abramovich that more incriminating material had been found on him than on Brailovsky (see

'The Case of Brailovsky') and that if he, Abramovich, did not put an end to his activities (teaching Hebrew - Chronicle), he would receive a longer sentence than Brailovsky.

* * *

Two years ago **Alla Ioshpe** and **Stakhan Rakhimov**, variety singers and Honoured Artists of the Uzbek SSR, applied to emigrate to Israel, where A. Ioshpe's parents live. Since then the singers have not been allowed to perform on stage. They have been refused permission to emigrate because of the 'secret work' of Rakhimov's step-brother, who lives in Central Asia.

* * *

On the afternoon of 20 February, 20 policemen and 'officials' in plain clothes drove up in two vans to **N. Khrakovskaya**'s flat. The owner was not at home at the time. Those at home were Khrakovskaya's 10-year-old son and the **Varvak family**, refuseniks from Kiev (Chronicle 60). The 'officials' carried out a search without any warrant. They confiscated A. Zinoviev's book The Radiant Future and a 'press statement about emigration' written by Khrakovskaya.

The police told the Varvaks they had come to check up on their 'passport status'. They pushed the Varvaks and their three children into a car, took them to the Kiev station and put them on a train (see below).

On 23 February Khrakovskaya declared she would stage a hunger-strike throughout the 26th Congress of the CPSU, in protest at the dragging-out of the examination of her application to emigrate (over 22 months), which she had described in her letter to the Congress. On 26 February the local policeman, together with three 'officials', visited Khrakovskaya's flat, purportedly to check on her 'passport status'.

On 27 February Khrakovskaya received a telephone call from UVIR and was told her case was being considered. During a talk with the top officials at UVIR, she was promised that she would receive permission and was asked to end her hunger-strike. On 28 February Khrakovskaya received permission to emigrate.

Kiev

In Kiev **the Varvaks** were driven to their flat and kept under house arrest for a day. Immediately after their arrival their telephone links with other towns and countries were cut off.

A week later Leonid Varvak was summoned to the Pechersky psycho-neurological clinic about 'his wife's treatment'. The head doctor said that the clinic's doctor had not sanctioned Liliana's hospitalization, but that a medical card had been made out for her after a telephone call from City Soviet EC.

* * *

On 9 June 1980 **Igor Kushnirenko** (Chronicles 54, 55) was discharged from the Army. In August 1980 the Kiev OVIR sent the documents of the Kushnirenko family for examination (in connection with his Army service) and on 5 January the Kushnirenko couple received a refusal.

In an open letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the MVD and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 12 January,

they demand that their 'lawful right to emigrate from the USSR...be implemented', basing this demand on the USSR Constitution and the international agreements signed by the USSR.

On 18 February **Igor and Viktoria Kushnirenko** appealed to the delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress in an open letter:

> ...In these two years we have had to endure much. It should suffice to mention the eight (!) unlawful incarcerations in psycho-neurological institutions and three unlawful criminal prosecutions. What can this be called, other than premeditated torment? Or, if you like, terrorism?
>
> It is our deep conviction that every Soviet citizen should have the inalienable right to leave any country at his own wish, including the USSR. Therefore we appeal to the CPSU Congress - the highest forum of the Party - to grant our family genuine permission to leave the USSR.

Tbilisi

On 21 January the brothers **Grigory and Isai Goldshtein** (Chronicles 48, 49, 51, 53, 54), refuseniks since 1971, sent a telegram to Shevardnadze, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian CP, asking him to give them work.

On 5 February the Goldshtein brothers wrote a 'declaration and open letter' to Barabadze, Procurator of the Georgian SSR (a copy was sent to the newspaper Evening Tbilisi). After reporting the 'gross violations of legality' which they have suffered - 1) they have been unemployed for over nine years, but they are given no help in finding work; 2) procedural and legal norms were violated when I. Goldshtein was condemned for 'parasitism' in 1978 and in the case brought by him against L. Dateshidze; 3) the confidentiality of their correspondence and telephone conversations has been violated - the Goldshteins express the hope that Barabadze will take steps to put an end to such violations of law.

On 9 February the Goldshtein brothers sent an open letter to the 26th CPSU Congress. Giving the story of their 10 years 'in refusal', they ask for a reconsideration of their application to emigrate and for employment if they are not to be allowed to emigrate in the near future.

On 10 February **E.I. Bykova**, wife of I. Goldshtein, sent a declaration to the 'Leaders of the Georgian SSR KGB' (with a copy to the 26th Congress of the CPSU), stating that as a protest against the refusal to permit her and her son Avraam (born 1976) to emigrate, she would go on hunger-strike from the opening day of the Congress (23 February).

At the beginning of March the Goldshteins were received for a talk concerning employment. This took place at the Central Committee building of the Georgian CP with the deputy head of the administrative section, who promised to help them.

Have Left

At the beginning of 1981 the Leningrad artist **Valentin**

40. Elena Borisova with her son Vladimir Borisov, 1976

Smirnov (Chronicle 57) and his wife **E.P. Borisova** (Chronicle 60), mother of Vladimir Borisov (Chronicle 57), left the USSR.

In the summer of 1980 the Leningrad OVIR played the same trick on **Sergei Dedyulin** (Chronicles 53, 56) as it had already used on him at least twice before (Chronicle 56). Dedyulin was told at OVIR that a letter had come for him from Israel which expressed disquiet as to why he was not being allowed to leave. But he had not in fact handed in any application: so did he want to leave? Dedyulin said that he would think it over. On 12 January Dedyulin was summoned to the district Military Enlistment Office and sent for a medical examination. He was told unofficially that it was for Afghanistan. The officials were very surprised when they discovered that Dedyulin had not volunteered for Afghanistan and said things weren't done that way. The city Military Enlistment Office told Dedyulin that he was being sent for two months' Army training, which would be indefinitely extended. When Dedyulin protested that legally it could only be extended to three months (he is already 30 years old), the reply was: 'Well, you see what the international situation is like!' On leaving the office Dedyulin rang up OVIR. There, when they heard his surname, they said 'Well at last! Why did you take so long?' Dedyulin was allowed to leave with a woman whom he called his fiancee. He was given permission to leave within a few days. At the beginning of March he left.

On 22 January the Leningrad feminist **Sofia Sokolova** (Chronicles 55-57) emigrated. In February the 'aeroplane man' **Iosif Mendelevich** left the USSR, after being pardoned (he had about one-and-a-half years of his sentence left to serve). There are now two 'aeroplane men' left

in prison - **Yury Fëdorov** (whose sentence ends in June 1985) and **Aleksei Murzhenko** (sentence ends in June 1984).

IN THE PRISONS AND CAMPS

The Trial of Kirill Podrabinek

On 8 and 9 January the Lipetsk Regional Court, presided over by F.F. Borisenko, heard the case of Kirill Podrabinek (born 1952; he was charged in Elets Prison on 24 June 1980, four days before his previous sentence ended - Chronicle 57), charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal code. The prosecutor was Procurator A.S. Nuzhnov; defence counsel - lawyer L.V. Bobryasheva - was appointed by the court (lawyer Yu. Pozdeyev had refused to take part in the case the day before the investigation was closed - Chronicle 60).

The charge against K. Podrabinek was that, while a prisoner, he had, in camp (uchr. YaTs-34/16) and in prison (uchr. YuU-323/st-2), 'systematically circulated, in oral form, deliberately false fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system - among the convicts'.

K. Podrabinek pleaded not guilty and challenged the court's composition, explaining that he did not trust a single Soviet court in view of the absence of guaranteed legal norms (his petition was turned down 'for lack of grounds').

The Judge forbade Kirill's father **P.A. Podrabinek** to take notes on the court proceedings and subsequently granted the Procurator's petition to remove him and Kirill's sister S. Klochikhina from the courtroom in order to question them later as witnesses. Notwithstanding the objections of the lawyer, on the first day of the trial no relatives were present in court.

On 9 January the session began with the questioning of the relatives. P. Podrabinek petitioned the court to attach a medical certificate to the case file: in camp Kirill had contracted tuberculosis, which was diagnosed after a year's delay as 'a spreading tubercular inflammation of the right lung' (Chronicle 56). Such a diagnosis required constant intensive treatment over a year. A new sentence of imprisonment would threaten K. Podrabinek with deprivation of his health, if not of his life. The certificate was attached to the case file. Kirill's father, followed by his sister, refused to give any other evidence.

The court questioned fifteen witnesses (Rudnev, Krasilnikov, Malykh, Nikitin, Revnivykh, Katayev, Larin, Aleksandrov, Avstrievskikh, Konnov, Sokolov, Malyavin, Murashkintsev, Filimonov and Ovchinnikov), the first five of these being employees of the prison and camp administration, the rest convicts who had met Kirill Podrabinek during his imprisonment. The evidence of Ananev, Tomilov, Pestov and Glukhikh, who were not present in the courtroom, was read out by the Judge.

The representatives of the administration spoke about the 'fabrications' uttered by Podrabinek in private conversations with them.

From the questioning of the witness **Malykh** (a duty officer from Elets Prison):

Podrabinek Witness Malykh, did you and I have conversations in private?
Malykh We did have conversations in private.
Podrabinek What did I say to you?
Malykh That the Jews and Cossacks are oppressed; that there are no free elections here, but there are abroad.
Podrabinek And you told me that Brezhnev is an old monkey.
Malykh I didn't say that!
Podrabinek And I say you did. I have no more questions for the witness, he has revealed himself enough as a witness.

From the questioning of the witness **Krasilnikov** (an MVD Major, Deputy Head of Elets Prison for political matters):

Krasilnikov Podrabinek ... said that our country is a colonial power, that civic freedoms are not observed here, our Constitution is a fiction, the people are exploited by the CPSU. I personally talked to Podrabinek, but he obstinately persisted in his error.
Podrabinek ...Witness Krasilnikov, did you and I have talks in private?
Krasilnikov Yes, we talked in private.
Podrabinek You told me that Brezhnev is an old monkey.
Krasilnikov It's not true, it's slander, that never happened!
Podrabinek And I say it did.
Judge Accused, I am warning you, stop this device.

The convicts called as witnesses were for the most part unable to answer the Judge's question as to what they knew about the present case, and remained silent until the Judge read out to them their written evidence given in the pre-trial investigation, which they merely confirmed. In addition, it transpired that the witnesses **Konnov** and **Avstrievskikh** had given 'evidence' in the pre-trial investigation only after the Elets Deputy Procurator in charge of supervision, Frolov, had shown them similar evidence as a model.

A dramatic situation arose during the questioning of the convict **Filimonov** (from Leningrad, born 1956; he had already served his three-year sentence, but for unknown reasons was being held in prison 'for a while'):

Judge Witness Filimonov, tell us what you know of the criminal acts of the accused Podrabinek. First sign this sheet, saying that you will be held responsible for giving false evidence.
Filimonov I am not going to give any evidence.
Judge But you know Podrabinek.
Filimonov I know him.
Judge Then why won't you give evidence?
Filimonov Guarantee my personal safety; then I'll give evidence.
Judge This is news! No one and nothing is threatening you here, what are you afraid of?
Filimonov Nothing - here. Guarantee my safety, then I'll tell you everything.
Judge You gave evidence during the investigation?
Filimonov I renounce the written evidence I gave during

the investigation.
Judge Why?
Filimonov It was false.
Judge Why did you give false evidence in the pre-trial investigation?
Filimonov Under threat.
Judge Threat of what?
Filimonov (is silent for a while, hesitates) Threat of the 'press-chamber'.
Judge What kind of chamber is that? I've never heard of it.
Filimonov All the prisoners know about it. The 'press-chamber', the 'press-hut', where people are beaten up and maimed on orders from the administration.
Judge Who beats them up and, as you put it, maims them?
Filimonov Selected prisoners.
Judge Have you been beaten?
Filimonov No
Judge Then how do you know about the beatings?
Filimonov From my cell-mates Abdulayev and Moshkin, who were beaten.
Judge Did you see them being beaten?
Filimonov Moshkin was beaten up before he came to our cell, and the beatings continued when he tried to complain about it to the Lipetsk Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions. Abdulayev was seriously injured during the time when I was in the cell. Don't forget, this was a Soviet prison, not the Chilean Junta.
Judge Accused, do you have any questions for the witness?
Podrabinek I do. Witness Filimonov, Tolik [affectionate form of Anatoly], do you know if anyone was removed from their post in the administration in connection with denunciations of the 'press-chamber'?
Judge Question overruled.
Filimonov I know that three people were removed.
Podrabinek No further questions; the administration, of course, always knew what was going on.

(This is not the first report of such an 'institution' existing in Soviet prisons: a similar episode took place during the trial of **M. Dzhemilev** in 1979 - Chronicle 40. **A. Soldatov** was beaten up in one of the 'press-huts' in Tallinn Prison - Chronicle 48.)

The next witness, **A.E. Murashkintsev**, appeared in the courtroom after a delay of 7-10 minutes. Murashkintsev produced his evidence against Kirill without any prompting from the Judge. Kirill had spoken ill of Lenin. 'Don't touch Vladimir Ilich, we told him, he's someone we respect a great deal.' But Podrabinek had continued to defame him. He had also defamed Brezhnev, using obscene language. Podrabinek had been beaten up for speaking ill of Lenin. Murashkintsev also testified that he had seen Kirill shake his fist at Filimonov before the trial, urging him to withdraw the evidence he had given during the investigation, and giving him cigarettes. According to Murashkintsev, all this had happened at a chance meeting lasting two minutes in the investigations prison, before the prisoners were led to separate cells. Questioned a second time, Filimonov confirmed the fact that they had met, but denied there had been any conversation then, and again renounced the evidence he had given in the pre-trial investigation.

Podrabinek Witness Murashkintsev, you worked in Camp

16 as a manager for administration. Tell me, when did you take up this post?
Murashkintsev I can't remember.
Podrabinek I'll remind you. You took it up three weeks after you were called to the camp Commandant and persuaded, together with some other prisoners, to beat me up when I arrived in the punishment cells. There was a deliberately provoked fight. You didn't beat me, but you were the instigator.

From the questioning of Ovchinnikov:

Ovchinnikov Podrabinek said he was a dissident, he insulted our ways...He has raised his son in the same spirit.
Judge In the same pernicious spirit ... that he himself was raised by his father.
Ovchinnikov He said he had friends in Moscow and abroad who would defend him.
Judge They have not defended him, however.
Ovchinnikov The father knows **Sakharov**, they meet at Sakharov's and have conversations.
Judge You know, Ovchinnikov, Sakharov isn't in Moscow anymore; he doesn't have conversations there anymore.
Ovchinnikov Thank God for that; let's hope that lasts forever. (Cheerful animation in the courtroom.)

Podrabinek said that Ovchinnikov had participated in beatings of prisoners in the prison.

Before the summing-up began, the accused submitted a petition to summon to court about twenty other witnesses who had known him for a long time as a prisoner and could testify to the beatings of prisoners and refute the false evidence against him. The petition, supported by defence counsel, was turned down by the Judge for 'the hollowness of the reasons'.

Procurator Nuzhnov's speech opened with a depiction of the flowering of Soviet democracy and the unity of the whole people.

Only an insignificant bunch of renegades, amounting to a fraction of a per cent, numbering fewer than a hundred, Podrabineks of various kinds, oppose the people, the State and the party. Of course no one fears this pathetic bunch of people, but they live among us and leave their stinking mark. They must be isolated from society.

Nuzhnov went on to declaim Mikhalkov's fable But they Eat Russian Fat and Krylov's fable The Elephant and the Pug-dog, and listed the criminal opinions of the accused Podrabinek: fabrications about the absence of democracy, that the USSR Constitution was a fiction, that the people were exploited by the CPSU, that there were no free elections, that the Jews were oppressed in the USSR ('one must not forget that the first Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, Ya. M. Sverdlov, was a Jew... Everybody loves Arkady Raikin'),[82] that the USSR is a colonial power, 'libellous attacks on our brilliant leader V.I. Lenin, to the effect that he should be thrown out of the mausoleum'.

As for his shameful libel on the leader of our Party and state, L.I. Brezhnev, a man of profound humaneness,

the accused had the gall to say that Brezhnev is an old man and a dictator.

The Procurator categorically rejected Filimonov's evidence about the 'press-chamber' ('It's obvious that there was collusion on this point'), and, citing K. Podrabinek's previous conviction, asked that he be given the maximum sanction under article 190-1 - three years of strict-regime camp.

Lawyer Bobryasheva built her defence on an analysis of the confusion and contradictions in the witnesses' evidence, drawing attention in particular to the fact that the indictment was based on written evidence which had not been proved in court.

The witnesses were unable to give any oral accounts, they could not remember anything or even explain why they could not remember. Whereas they had given detailed accounts in their evidence taken during the investigation.

The evidence was abstract, general and doubtful. This applied in particular to Murashkintsev's evidence on collusion between Podrabinek and Filimonov, and this cast doubt on other evidence given by Murashkintsev. In two cases the lawyer admitted that anti-Soviet statements had been proved.

These are, first, when he was beaten up by Yurov because he didn't want to work for the communists, and secondly, when he told Malyavin he was a dissident.

Concerning his statements on Lenin and Brezhnev, Bobryasheva reminded the court that they do not come under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. She asked that Podrabinek be acquitted, the charges not having been proved.

'I am not going to defend myself, I am going to attack,' said **Kirill Podrabinek** in his final speech. He reminded the court that it was Filimonov who now needed to be defended.

The 'press-chamber' is a branch of Hell on earth. I know a prisoner who was beaten in the kidneys and died soon after release. Filimonov made the right choice in giving false evidence in the pre-trial investigation in order to have the chance to confirm and denounce this appalling act of lawlessness.

Podrabinek said that the witnesses' evidence had been falsified, as it had been obtained under threat of physical violence:

The fact that Murashkintsev and Ovchinnikov committed acts of violence became clear here in court. The other witnesses were blackmailed and bought off with reduced sentences, improved conditions, etc. Katayev was a stool-pigeon: he told me so himself and sought my advice on what to report to the authorities.

As one of the basic motives for the trial, Kirill mentioned his essay The Unfortunates (Chronicle 47), which denounced the degradation of human dignity in the ranks of the Soviet Army, and also other denunciations by him of the forms and methods of repression used by the administration against

prisoners. After the accused went on to list specific facts known to him of tyranny on the part of the prison and camp administration, the Judge began to interrupt him; Podrabinek then broke off his final speech with a stanza by Pasternak:

I know you won't shudder
As you sweep a man away,
Why, you're martyrs of dogma,
You're also victims of the age.

The judgment was practically a paraphrase of all the points of the indictment.

...Podrabinek stated in blatantly distorted and tendentious form that there is no democracy in the Soviet Union, no freedom of speech or the press or association. He called the USSR Constitution a fiction; he asserted that members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are exploiters of the people, that elections to state bodies are not free, that the rights of Jews in the USSR are violated, and that the USSR is a colonial power in which Jews, Cossacks and other peoples are oppressed and deprived of rights. Podrabinek spoke offensively and libellously about the founder of the CPSU and the Soviet State, V.I. Lenin, and about one of the leaders of our State.

The witness A.E. Murashkintsev testified that he was serving a sentence with the accused Podrabinek in 1978 in institution YaTs-34/16. Podrabinek told him and other prisoners that in the USSR there is no freedom of speech or of the press, that the peoples of the USSR have no rights and there is no democracy; he called the Soviet Union a colonial power in which Jews, Cossacks and other nations are oppressed and deprived of rights. He spoke offensively of V.I. Lenin and made incorrect observations about his activities, and made the same statements about one of the leaders of the Soviet State. In addition Podrabinek threatened the witness Filimonov into denying his evidence, in which the latter had unmasked the accused.

The witness Pestov stated that he had heard, with other convicts, statements by Podrabinek in which he defamed the Soviet State system, spoke offensively about state leaders, and said that the party exploits the citizens of the USSR.

The witnesses Nikitin, Revnivykh, and, in the pre-trial investigation, the witnesses Tomilov, Sokolov and Glukhikh gave evidence proving Podrabinek's circulation of deliberately false fabrications which defamed the Soviet political and social system.

The witness S.N. Ovchinnikov testified that from November 1978 to April 1979 he had served his sentence in institution YuU-323/st.2 together with Podrabinek. In a room of seven prisoners Podrabinek systematically told all of them that there was no freedom of speech in the USSR, gave an incorrect, libellous evaluation of the activities of the Soviet government, asserted that the Jews were repressed in the USSR and circulated other fabrications of a libellous nature.

Witnesses Konnov, Avstrievskikh, Rudnev, Krasilnikov, Malykh, Katayev, Larin, Malyavin and Aleksandrov gave evidence at the pre-trial investigation from which it

follows that in institution YuU-323/st.2, from autumn 1978 to June 1980, Podrabinek systematically circulated among persons serving sentences various kinds of information describing the Soviet political and social system in a blatantly distorted and tendentious way.

The witness Filimonov gave evidence at the pre-trial investigation corroborating Podrabinek's guilt of the charges against him. In court Filimonov denied his original evidence and stated that he had given this evidence under the influence of the administration of institution YuU-323/st.2. He gave no specific names.

The court, having evaluated both of Filimonov's testimonies in the context of all the case materials, finds the evidence given at the pre-trial investigation authentic (pp. 54-55 of the case file). He altered his evidence in favour of Podrabinek under the latter's influence. This circumstance was corroborated by the evidence of witness Murashkintsev.

The accused Podrabinek also tried to persuade other witnesses to alter their evidence in his favour. From the letters filed with the case as material evidence, it is obvious that the accused suggested to Katayev that he deny his earlier evidence in court. Results of a graphological examination show that the handwritten texts addressed to Katayev were written by Podrabinek.

The witness Larin testified that unidentified persons twice summoned him for an international telephone conversation. An unidentified person told him not to give any evidence concerning Podrabinek at the trial, and threatened him if he did not comply. He did not have a conversation with him. He did not go to answer the second call.

Podrabinek's assertions that the witnesses who served sentences with him in institution YuU-323/st.2 gave false evidence were not corroborated in court. The court finds that this assertion of his is aimed at evading responsibility for the actions committed by him and is of a defensive nature.

The court sentenced K. Podrabinek to three years in strict-regime camps.

* * *

In January **P.A. Podrabinek** sent a letter to the Head of the USSR MVD Central Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions [ACLI], recounting in detail Filimonov's denunciations of the 'press-chamber' in Elets Prison. He received replies from the Lipetsk Procuracy and the Lipetsk ACLI:

> The convicts Filimonov, Abdulayev and others testified in their explanations that they knew nothing about the 'press-chamber': they had never been in it, there was no pressurizing by convicts or by the administration of the institution, nobody beat them up. Filimonov further explained that he had refused to give evidence in court at the request of your son, K.P. Podrabinek.

On 17 February P.A. Podrabinek was summoned to the District Department of the KGB in Elektrostal, where he was cautioned 'according to the Decree'.[83] The list of reasons for the caution, in addition to his articles in the journal Searches (Chronicles 52, 56, 57) and the article 'Reciprocal Relationships under Socialism', the manuscript of which was confiscated in a search of his home, also includes his letter to the Central ACLI with an excerpt from the trial.

* * *

On 29 January the **Moscow Helsinki Group** adopted Document No. 155, 'Second Convictions for the Brothers Alexander and Kirill Podrabinek' (see 'Persecution of the Working Commission').

* * *

On 19 February the RSFSR Supreme Court heard the appeal; the sentence was left unchanged. The defence lawyer did not inform K. Podrabinek's relatives of the date of the appeal hearing.

The Trial of Kazachkov

On 9 January the trial of Mikhail Kazachkov, charged under article 206, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism') and article 98 ('deliberate destruction or damage of state property') was due to begin in Chistopol.

On 7 January Mikhail's mother D.A. Kazachkova and the lawyer Popov had arranged to fly from Leningrad to Kazan. A few hours before they were due to depart, the Chairman of the Leningrad [Regional] Bar [E.A. Malev] telephoned Popov and told him that Kazachkov had refused his services. The Chairman of the Bar then phoned Kazachkova. In one of these telephone conversations the Chairman said that there was a telegram to this effect, adding that it had not yet been received - it was 'on its way' (in fact it never arrived). On the same day the following telegram was delivered to Kazachkova: 'In view of the delay of lawyer Popov we are appointing a local lawyer'. As a result Kazachkova set off for the airport alone. She was not allowed on the aeroplane, as it turned out that her place 'had already been taken'. The next day Kazachkova was unable to leave, as the flight to Kazan had been postponed.

On 9 January Kazachkova received the reply over the telephone that the trial had begun. She was not able to call a second time until the 11th. She was told that M. Kazachkov had been sentenced to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment.

According to Deputy Procurator of Leningrad I.V. Katukova, Kazachkov's crime was that on 7 November he had broken a window-pane in his cell and burned something.

The Case of Airikyan

On 26 January Investigator V.V. Novoselov interrogated P. Airikyan's fiancee E. **Sirotenko** for the second time. He said that the interrogation was connected with the case of Zhilin, who was charged under article 173 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('taking a bribe'); on 9 October Novoselov had mentioned article 170 ('abuse of authority or of an official position').

Sirotenko said that she had sent to Zhilin in Sverdlovsk two parcels containing 'the usual selection of food supplies

necessary in camp'. The investigator read to her the evidence of prisoner V. Sverdlov (Chronicles 52, 60) that the parcels had also contained a woman's coat, children's underwear and money. Sirotenko then said: 'I see that Sverdlov's reputation has been confirmed, and you're building a case on the evidence of a provocateur and a stool-pigeon. It's a great shame that the experience of honest people and their warnings have been in vain, and that the provocation has gone so far this time. If I rejected part of his previous evidence - about the belongings - but continued to take part in the investigation, then this time, because of the obvious falsehood - about the money - and most of all because it is obvious from this evidence that you intend to fabricate a case so as to impose a fresh sentence, I refuse to continue the interrogation if you are building the case only on Sverdlov's evidence. Is there really not any evidence from other witnesses?' (prisoners of Perm Camp 35 - Chronicle).

* * *

On 27 January, the day before the investigation had to end, Airikyan fulfilled the requirements of article 201 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure.[84] The case was then sent to the Perm Regional Court, which decreed in an administrative session on 17 February that the case be sent back for further investigation. The Deputy Chairman of the court, M.I. Ponedelkin, informed Airikyan's relatives that the court could not examine the case in its present state: several more documents had to be filed and the matter given further consideration.

By the end of the investigation period there was an order from the medical unit to send Airikyan to hospital following the results of an X-ray examination. However, in mid-February he was still in a communal cell in a Perm prison (Investigations Prison No. 1).

On 19 February Airikyan's mother and Sirotenko travelled to Perm to give him food supplies. They were told at first that by order of the Head of the Investigations Prison Airikyan had been deprived of all parcels - by a decree of 6 February of the investigators.[85]

Chistopol Prison

S. Kovalëv has an inflammation of the prostate gland; he has one tooth left (before his arrest nearly all his teeth were intact).

* * *

From 8 October 1980 to 15 February 1981 **I. Ogurtsov** was in Leningrad. His relatives were allowed to see him often and to feed him home-cooked meals. While in Leningrad Ogurtsov regained strength (in addition to a lymph gland disease, he suffers from a liver complaint and weakened vision). There were rumours that he was to be released and sent abroad. However, on 15 February his parents were informed that he had been taken back to Chistopol Prison. His term of imprisonment ends in February 1982, after which he still faces five years' exile.

41. The parents of Igor Ogurtsov - Vyacheslav Ogurtsov and Evgenia Derevenskova

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 3

On 23 December 1980 **N. Rudenko** was operated on for an adenoma. At the beginning of February he was in hospital with a projecting tube, waiting for the second stage of the operation. According to some reports, he kept up his hunger-strike until the end of February and was force-fed; others state that he ended it no later than a week after it began.

Early in February **Raisa Rudenko**[86] arrived for a 'long' visit with her husband. They were not granted the visit ('There are no facilities for this in the hospital') and her parcel was not accepted ('It'll just go rotten'). Rudenko demanded that the Deputy Commandant of the Mordovian camps give her a note from her husband. On the evening of 5 February she was given a note in which N. Rudenko did not mention his hunger-strike.

* * *

On the day the 26th Party Congress began, 23 February, **Yury Badzë** declared a three-day protest hunger-strike and sent the USSR Procurator-General a letter to the Congress.

* * *

According to a TASS report of 6 January, in January **Janis Tilgalis** (Chronicle 52) wrote an open letter protesting against 'Amnesty International's intention to use his fate for political purposes'.

The Perm Camps

Camp 35
A. Shcharansky's stay in the punishment barracks has been extended until August. His eyes hurt. Only his mother's letters reach him.

Camp 36 (Special Regime)
In February **A. Murzhenko** was deprived of use of the camp shop and of parcels for infringing camp discipline (he lay down on his bunk without undressing).

In February his mother **A.M. Ostapenko** sent the Presidium of the 26th Congress of the CPSU a request for her son's release:

My son had no intention of betraying the Motherland and hijacking an airplane. He had access to no state or military secrets and had no political aims. He only wanted to leave the USSR.

Out of the group convicted with my son, eight persons have already been released: two who received shorter sentences have served their terms; four have been pardoned; Dymshits and Kuznetsov, sentenced to death (this was commuted to 15 years' imprisonment) were exchanged for Soviet citizens convicted in America. All those who have been released and pardoned received permission to emigrate and are living in the West.

It is unbearably painful for me as a mother to realize that after these years of imprisonment, at the age of 38 my son has become a totally sick person. He suffers from the following serious illnesses: 1. Weakness of the heart; 2. Hidden form of tuberculosis of the lungs; 3. Chronic hyper-acid gastritis; 4. Colitis; 5. Polyarthritis of the right hand and right shoulder joint; 6. Bleeding haemorrhoids with prolapse of the rectum; 7. Inguinal and scrotal hernia; 8. Vitamin deficiency. I fear for his life. And he has two little children, who could become orphans.

On 22 January 1981 I suffered a stroke, which forced me to stay in bed. I am afraid I will not survive until the end of my son's sentence. Assuage a mother's grief! Let me hope before I die to see my son in freedom, with his family and children.

* * *

Yu. Fëdorov has been transferred to a strict-regime camp (see 'Camp 37').

Camp 36 (Strict-Regime)
In January the political zone of Camp 36 contained 40-45 prisoners. In February the 'hijacker' **I. Mendelevich** left the camp (see 'The Right to Leave'). On 22 July 1980 **Andrei Turik** (Chronicles 44, 46, 51, 54) was sent to the central camp hospital (in Camp 35). On 6 September he was transferred to Perm. On 12 September, after an operation, he died. (In 1958 he was given 25 years for participation in the UIA and OUN [Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army; Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists].)

In December 1980 **Ovchinnikov**, arrested in 1979 and convicted under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, was brought here from Moscow. **V. Nekipelov** (Chronicle 60) was taken to Camp 37 in order to receive a visit.

Camp 37
In March the 'small zone' contained 18 persons (cf Chronicle 53); the 'large zone' about 30. **Yu. Fëdorov** has been transferred here from Camp 36. **Nikolai Nukradze** of Leningrad, convicted under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to 13 years in strict-regime camps and five years' exile, is in the camp. Wishing to emigrate, Nukradze approached the American consulate and talked about himself to people who, after hearing him out, showed him documents identifying them as KGB officers and detained him. **Yu. Orlov** has an inflammation of the prostate gland.

* * *

A. Imnadze (Chronicles 49, 53) was transported in March to his place of exile. He was apparently sentenced not to five years' camp (Chronicle 54), but to three.

In Transit Prisons

On 8 January **V. Abramkin** (trial - Chronicle 58) was transferred from the Butyrka Investigations Prison to Krasnaya Presnya Transit Prison. There 31 persons were held in a room of 27 square metres (the norm is ten persons). On 10 January Abramkin was taken for transportation (see 'In Other Camps').

During his transportation **Yu. Grimm** (trial - Chronicle 58) had to share one food dish with another prisoner. During the journey (14 days) Grimm lost about 10 kilos. In Sverdlovsk Transit Prison he spent six days in an overcrowded cell. There was no room even to stretch one's legs (see 'In Other Camps').

In Solikamsk Transit Prison (institution AM-244/6N) **B. Chuiko** (trial - Chronicle 57) was robbed - his jacket was taken (see also 'Letters and Statements by Political Prisoners').

In Other Camps

At the end of January **V. Abramkin** arrived in a camp with the following address: 658040, Altaisky krai, Novoaltaisk -40, uchr. UB-14/8-3. His 'case file' bears two red stripes: 'inclined to escape' and 'requires isolation'. In camp he weaves nets; the norm is 10 per day; a prisoner usually manages to weave one or one-and-a-half nets.

Yu. Grimm has arrived in this camp: 626400, Tyumenskaya obl., Surgut-2, uchr. YaTs-34/11-8. His 'case file' bears a red stripe: 'inclined to escape'. In camp he stuffs bristles into brushes: the norm is 10 per day. He was offered a job as a contractor or rate-setter; he refused. The zone where he is being held is divided into several isolated units.

On 17 January **I. Dyadkin** (trial - Chronicle 58) arrived in this camp: 626100, Tyumenskaya obl., Tobolsk-2, uchr. YaTs-34/16'Zh' (Kirill Podrabinek was in this same camp).

S. Gorbachëv (trial - Chronicle 58) is in this camp: Tomskaya obl., Asino, uchr. YaU-II4/2. In a zone designed for 800 persons, about 1,400 are being held. There is a waiting list for 'long' visits: one has to wait about six months.

V. Bakhmin (trial - Chronicle 58) is being held in the same camp. On 22 January the Supreme Court heard lawyer A. Polyak's appeal. In his speech A. Polyak pointed out the absence of any deliberate slander in his defendant's actions. He picked out some of the most striking episodes from the judgment, in particular about **P. Sebelev**, who was sent for compulsory treatment without a preliminary examination in a Psychiatric-Neurological Clinic, and about the staff's bad treatment of patients in Kaliningrad [ie Chernyakhovsk] SPH. The lawyer recalled that Bakhmin, in order to verify and confirm items published in the Information Bulletin, continually sent inquiries to different government offices: 'It is quite obvious that the fact that he received no replies to these inquiries only strengthened the defendant's belief in the veracity of what was written'. In her speech Procurator Suslova rejected defence counsel's arguments: 'Even a child can understand that in our country only sick people are kept in hospitals.' The court left the sentence unchanged.

On 1 February **L. Ternovsky** (trial - Chronicle 60) arrived in this camp: 430015, Saransk, uchr. ZhKh-385/12. In violation of the law he was sent to camp before the appeal hearing, ie before the sentence entered into legal force. Lyudmila Ternovskaya sent her husband a telegram asking him to refuse to appeal (so that he would not have to undergo two more journeys, and so that he would not be sent somewhere far away). Ternovsky sent a telegram refusing to appeal, but at the demand of Judge Baikova he was dispatched to Moscow on 13 February. On 18 February he arrived in Moscow. He was placed in the Investigations Prison on Matrosskaya Tishina street. He suffers from sciatica.

On 4 February **A. Podrabinek** (trial in this issue) was sent to this camp: 677023, Yakutsk, pos. B. Markha, uchr. YaD-40/5. He has high arterial pressure. He was sent to work as a loader, but in February a medical commission released him from strenuous work until 17 March. The doctor who examined A. Podrabinek told him: 'You were able to write anti-Soviet books; now work!'

On 16 December 1980 **M. Simchich** (Chronicle 56) was put in the cooler for 15 days. **V. Marchenko** (see 'In Exile') sent a telegram on this subject on 2 February to the Ukrainian SSR Procurator, Glukh:

> I draw your attention to the fact that Miroslav Simchich, a sick man, was incarcerated in the cooler instead of being given medical assistance. I ask that the Commandant of Corrective Labour Institution 310/88 of Zaporozhe region, Grigorenko, be prosecuted.

There have been no letters from Simchich since 10 January. His wife travelled twice to the camp and asked to be shown her husband (she doubts that he is in the camp). Camp Commandant Grigorenko told her: 'It's not a menagerie here. I don't know why he doesn't want to write to you.'

Vladimir Isayenko (born 1952), orginally a common criminal, has been imprisoned for over 12 years; he is disabled (one leg missing). He is being held in a special camp for disabled persons in Surgut. He is now completing a term in camp under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (for an album of poetry and drawings). He is due for release in the summer.

* * *

On 12 January in Oktyabrsky Village, Chuna District, Irkutsk Region, **S.S. Evsyukov** (Chronicle 60) was visited by his

22. Miroslav Simchich in camp, 1980

parents and sister. It turned out that the camp was under quarantine. Nevertheless, Deputy Camp Commandant V.I. Chegretsky signed a warrant granting them a two-day visit after the quarantine was over (it was due to end soon).

On 13 January, as they were taking a walk beside the camp fence (there are houses on the other side), the Evsyukovs were detained by two officers (one of them was the Deputy Head for security, First Lieutenant Ziyangerov). They were told to write a note explaining why they were walking where they were not supposed to. It turned out that they were not even allowed near the camp office building, and that their presence was having a bad effect on the prisoners anyway, so they would have to leave.

On 15 January Chegretsky told the Evsyukovs that he would not consider granting them a visit. After this conversation the Evsyukovs were standing next to the offices. A good distance away, the prisoners were being taken to work. On the order of an officer, a guard shot in the air just above the Evsyukovs' heads, then started setting a dog on them.

On the morning of the 16th, before the prisoners were taken out of the camp, the Evsyukovs were surrounded outside by eight persons (senior among them was Ziyangerov) who threw them to the ground and dragged them along. The Evsyukovs sent a telegram to Brezhnev telling him about the events of the previous days. At 3 pm a local policeman was waiting for them outside the offices. They were put in a car and driven to the Procuracy in Chuna.

At the Procuracy the Evsyukovs had a 'chat' (each separately) with Deputy District Procurator S.N. Ivanets, Deputy Chief of Police O.A. Gribovsky and Investigator V.A. Kadulin. At this point two 'plain-clothes men' appeared. Ivanets told them that he knew about their intention to foment a rebellion in the camp, and they were under arrest.

The Evsyukovs were then taken to a police station. Ivanets and Kadulin also went. The Evsyukovs were told that they had been arrested on suspicion of committing a crime under article 190-3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('organization of, or active participation in, group actions disrupting public order'). Then an official interrogation began. First the Evsyukovs' 20-year-old daughter was interrogated. She was asked: 'What happened?' She told them what had happened to them. Ivanets said on this subject: 'Don't worry, after they shoot at you a couple more times, you'll get used to it.' The elder Evsyukovs, who refused to take part in the interrogation, were threatened by Ivanets

with prosecution for refusing to give evidence (the Criminal Code does not stipulate any such prosecution of suspects and accused persons - Chronicle). Their refusal was recorded and alcoholics being held in the preliminary detention cells were invited to act as witnesses. The Evsyukovs were then searched and paper, pens, watches and handkerchiefs taken from them. They were placed in the preliminary detention cells. Mother and daughter shared a cell which was very cold and dirty, with no place to wash. They slept in their coats and were fed once a day: the food had to last them all day. Their daughter required medical assistance; this was requested several times from the duty policeman, but after three days there was still no doctor. Evsyukov was in a large cell with common criminals.

At about 5pm on 19 January mother and daughter were taken to Ivanets. He told them again that they were under arrest and Taishet Prison awaited them. To the mother's question: 'On what grounds?' Ivanets said: 'Oh-ho, she's spoken up at last!' The daughter was told that she was under arrest under article 206 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('hooliganism'). At 10 pm Evsyukov was taken to Ivanets, who told him that his wife and daughter were being released on signing an undertaking not to leave town, while Evsyukov was being arrested under article 206.

At half-past midnight on 20 January the Evsyukovs were released. Up to the very last minute of their stay in the Procuracy, Ivanets continued to act out the arrest farce. The Evsyukovs again sent a telegram to Brezhnev, describing what had happened to them.

On the same day the Evsyukovs returned to Oktyabrsky village, where Chegretsky told them that they would not get a visit anyway, as their son had been put in the cooler for 15 days, and advised them to come separately on their next visit. During the Evsyukovs' absence the house where they were staying had been searched. The birth certificates of the Evsyukovs' son and daughter, an application for a visit signed by Chegretsky, camp letters from their son which had evaded the censor, a notebook, diary notes and notes from the camp were confiscated. (Notes said to be from their son had been brought out of the camp to the Evsyukovs, with requests to send money, cigarettes and tea. The handwriting in the notes was similar to their son's, but they doubted that he had written them. Before the Evsyukovs were taken away to Chuna on the 16th, they were told in the offices that notes from common criminals to the Evsyukovs, written 'in handwriting similar to that of their son' had been intercepted, and that the administration had already 'sorted it all out': their son was not guilty. After the Evsyukovs' return from Chuna it transpired that their son had been given 15 days for these very notes.)

The Camp Commandant, Major M.K. Valiulin, confirmed that there would be no visit and that their son had been given 15 days. Concerning the telegram to Brezhnev, Valiulin said: 'What's he to you - your father?'

On 3 February the Evsyukovs wrote a letter to the Presidium of the 26th Congress of the CPSU complaining of the actions of the Chuna Procuracy. They described everything that had happened to them, protested against the measures applied to them, and demanded that the persecutions cease and the confiscated belongings and documents be returned to them.

From a letter of S. Evsyukov of 20 February it transpired

that he had been put in the cooler on 20 January and held there for 30 days without being let out, except that he was summoned twice for a talk - to the Deputy Head of the Irkutsk UVD and to the Head of the Irkutsk KGB.

To a request for a visit to his son S.S. Evsyukov's father received the following reply from Valiulin:

> In reply to your application for a long visit with your son, we inform you that he has been deprived of his next visit for grossly infringing camp discipline. A long visit with S.S. Evsyukov may be obtained on 12 September 1981.

* * *

In Oktyabrsky village there is a shortage of firewood. It is cold in the camp. Prisoners coming out of the camp say that there have been no baths since October. The camp contains about 1,400 prisoners. Evsyukov has lost 10 kilos. With his height of 196 cm he weighs 70 kilos.

Letters and Statements by Political Prisoners

Yu. Badzё, R. Nazaryan: Appeal to the Madrid Conference (February 1981)

> We, citizens of a state which continually deprives its subjects of basic civil and political rights, cruelly persecuting them for any attempts to implement them; we, representatives of peoples of the Soviet Federation which are deprived of genuine national statehood, of political, spiritual and cultural sovereignty; we, political prisoners of the Soviet camps, who experience continually the cynicism of the 'Soviet concept of human rights' - call upon the delegations to the resumed Madrid meeting: as you discuss questions of detente and disarmament, remember that any agreement on these problems of vital importance to mankind will remain empty words on paper as long as the governments which sign it carry on a policy of suffocating freedom within their own countries. Without respecting it or guaranteeing the rights of their fellow-citizens and their peoples, the governments of these states have the very same treatment in store for the rights of other peoples and the sovereignty of other countries. You have examples right in front of you. As long as respect for the individual and his rights are trampled on even in one country, the world is in danger of being blown up and dialogue founded on mutual trust is not possible. For this reason, we propose that a special conference on human rights be called, and recalled at regular intervals in future. Not for one moment must the problems of human rights be lost from view, or efforts to achieve progress in this area be slackened. Those who infringe international declarations and agreements on this subject must be judged by the most severe moral court. An atmosphere of intolerance towards any case of violation of the individual's rights and freedoms must be created. Each country and each person must realize today that detente is inseparable from the question of human rights.

B. Chuiko: To the First Secretary of the CPSU's Perm Regional Committee, B.V. Konoplev:

Petition for an End to Tyranny and Repression
(19 January 1981)

...My written petition to the court of 6 June 1980, and later an oral one, requested that members of the Pensions Committee and the Chief Accountant of the Town Social Security who allocated my pension, be summoned to court and questioned about who and when - and on account of which of my pension documents and which laws - calculated and cancelled my pension without my knowledge and in my absence over a one-year period, and wrote in the pension records that these operations had been carried out in my presence. Both these petitions were rejected by the court without reasons being given... Thus the court deprived me of my right to a defence, and this forced me to remain silent throughout the hearing; the judgment misleadingly stated that I had refused to testify in court...

From the decision of the Presidium of the Tambov Regional Court it follows that I was charged not with perjury, but for handing in my work book to the Town Social Security... I officially informed the Town Social Security officials that I had served a sentence from 1949 to 1956.

Since the first days of my arrival in Corrective Labour Colony No. 2 ... as a Group 2 invalid (I cannot walk) with a higher education I was given a job as a statistician, in which I worked for two-and-a-half months, but without any lapse on my part I was deprived of this job and locked in an airless cell.

In addition Chuiko has sent a lengthy complaint about his conviction 'on the pretext of a fabricated pension case' to the 26th Congress of the CPSU. He totally denies the crimes with which he was charged and requests that 'an end be put to coercion, injustice and lawlessness'. 'My crime consists entirely of the fact that I am a Ukrainian and love my homeland and people,' he concludes.

(On 13 June 1980 the newspaper Michurinskaya Pravda published an article by an Assistant Procurator of Michurinsk, B. Grobov, entitled 'To Each His own Memory (An Investigator's Notes)'. On 17 June the same newspaper published under the heading 'From the Courtroom' an article by Deputy Editor V.S. Arshansky: 'We Will Not Forget, We Will Not Forgive'. On 11 September 1980 the newspaper Tambovskaya Pravda published an article by V. Zelenev, 'And Now He's a Swindler Too...' On 7 January 1981 the newspaper Socialist Industry published an article by the same Zelenev: 'The Werewolf'. All the articles are about Chuiko.)

In Defence of Political Prisoners

E. Bonner, Yu. Golfand, S. Kalistratova, N. Meiman, A. Sakharov: 'Open Letter' (8 February 1981)

We have recently learned in Moscow from unofficial sources that the scientist, theoretical physicist and founder of the Moscow Helsinki Group, Dr Yury Orlov, was deprived two years ago of his title of Corresponding Member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences. We are amazed at this, as we do not know if there was a general assembly of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences on this subject; to expel someone without an assembly is an infringement

of the Statutes.

In connection with this unofficial news Orlov's wife sent a telegram to the President of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, Academician Ambartsumyan, and received the reply that the information she requested had been sent to Yu. F. Orlov.

As we are unable to ascertain the veracity of the report that Yury Orlov has been deprived of his title of Corresponding Member, we appeal to all organizations which are concerned about Dr Orlov's fate, and to his Western colleagues, to send official inquiries to the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences.

A.F. Matusevich: 'To the Twenty-Sixth Congressof the CPSU' (31 January 1981)

'The mother of **N. Matusevich** (Chronicle 60) requests intervention in order to put a stop to the lawlessness over letters and packets'. Chistopol Prison twice sent her packets back to her stamped 'Not Allowed', although deprivation of packets is not stipulated in the Corrective Labour Code. A.F. Matusevich cites two replies from Chistopol Prison: 'Your son Matusevich sent a letter addressed to you on 12 December 1980' and 'Matusevich's letter of 12 December 1980 was sent to the addressee on 23 January 1981 - No. 856. Galiullin.' She also asks for help in obtaining a visit to her son (during the whole of his imprisonment she has had only one visit - in July 1978; see also Chronicles 54, 56). A.F. Matusevich sent analogous complaints to the Central Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions and the USSR Procurator-General.

A. Mkrtchyan: 'To the USSR Procurator-General' (January 1981)

New charges have been brought against **Marzpet Arutyunyan**, who was given two years for 'narcotics' (Chronicle 57 contains an error). His wife writes on this subject:

We are faced with one of the most despicable acts against the Constitution and the law. The victim of the provocation was my husband: one gram of hashish planted in his pocket was blown up into anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. If the Soviet judicial bodies do not investigate these inhuman unconstitutional acts against my husband, then I will be forced to appeal to the International Court of Justice of the United Nations Organization, requesting its assistance.

* * *

On 1 March the Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 158: 'On Women Prisoners of Conscience'.

...In recent years several publicized and unpublicized amnesties for women have been carried out. But not one of these amnesties has led to the release of a single prisoner of conscience, a single woman convicted for belief in God or for activities defending the rule of law.

We are convinced of the illegality of the arrests and sentences of these women. But as we do not hope to obtain a public retrial of all these cases and the acquittal of all those who have been innocently convicted, we confine ourselves to demanding a total amnesty for all women political prisoners and political exiles, and the release of women believers from psychiatric

prisons.

We appeal to the heads of all the signatory states of the Helsinki Act, to all international women's organizations and to the international public to support our demand for an amnesty.

The document ends with a list of 60 women prisoners of conscience.

Releases

On 4 January **S. Soldatov** (Chronicle 60) was released from Tallin Prison on completion of his sentence. For the last five days before his release Soldatov held a hunger-strike to protest 'against all the deprivations during my six-year sentence and against the pressurization during the last two months'. After his release he was immediately placed under surveillance.[87]

On 4 February **N. Nikitin** (Chronicle 54) was released on completion of his sentence. He was allowed to register temporarily (for one year) in Leningrad, at his wife's home.

* * *

On 4 March the appeal hearing in the case of **V. Sorokin** (trial - Chronicle 60) was held. The RSFSR Supreme Court commuted the sentence to one year's corrective tasks, as the court of the first instance 'had not considered the possibility of a lighter sentence'. Sorokin was not released (from Krasnaya Presnya Transit Prison) until 9 March, although under article 354 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure a copy of the decision of the appeal instance must be sent 'immediately to the administration of the place of detention to be carried out' within 24 hours.

IN EXILE

A.V. Usatyuk (Chronicles 40, 42) is serving his exile in Tyumen Region: st. Karasulsk, pos. Oktyabr, Shkolnaya 6.

On 27 January **Kuzma Dasiv** (Chronicle 60) arrived at his place of exile: 468430, Magadanskaya obl., Evensk, ul. Geologov 4, kv. 50. He is working as a metal-worker in a geological expeditionary group. He faces two-and-a-half years of exile (after taking into account the time of his transportation).

On 9 January the hospital where **Z. Popadyuk** (Chronicle 57) was kept after his operation was visited by certain official persons who reminded the doctors that three months had passed since the operation and it was time to discharge him. He is forbidden by the doctors to work in dusty and very cold conditions.

On 19 February **Malva Landa** (Chronicle 57) was visited by an 'official' from Dzhezkazgan for an interrogation in connection with Altunyan's case. She refused to answer any questions.

Z. Antonyuk (Chronicles 53-55, 57) hoped that during his holiday he would be allowed to go home, where he could get treatment. However, a KGB colonel who came from Irkutsk refused permission.

* * *

On 9 February in Saralzhin village, Aktyubinsk Region, where **V. Marchenko** (Chronicles 53, 57) is serving his exile, the head of the operations section of the Aktyubinsk KGB (a lieutenant-colonel) and an official of the same section (a first lieutenant) arrived from Aktyubinsk. They had 'talks' with the 11 inhabitants of the village who were even superficially acquainted with Marchenko. They asked about conversations Marchenko had, whom he associated with, who came to see him. The word 'connection' kept coming up in the talks. Everyone summoned was strictly forbidden to tell Marchenko about the 'talks'.

After the visit Marchenko began to be harassed at work (his presence at work was continually checked, his work norms were raised).

On 11 February Marchenko sent a telegram to the USSR Procurator-General:

> Because of the continual tyranny of the Aktyubinsk UVD I am unable to work in my profession or in a job commensurate with my state of health.
>
> I demand that the provisions of the Corrective Labour Legislation and the USSR Constitution be put into practice.

On 12 February Marchenko wrote a statement to the Head of the Aktyubinsk KGB, in which he protested against the ban on medical assistance, of which he has effectively been deprived, as he was forbidden to travel to the district centre and was refused permission to travel to Kiev during his leave. He received no reply.

On 25 February a doctor's assistant of the local hospital issued Marchenko an illness certificate as his blood pressure had risen to 200/120. However, on 27 February Marchenko was called in for examination by the Head Doctor of Saralzhin Hospital, Tashimova, at whose home the visiting KGB officers had stayed on 9 February (there is no hotel in the village). She told Marchenko that his lower pressure was 70 (Marchenko has hypertension; he never has such low pressure). It is up to Tashimova to decide whether Marchenko should do strenuous outdoor work (in addition to hypertension, Marchenko has a kidney inflammation and cystitis).

Marchenko's exile ends on 29 April.

IN THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS

In Special Hospitals

Blagoveshchensk SPH

In January **Viktor Davydov** arrived here from Kazan SPH (Chronicle 60).

Orël SPH
Anatoly Lupynos (Chronicle 57) arrived here from Cherkassy Regional PH No. 1 (ordinary type). On 26 June 1980 his father Ivan Trofimovich Lupynos sent the Cherkassy Regional Court an appeal against the decision of the Smela People's Court of 10 June (Chronicle 57 contains an inaccuracy); however, this appeal was not accepted, as I.T. Lupynos did not have the document attesting his guardianship; when he requested a copy of the document, he was told that the document had been lost and that he would have to fill in new guardianship documents.

Tashkent SPH
In August 1980 a Bible was taken from **A.V. Chertkova** (Chronicle 48). The doctor stated: 'We're curing her of that'. Chertkova was forcibly interned in August 1973 and has been in psychiatric hospitals ever since. In February 1974 the Oktyabrsky District People's Court in Alma-Ata, presided over by Shustikova (the prosecutor was Procurator Vykhodtseva; defence counsel - lawyer Bazhenova) issued the following decision:

> ...Anna Vasilevna Chertkova worked from 1970 in the Alma-Ata post-office, in the telegram delivery department, and resided on Fedoseyev Street; however, while she was carrying out her duties at her place of work, and in her place of residence, she led an irregular way of life and circulated in oral and written form fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system, and Soviet and Party organs, performed religious rites in public places and left her job.
>
> The circumstance of Chertkova's irregular behaviour was confirmed during the investigation by the witnesses Anisimova, Gvozdeva, Frolov and Shmigel and by some materials in the case - the offensive writings of Chertkova (pp. 34-76 of the case file). However, an in-patient forensic-psychiatric examination established that Chertkova suffers from sluggish, paranoid schizophrenia, and that regarding the acts with which she is charged she should be held non-responsible.
>
> The court, having heard the witnesses' evidence and studied the case materials, finds that Chertkova has, at her place of work, since 1970, on the grounds of religious adherence, uttered anti-government statements defaming our social and political system, and her actions contain a corpus delicti under article 170-1 of the Kazakhstan SSR Criminal Code...

The court decided that Chertkova should be sent for compulsory treatment to a special-type psychiatric hospital (article 170-1 of the Kazakhstan SSR Criminal Code = article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

Dnepropetrovsk SPH
On 27 January **Aleksei Nikitin**, a mining engineer from Donetsk, was transferred here from prison. In December 1980 Nikitin introduced the American correspondents K. Klose and D. Satter to miners and told them about their working conditions. On 12 December, three days after the meeting with correspondents, a team of orderlies came to Nikitin's flat in Donetsk. They gave him an injection through his clothes (at this point Nikitin lost consciousness), and took him to the district psychiatric hospital. When Nikitin's sister visited him in hospital a few days later, he did not recognize her. Nikitin has been interned

in psychiatric hospital several times in the past.

In Ordinary Hospitals

On 14 February **Yury Valov** (Chronicles 52, 53) was interned in the 'Lyakhovo' psychiatric hospital near Gorky. This was apparently a pre-Congress hospitalization. In February in Privolzhsk, Ivanovo region, **Sergei Belov** was again (Chronicle 54) forcibly hospitalized. On 6 March he was told that a criminal case under article 195 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('theft ... of forms') had been instituted against him for stealing a blank work-book.

* * *

On 19 February an investigator of Moscow Police Station No. 132, Captain N. Lobanov, visited **Vasily Barats** (Chronicle 60) at work and took him to Gilyarovsky Psychiatric Hospital No. 3. Barats was interned in psychiatric hospital for the first time in 1974. In June 1977 he left the CPSU, renounced Soviet citizenship and applied to emigrate from the USSR. He could not find work for a long time. In June 1978 Police Station No. 132 sent him to a job as a worker in a laundry (Barats is an engineer), where he worked until his hospitalization.

On 20 February Barats's wife Galina Barats sent a letter to the First Secretary of the Moscow Party City Committee, Grishin, and to the 26th Party Congress. In this letter she tells about the persecutions endured by her family (her father, mother, brothers and sisters) since 1945 (her father had been a Communist in Transcarpathia, but soon after the Soviets came to power he refused to exchange his Party card) and herself and her husband since 1974. G. Barats writes in conclusion:

> As a protest against the forcible placing of my husband in a psychiatric hospital and the discrimination against both of us, I declare a HUNGER-STRIKE and a STRIKE.
>
> I demand: 1. The immediate release of my husband from hospital, as he was illegally and forcibly placed there.
>
> 2. That both of us be allowed to emigrate from the USSR to any non-socialist state in the world, and to renounce Soviet citizenship.
>
> I urge all people of good will to help and support us, as far as they are able, in our tragic fate.
>
> I appeal separately to all Communists in the world. Before suggesting new ideas and a new system to anyone, first convince yourselves whether it is right. Come to our country, live for a year or two among the people, not in a hotel ... but somewhere on a collective farm or a state farm, among the workers. Then you can decide for yourselves whether it is worth changing. For if it is not, then you can fear that your fellow-countrymen will revile you, and your own children curse you.

The 'Right to Emigration' group (Chronicle 60) appealed to 'progressive society throughout the world and the World Psychiatric Association' to come to V. Barats's defence.

V. Barats himself wrote an 'Appeal to Free Citizens' in hospital, with a call to

> appeal through all possible and available channels to the Chairman of the KGB Yu. Andropov, who has been personally informed of the existence of our case since July 1977.

...only your moral support can release me from the slavish bondage in which I find myself. I believe and hope in your help. Help me, I'm counting on you.[88]

* * *

On 14 March in Tyumen Region former political prisoner **Vladimir Titov** (Chronicle 45) was hospitalized. His hospital is in Vinzili Village. According to Titov's accounts the KGB organs asked him several times to collaborate (he is a former First Lieutenant of the KGB). The last suggestion of this kind was made to him at the beginning of 1981. In this connection he wrote an open letter on 3 February to 'officer for especially important cases of the KGB Special Administration, Comrade Captain Yury Semënovich Zhadov':

'Dear' Yury Semënovich: I have dodged as much as I can and kept quiet for a long time. I'm fed up with your endless attempts to recruit me, your demands that I write a book about my friends in various types of detention and abroad. You even offer me journalists to help. And you already demand in a way which suggests I have given you a reason to. You gave me an address: Moscow, Volgogradsky prospekt 164, korp. 3, kv. 19, Ivan Andreyevich Ruchko, so that I could send all my scribblings there, and you promised me money in return. Not having received a single line from me, you start setting up various provocations, even enlisting the local Oktyabrsky district KGB authorities, the MVD and the heads of PSO-39 [Titov's work-place]. You don't stop at anything. You even set criminals and tramps on me. You threaten me endlessly. It is in vain, Yury Semënovich, in vain, and don't boast that you'll do it. You didn't succeed with L.I. Borodin, you didn't succeed with Irina Zholkovskaya. Only the former priest Dmitry Dudko gave in to your despicable, refined methods. You keep trying to recruit me, promising me money for dirty work, and a flat. You keep trying to recruit me, even combining this with letting me go abroad, but always with strings attached. 'Dear' Yury Semënovich, I'll never do it. I don't want to do vile things to honest people. Even if I have to pay for it with my life.

Titov addressed copies of this letter to 'friends who believe in the Lord, non-believing friends, the Western press, and Chairman of the KGB Andropov'.

In his letter to friends of 1 March (the last before his hospitalization) Titov writes:

The local KGB, together with my superiors at work, have again started their provocations against me. I think they'll get me soon.

From 1956 to 1962 Titov (born 1938) worked in the 'organs' [KGB]. In 1967 he was forcibly hospitalized for the first time. In 1969 he was arrested and given five years under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. In 1970 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison for renouncing Soviet citizenship. From 1973 to 1975 he was in the Dnepropetrovsk and Sychëvka Special Psychiatric Hospitals; from 1975 to 1976 in the Kaluga Ordinary Psychiatric Hospital. In 1979 he was placed in a preliminary detention cell for four days. In 1980 he was arrested in Dnepropetrovsk; from autumn 1980 he was again in Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital for a time. Prior to his last hospitalization he worked as an electrician.

Releases

On 5 March **N. Plakhotnyuk** (Chronicle 57) was released from Cherkassy Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1 (in Smela).[89]

AFTER RELEASE

On 5 February **A. Shatravka** (Chronicle 60) was detained in Krivoi Rog, 'on suspicion of theft', by policemen. After searching him, finding nothing and apologizing, they asked him if he wasn't registered with a psycho-neurological clinic. Shatravka gave a negative answer. A check revealed that the contrary was true. Shatravka was then hospitalized. In hospital Shatravka was injected with some drug. On 6 March he was released.

After his release Shatravka's KGB 'supervisors' informed him that he would not be hindered from emigrating and advised him to go to OVIR. There Shatravka was told they had received no invitation in his name.

* * *

Sergei Grigoryants (Chronicle 56) is living under administrative surveillance in Borovsk, Kaluga Region. Not later than February 1981 the local police received from the Moscow KGB a statement by a certain Kozlov - a guard from the camp in Yaroslavl where Grigoryants was held from 1976 to 1977: having gone to Moscow, Kozlov had met Grigoryants on 5 November 1980 in the metro. Grigoryants did in fact go to Moscow once a month, with permission, to visit his wife and small children, but on 5 November 1980 he was on duty in a gas boiler room from 8 am to 8 pm and made notes in a log-book every two hours (cf the similar story which happened to A. Marchenko in 1974 - Chronicle 35). Grigoryants handed in a statement to the Procuracy requesting that MVD officer Kozlov be prosecuted under article 130 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('libel').

* * *

This is the fourth month (see Chronicle 60) of the investigation of the case of former KGB officer (now legal adviser) Shumsky, who attacked Grigoryants' wife **T.V. Grigoryants** and inflicted serious injuries and wounds with a razor. This case, which was at first closed 'for lack of a corpus delicti', was reopened after letters were sent to the RSFSR Procuracy and Moscow newspapers. The new investigator told Grigoryants that all the material evidence she had submitted, which the investigator had at first collected (Shumsky's bloodstained suit, his soldier's pass and even the identification record) had disappeared without trace from the case file, and for this reason suggested that the case be referred to a comrades' court. She refused.

On 11 February Grigoryants was summoned to the district Procuracy. A new investigator showed a keen interest in the case and in the 'disappearance' of the evidence. It was apparent from the conversation that an investigation

would be carried out.

* * *

At the end of January **Viktor Popkov** (Chronicle 60) was placed under surveillance: he must register daily and is not allowed to leave his home between 8 pm and 6 am. At the beginning of February he had a talk with a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Smolensk KGB.

Vladimir Burtsev (Chronicle 60) has also been placed under surveillance. He was made to sign an undertaking not to leave town from 1 February to 1 March. At the beginning of February he had a talk with a KGB officer.

* * *

In mid-November 1980 **Sergei Ermolayev** (Chronicle 60) was allowed to go to Moscow on leave. In Moscow he began to have stomach pains and on 1 December entered the Sklifosovsky Institute with a suspected duodenal ulcer. Ermolayev's mother sent a telegram to the administration saying that her son was in hospital. Two days later KGB officers visited the hospital 'for a check'. On 6 December Ermolayev was discharged, although the day before he had had a temperature of 38.9°. The head doctor informed his mother that no ulcer had been found (the diagnosis was: 'erosive gastritis of the stomach, stomach and intestinal haemorrhage, severe respiratory infection), and that patients were kept in their institute only in emergency cases; he advised him to continue treatment as an in-patient. On 9 January 1981, when Ermolayev was in another hospital, he received a telegram from Major Chupyshev of the Special Commandant's Office, ordering him to return to the building site, as his leave had expired. He suggested that he continue treatment locally. On 12 January Ermolayev discharged himself from hospital (his hospital discharge states that Ermolayev discharged himself and that treatment in a health resort was recommended to him) and travelled back.

While Ermolayev was in Moscow, there was a rumour among the other 'compulsories' that he had been arrested under article 708 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Some were questioned about Ermolayev. After Ermolayev's return he was questioned provocatively by his fellow-workers. One of them admitted they had been summoned to the special office [KGB] and given the task of provoking him into critical statements about the authorities and the political system, and to report immediately on such statements in written form.

On 13 January Chupyshev and a 'plain-clothes' officer attempted to recruit an acquaintance of Ermolayev's as an informer. The 'plain-clothes man' said that while he was in Moscow Ermolayev drank every day. Ermolayev's acquaintance refused to give his 'interlocutors' the information they were interested in.

From 24 January to 12 March Ermolayev was in hospital. Regardless of an imminent operation, he was discharged. Ermolayev's letters do not get through, although it is known that he writes many.[90]

MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

On 4 February **G. Bogolyubov** (arrest - Chronicle 60) was sentenced under article 194 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('wilfully assuming the title or authority of an official'), article 196 ('forging ... documents') and article 206 ('hooliganism') to one-and-a-half years' ordinary-regime camp. During the pre-trial investigation he was told that the case would be closed if he would give evidence against **Eremenko** (arrest - Chronicle 60).

R. Markosyan (trial - Chronicle 58) has had his sentence reduced to one year. Thus his sentence will end on 27 April 1981. On 13 March the RSFSR Supreme Court, presided over by P.P. Lukanov (Chronicle 53), having heard the appeal of **G. Yakunin** (trial - Chronicle 58) left the sentence unchanged.

A. Sarbayev (arrest - Chronicle 57) has been in Moscow for examination in the Serbsky Institute since 25 January. On 5 March an investigator of the Kuibyshev KGB informed Sarbayev's wife that her husband had been ruled responsible.[91]

Moscow. The wife of **A. Myasnikov** (trial - this issue), **Natalya Omelchenko**, was registered at her husband's home while he was under arrest during the investigation. She was subsequently told by the chief of the local police station that registration procedure had been infringed and the neighbours were protesting (deaf-mutes, from whom a protest statement had been obtained by means of a trick). For this reason Omelchenko should register again with her mother (in Moscow), where she was previously registered. Omelchenko's mother was told that her daughter's registration at her husband's home had been cancelled by order of the Procuracy. Omelchenko herself was told by officials that she would not be registered as her husband was under investigation. Omelchenko said that her husband had not yet been convicted. 'They'll convict him,' was the reply. Omelchenko is now registered at her mother's home.

* * *

In January the administration of the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions, where **A. Lavut** and **T. Osipova** worked before their arrest, attempted to persuade their colleagues who had written a letter in their defence (Chronicle 57) to write another letter which would 'suit everybody', for example, stating that the authors objected to 'their letters being used for anti-Soviet purposes'.

When persuasion did not work, the 'signers' were summoned to E.A. Sokolinsky, Chief of Expedition No. 6, where Osipova used to work. Sokolinsky said that the letter in Lavut's defence had been read over Radio Liberty and that both letters had been delivered to the Soviet delegation to the Madrid Conference. He also pointed out that the Head of the CGE, Kashik, had been summoned to the CPSU Central Committee. Sokolinsky then took a typewritten text out of his desk drawer and suggested that all present should study it and sign it. Lavut's son-in-law **V. Kronrod** refused to discuss such matters and left the room. **G. Stepanets** said that in his opinion there was no need to write anything. **A. Romanenko** said that he saw no need to write a collective letter, but that he could write a letter

in his own name. (Some time later he wrote Kashik a letter in which he presented the latter with the following choice: he, Romanenko, would either resign or write a letter of his own. 'As for the use of letters for "anti-Soviet purposes", it is well-known that the works most used for these purposes are those of V.I. Lenin,' Romanenko concludes. The next day Kashik returned the letter to its author.) The others expressed the opinion that the CGE directors should be helped to extricate themselves from a difficult position. As a result of discussion a text was drawn up (instead of the one proposed) which stated that Lavut and Osipova were kind, sensitive, well-balanced, unselfish people and conscientious workers, and that in their letters, Lavut's and Osipova's colleagues had intended to draw the attention of the 'appropriate organs' to these very qualitities of the arrested persons.

We have been informed that these letters are being used for anti-Soviet purposes abroad. In writing these letters, we did not pursue any aims which could be detrimental to our state, and we object to possible arbitrary interpretations and the use of our letters for anti-Soviet purposes.

Like the June letters, this letter was addressed to Pravda, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Procurator-General.

However, the text that was drawn up apparently failed to satisfy the administration. The 'signers' were summoned individually, and each was asked to write a private letter condemning A. Lavut's anti-Soviet activities. **L. Tertitsky** (Chronicle 60) was threatened with expulsion from the Komsomol; it was also suggested to him that he resign from his position of authority, to which he agreed. At the end of February a Komsomol meeting was held, at which Tertitsky, on an unexpected proposal from the Party organizer, was issued a reprimand with an entry in his personal file (the office had been prepared for Tertitsky's expulsion). To a request for an appraisal of Lavut's activities Tertitsky replied several times that Lavut was a very good man convicted under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code on a charge of ... (he went on to cite the formula used in the article). After the meeting Kashik summoned Tertitsky and said: 'Well, Lënya, make up your mind now: either you're a man of principle - in that case go the whole way; or you're without principles, then go along with us.'

* * *

As of January the police may extend administrative surveillance without the Procurator's sanction.

* * *

In January **S. Nekipelov** (Chronicle 57), who works as a fire safety officer in the theatre 'Contemporary', tried to obtain a second job as a caretaker in the Historical Museum. For about two weeks the theatre did not give him a permit. Finally the Deputy Director of the Museum himself telephoned the theatre. Half-an-hour after this call he told Nekipelov that he would not be able to hire him.

* * *

Kiev. Before the Congress many active refuseniks were summoned to the KGB for a warning: 'We will not tolerate any irresponsible actions at such a responsible time.'

Most of the talks were carried out by V.G. Odintsov.

* * *

Ilya Knizhnik (Chronicle 57), who was seized on 14 February, a Saturday, on his way out of the synagogue, and **Stanislav Zubko** (Chronicles 57, 60) were given 15 days each. Zubko's sentence was extended in the special detention centre. Fifteen refuseniks held a three-day hunger-strike protesting against the extension of Zubko's sentence. They were going to send Brezhnev a telegram about the hunger-strike, but KGB officers did not let them into the post-office building.

* * *

Tomsk. On the even of the 26th CPSU Congress several inhabitants of Kashtak District discovered in their mail-boxes photocopied leaflets in which the CPSU and its impending congress were spoken of in most unfavourable terms.

* * *

Moscow. On 20 February **V. Elistratov** (Chronicles 53-6, 60) was summoned to the district OVD. Two KGB officers tried to persuade him to 'sit quietly'. Elistratov stated that he would choose his line of behaviour independently. The 'chat' lasted 20 minutes.

* * *

On the day the Congress opened, an exhibition of the works of six 'refusenik' artists opened in the flat of artist **Sergei Batovrin**. On the first days of the exhibition visitors were presented with a 'souvenir': a piece of barbed wire. The 'ABC' television company [USA] shot a film of the exhibition and an interview with Batovrin. On the ninth day the exhibition was visited by a group of 'vigilantes' (without armbands). They tore down a poster in the corridor bearing the participants' names and ordered that the exhibition be closed down, citing some 'decision of the Moscow Soviet'. The organizers categorically refused to do so. The same day the entrance was cordoned off by vigilantes. However, the cordon was removed after a few days.

After the exhibition closed Batovrin's father signed his consent for him to emigrate (his father received a telephone call from some office). However, the Cooperative Housing Association refused to give the necessary document to Batovrin, as his flat, after the exhibition, had allegedly been rendered 'totally unusable'. After a telephone call from UVIR the Association also gave its permission.

* * *

On the day before the Congress opened, five policemen stood on duty in front of the entrance to the building where **Yu. Kiselev** (Chronicle 60), a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR, lives. On the pretext of a 'residence regulations check' they tried to enter Kiselev's flat, and, after the owner refused to let them in, switched off the electricity. 'We'll finish you off anyway,' the 'guardians of order' threatened Kiselev from behind the door.

* * *

In the first half of January, in Koktebel, a window was broken in the house belonging to **Yu. Kiselev** (Chronicle 52). The housebreakers wreaked havoc inside the house, smashing bottles of paint against the walls.

On the night of 4 to 5 March the house burned down. As it happened, it was not insured (Kiselev considers that it was not by chance that the extension of his insurance had been delayed). Kiselev has still received no replies from official institutions to his statements about the fire.

* * *

By a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 20 November 1980 **Vasily Aksënov**, who went to the USA in July 1980 to deliver lectures (Chronicle 57), was deprived of Soviet citizenship. The decree states that Aksënov 'systematically engages in activities hostile to the Union of SSRs and by his behaviour causes damage to the prestige of the USSR'.

The decree was published in the Gazette of the USSR Supreme Soviet No. 2, 1981, dated 14 January 1981 (Moscow subscribers received it at the end of January and beginning of February), although according to the date of the decree and the number at the end, it should have been published in Gazette No. 48, 1980, dated 26 November 1980.

By a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 12 January **L. Kopelev** and his wife **R. Orlova**, who went to West Germany on 12 November 1980 for 'temporary residence' (Chronicle 60), were deprived of Soviet citizenship.

* * *

On 3 March, the day after she had an international telephone call with **L. Kopelev**, his **daughter Elena**'s telephone was disconnected for six months. To her request to be told the reason for the disconnection, the deputy head of the city Communications Office replied that he did not know the immediate reasons for the disconnection; that she 'ought to know them herself'; 'she should have thought about it earlier' and that she could complain about the decision 'to the organs'.

G. Gasteva's telephone was also disconnected, after a telephone conversation with V. Belotserkovsky, who called her from abroad.

On 13 March the telephone of Moscow Helsinki Group member **N. Meiman** was disconnected.

* * *

On 15 March, T. Osipova's birthday, her husband **I. Kovalëv**, on returning home after a prolonged absence, discovered that the telephone (250-56-90) which once stood in the corridor of their communal flat, had disappeared: taking advantage of Kovalëv's absence, the neighbours had installed the telephone in their rooms. The telephone is in the name of Kovalëv's neighbour Mordvinov (Chronicle 57).

The next day Osipova and Kovalëv's room was sealed because of overdue rent (this measure is not stipulated by law in such cases; housing administration officials explained to Kovalëv that they had had recourse to it because they could not find him to talk it over in person but now he had come himself). The room was soon unsealed.

* * *

During the Congress **V. Lisovaya**'s telephone in Kiev was disconnected. In February the telephone in the flats of **A. Lavut** (trial - Chronicle 60) and **L. Ternovsky** (trial - Chronicle 60) were reconnected.

* * *

In a book by A.I. Ioyrysh, I.D. Morokhov and S.K. Ivanov, The A-Bomb (Moscow, 'Science', 1980) there is an account on p. 410 of **I.V. Kurchatov**'s lecture delivered in Great Britain in 1956 about work on controlled nuclear fusion. The authors of two pioneer works in this field (by **Sakharov** and Tamm; and by Sakharov) about whom Kurchatov spoke, are not mentioned in the book. In a biography of Kurchatov by Golovin published earlier, they were named in connection with this lecture of Kurchatov's.

In 1980 the Moscow 'Young Guard' publishing-house printed a poetry anthology entitled Field of the Motherland, commemorating the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kulikovo (compiled by N. Kondakova and B. Primerov). The biographical section on the authors mentions **N. Gumilëv** and **A. Voznesensky**, whose poems are not included. On the other hand, the anthology contains poems by S. Esenin and several contemporary poets on whom no biographical information is included.

Page 397 of Selected Works by **M. Bulgakov** (Moscow, 'Artistic Literature', 1980) says that 'this volume contains ... eight stories by Bulgakov'. In fact the book contains seven stories.

At the end of February Glavlit [the state censorship] prohibited publication of works by the Psychology Institute on the grounds that they contained references to Polish authors. 'Even Kania must not be mentioned,' Institute representatives were told by Glavlit.

* * *

At the beginning of January a Secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union, Sergei Mikhalkov, had a talk with two of the five compilers of Metropole (Chronicles 52, 54), **E. Popov** and **V. Erofeyev** (Chronicle 55). Mikhalkov spoke scathingly of the publication of the almanac and those involved in it. According to him, Popov and Erofeyev had mounted a bus with Carl Proffer at the wheel (head of Ardis Publishers - Chronicle), driving them over a precipice. They had found themselves in bad company: 'The prostitute **Voznesensky** broke through the roof with his head and popped out at the North Pole; the alcoholic **Akhmadulina** couldn't care less what gutter she turns up in; **Bitov** has nothing left to write; **Iskander** is out to avenge his father, and **Aksënov** his mother.' Mikhalkov said that Erofeyev and Popov must either write a letter that would 'get through' (but refused to specify its form and address: 'Don't dictate conditions to us!') or forget about the Writers' Union. Popov and Erofeyev refused to write such a letter. In mid-January Popov was summoned to the KGB, where he was threatened with prosecution under article 190-1 if he 'gave one more interview'.

The writer **Evgeny Kharitonov** was summoned sometime between 20 and 29 January to a police station, where officers 'warned' him that 'suspect persons' were gathering at his home.

Rimma Kazakova, a member of the Secretariat of the Soviet Writers' Union, reproached **Bella Akhmadulina** for coming to Sakharov's defence (Chronicle 56). Kazakova compared it to her own approach to reality, which was a more constructive one. To confirm this she extracted from her handbag and displayed the 'Friendship of Peoples' medal with which she was recently decorated.

* * *

In mid-February KGB officers asked a group of unofficial Leningrad writers to submit to the Leningrad Branch of the Writers' Union their proposals regarding their possible status in regard to the Writers' Union. In reply to this suggestion, draft 'Statutes of the Writers' City Committee attached to the Soviet Writers' Union' and 'Explanations of the Draft Statutes' were prepared. However, a meeting with representatives of the Soviet Writers' Union has been repeatedly postponed. From the 'Explanations on the Draft Statutes':

...Many authors who are gifted beyond a doubt and whose work is of growing interest to the reader, have, for one reason or another, despaired of seeing their works printed by publishers or editors.

Literary craft is taking over from literature as art. There has been a catastrophic decline in the level and significance of literary criticism. In a word, a situation has arisen which suits only those who have cut themselves off from literature.

Against this background, works remarkable for their craftsmanship, depth and sincerity, revealing aspects of contemporary life which have not yet found expression, are frequently treated as pretentious, dubious or even dangerous. This in turn attracts, to put it bluntly, 'non-literary interest' to their authors.

In these conditions, the demands of readers are increasingly fulfilled by a manuscript literature, which includes, in addition to poetry and prose, literary and artistic criticism and translation.

An 'unofficial art' or 'alternative literary culture' has emerged, a distinction has arisen between the 'official' and the 'unofficial' writer - a totally unprecedented phenomenon in the history of Russian letters. It is quite obvious that it is impossible to bring together a national literature if talented writers are to be excluded from the normal literary process.

The Writers' City Committee attached to the Leningrad Branch of the Soviet Writers' Union ... is, in our opinion, the correct and necessary answer at least to some of the questions ... The leaders of the Leningrad Branch and unofficial writers must, through well-wishing and self-critical dialogue, solve the problems of the situation which has arisen.

In our view, the duties of a member of the Writers' City Committee must not include such obligations which prescribe, directly or indirectly, what a work of art should be. The writer is a citizen, and is obliged to submit to state laws, and not to factory-type demands. Neither should personal dignity be dictated by factory-type morality. We consider it possible to indicate as a separate point the obligation of each City Committee member to follow the rules prescribed by law.

* * *

Vadim Shcheglov received a telephone call from an acquaintance in London who said that, according to a TASS report for the West, Shcheglov, Gainov and Fonchenkov (members of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR) had been exiled to the West (all of them are in the USSR - Chronicle).

* * *

In an All-Union Research Institute a notice was hung up

for those wishing to acquire a dacha plot to sign. The application for a plot required, in addition to other information, that the applicant's nationality be indicated.

Foam

On 28 February **V. Novoseltsev** (see Chronicle 51 and below) telephoned **S. Kalistratova** and told her in rude language that in his opinion she belonged to the 'clique' that had usurped influence in the dissident movement, congested Sakharov's home and betrayed him. **E. Alekseyeva**, who lives in Sakharov's flat in Moscow, led, according to Novoseltsev, a dissolute life and was a 'KGB agent'. In the course of Novoseltsev's monologue Kalistratova hung up several times, but Novoseltsev dialled her number again, swore, said that she was obliged to hear him out, and informed her that in his 'denunciatory' activities he would continue in future to appeal to the widest audience.

On 4 February two works by V. Novoseltsev were dropped in the mail-box of A. Sakharov's Moscow flat, along with an accompanying note dated 3 February:

You must study these works and draw the proper conclusions. The corrupt practices you carry out in the area of human rights are condemned not only by myself, but by all former political prisoners, most dissenters and even your erstwhile friends. These documents are circulated throughout the country and will be circulated until you change your corrupt methods and behaviour. The defence of human rights is the sacred duty of every decent person, not the exclusive privilege of supposedly chosen 'leaders'. I would like to think that you will not be difficult, but will at last take the path of political expediency. In which I wish you success and express my solidarity in advance.

The first work is entitled Novoseltsev against Sakharov or Sakharovism (1980, 19 pp.). It begins with the words:

My analytical essay is intended to serve as the basis for widespread discussion among dissenters, as the time has come for a thorough review of the experience of the past decade ...

The article states in part that:

The roots of intellectual dissent are inseparable from the concrete historical environment from which it emerged. The wish to provide an intellectual and moral justification for their actions has turned several intellectuals into ideological adherents of democracy, although this ideology goes no further than democratic phraseology out of an old encyclopedia. Some of the intelligentsia, sensing in the conditions which had arisen a demand for heroic suffering, but not finding any meaning in life, experienced a change from the democratic spirit to a boundless arrogance incapable of tolerating anyone else's opinion. These intellectuals were like the saints who perished because of the pharisees' vanity ...

Political discrimination against rank-and-file dissenters on the part of Sakharov and the Sakharovites has led to the dispersed, ie fragmented state of dissent, and even to the loss of certain moral qualities. This discrimination has closed off the possibility of discussion ...

Several names out of Sakharov's entourage came to

the fore, having ascended to the rank of martyrs and heroes. The exaggeration beyond any sense of proportion of their heroism has been detrimental to those dissenters who have really suffered, but about whom nothing has been said ...

The two phenomena - Zubatovism[92] and Sakharovism - not only resemble each other, but are pervaded by a similar desire to lead the people, without a revolution or personal risk to the ideologists, to a 'brave new world', to which the ideologists themselves will ride only on white steeds ...

Sakharovism, taking advantage of its position, has monopolized samizdat ... Sakharov has monopolized information channels with the help of foreign correspondents ... The Sakharovites, in the person of **Zholkovskaya**, administrator of the Russian Fund, refused Novoseltsev's wife ... **Ginzburg** himself helped himself to the Fund every month ...

Novoseltsev's second work is entitled The Lesson of God's Law (1980, 6 pp.). It opens with a quotation from **D. Dudko**'s personal statement: 'The West is looking for sensations'. It states further:

Let us think about what happened to the priest: illumination or transgression? It is common knowledge that in his statements before his arrest Father Dudko expressed solidarity with dissidents, in particular with Academician Sakharov and his entourage ...

In order to maintain their privileged position among dissenters, the Sakharovites combat any reproaches directed at them, any criticism, ie freedom of thought. In doing so they baulk at no means, however impermissible. Thus for example, having heard about the 'CC' organization (Coordination Council; 1976), the Sakharovites saw it as a competitor and resorted to open treachery, deliberately publicizing the existence of the 'CC' ... The journal A Chronicle of Current Events, published by their 'leaders', went even further: Nos. 45-6 contained an item indicating the location of the CC centre in Luga, and mentioning the names of its leaders - mine (Novoseltsev) and Yu. [I.] Fëdorov's.[93]

(The only report in Chronicles 45-6 resembling the one Novoseltsev writes about is the following: Investigator Saushkin told Yu. Fëdorov at an interrogation that there was an illegal centre in Luga headed by Fëdorov.)

Sakharov's closest associate, T. Velikanova, editor of A Chronicle of Current Events, several times used the Chronicle to settle accounts of her own. Thus No. 51 contains an article again stating in black and white that Novoseltsev was setting up an illegal organization ... Today Sakharov is a calamity for Russia. It is from his irresponsible hand that the names of the puffed-up 'heroes' are repeated: always the same Landa, the same Bonner, the same Kovalëv, Orlov, Shcharansky ...

* * *

On that same day, 4 February, several Muscovites (among them Bonner, Lert and Smirnov) found in their mail-boxes identical anonymous letters sent from the central post office the day before, 3 February, which state in part:

It is now known that **Novoseltsev**, together with the KGB, is preparing a new provocation: they are going to issue a samizdat journal and Novoseltsev will look for authors to publish their works in the journal, so

that they can then be dealt with on the model of Searches.

LETTERS AND STATEMENTS

G. Vladimov: 'To the Released American Diplomats' (22 January 1981)
The author calls upon them to defend other victims of the practice of keeping hostages, including A.D. Sakharov.

G. Vladimov, S. Kalistratova, B. Altshuler, I. Kovalëv, Yu. Golfand, M. Petrenko-Podyapolskaya, Yu. Shikhanovich: 'On the First Anniversary of Sakharov's Exile to Gorky' (22 January 1981) (see Chronicle 56)
The authors of the letter describe Sakharov's situation in exile and call for a campaign for his release:

... For 12 years Academician Sakharov has been actively involved in work to promote the rule of law, but humiliating fear exists, cementing the most dangerous and absurd aspects of the system, making it capable of disastrous aberrations. This illness can be overcome - through awareness of inner freedom, professional independence and solidarity, which under certain conditions lead of necessity to actions ...

A. Sakharov: 'To the Head of the US Delegation to the Madrid Convention, Max Kampelman' (29 January 1981)
Congratulating him on the 'firm and consistent position' of Western delegations at the Madrid Conference, Sakharov reminds him of the importance of personally defending:

... prisoners of conscience Orlov, Kovalëv, Shcharansky, Petkus, Lukyanenko, Stus, Velikanova, Lavut, Ternovsky, Nekipelov, Rudenko, Tikhy, Marinovich, Matusevich, Osipova, Grivnina, Yakunin, Niklus, Kukk, Terleckas, Zisels, Brailovsky, Bolonkin, the Podrabinek brothers, Serebrov, Grimm, Abramkin, Landa, M. Dzhemilev, R. Dzhemilev, Meilanov, Nudel, Slepak, and many others. Together with these, the defence of myself is important in principle, because my case involves not only a violation of international agreements, but also an instance of complete disregard for the laws of this country.

A. Sakharov: 'To Dr Sidney Drell (Stanford, California)' (30 January 1981)
Thanking American scientists for their moral support on the anniversary of the day he was exiled, Sakharov regrets that:

... the judicial, or rather anti-judicial, peculiarities of my situation were not discussed.

I am living in Gorky under arrest - a round-the-clock police guard posted right outside the door of my flat. But this cannot be termed house-arrest, because I am not at home, neither can it be called exile, as in exile there are no guards at the door and no restrictions on contacts with visitors. Apart from my wife, practically no one is allowed to see me. To date no official institutions have assumed responsibility for the application of this unlawful measure or for the conditions imposed on me.

Any convict has the right to appeal, to complain about the actions of officials, and some officials are held responsible, in any case, for the life of the convict. I am deprived of all these rights and am in actual fact outside the law - a hostage in unknown hands. And the fact that KGB officers get into my flat (without the knowledge of the police, mind you), is not only the crudest violation of a right, but poses a direct threat to my life.

... In view of the peculiarities of my situation listed above and the libel against me, my demand for a trial remains in force ...

I. Kovalëv: 'To the KGB Investigations Department' (6 January 1981)

I firmly protest against the illegal interrogation, carried out moreover at night, of my acquaintance T.O. **Ledeneva**.

This is not the first case known to me where attempts have been made to interrogate my friends about me illegally in this way ... Meanwhile, I have regularly noticed that I am being shadowed, sometimes quite openly.

All this leads me to presume that a criminal case has been instituted against me and an investigation is being conducted. I presume that it is your office which is in charge of it, as it is you who are dealing with the case of my wife Tatyana Osipova.

If my presumption that a case is being instituted against me turns out to be correct, I demand that this case be closed; if I am mistaken, I demand that the groundless surveillance operation against myself and my acquaintances should cease. According to my estimate something on the order of tens of thousands of state roubles must have been spent on the operational surveillance simply of myself ... ie even more than on my free education and medical care.

I. Kovalëv: 'To the Director of the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions, Kashik' (29 January 1981)

In a statement to the institution where his wife Tatyana Osipova worked, Kovalëv recalls the right of the collective to appoint a public defence counsel to take part in a trial.

I think it is especially important to have an objective, informed public which takes an active part in trials under charges such as those brought against my wife, inasmuch as such charges (I would call them 'political') are directly connected with the public activities of the accused.

Kovalëv further petitions for the appointment of such a public defence counsel by the CGE for the impending trial of T. **Osipova**, and includes detailed information on the procedure provided for by law in this case. On hearing about the statement, some of Osipova's colleagues on 4 February petitioned the trade union to call a general assembly to discuss it. But this had no results.

Yu. Kiselev, V. Fefëlov, O. Zaitseva and **F. Khusainov**: 'To the Presidium of the Madrid Conference' (1 February 1981)

Members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR remind those participating in the Conference that 1981 was declared International Year

of the Disabled by the UN, and submit concrete proposals:

1. To oblige each country participating in the Conference to deduct a certain significant sum from the military budget, to be used for the disabled.
2. To oblige the military leadership of each country participating in the Conference to introduce ... moral training for soldiers, with a view to inculcating humane attitudes towards helpless, peaceful people and wounded and ill persons.
3. To introduce in the army regulations of the participating countries a compulsory article allowing soldiers to refuse to carry out the inhumane orders of a superior - a practice already used in the West Germany Army.

Statement of the Editors of the Journal The Duel (23 January 1981)

The first statement signed by the editorial board of this samizdat journal (Chronicles 56, 57) reflects their concern about the 'serious situation which has arisen in the movement for the rule of law and democracy'.

It has turned out that depression and apathy, fights and squabbles, have replaced the truthful word, the witty pen and the lucid thought.

It is time to realize that if we do not bring back the spirit of camaraderie, respect for one another and all possible support for those in trouble, then not only will we achieve nothing, but we will also destroy what we have created.

The editors report on the publication of the journal and the persecution of its editors since issues 1-3 were published in 1979.

In 1980 State Security organs searched the homes of members of the journal's editorial board, and all the materials prepared for publication in issues 4 and 5 were confiscated.

Despite the fact that the ranks of the editorial board have been reduced; the 6th issue of The Duel has been prepared for publication: the activities of this social, literary and artistic journal continue. The journal The Duel will continue to be published in future.

The members of the editorial board are **E. Abramova, V. Bykov, Yu. Denisov, N. Denisova, M. Ikonnikov, E. Osipova**.

V. Vail, I. Sapiro: 'To the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the [Supreme Soviet's] Council of Nationalities (22 October 1980)

The authors, Moscow refuseniks, propose to add the following article to the Constitution: 'Citizens of the USSR have the right to take up permanent residence outside the borders of the USSR. This right may be restricted only by legislation of the USSR'. They give reasons for their proposal.

T. Chileyeva: 'To V. Pavlov' (December 1980)

In the newspaper Crimean Pravda of 27 November, in the article 'Story of a Sensation', V. Pavlov furiously poured out all his venom on **Aishe Seitmuratova**.

Is it Aishe who slanders, informing the whole world about the evil deeds perpetrated in the socialist Crimea against its native inhabitants, the Crimean Tatars, or is it you, V. Pavlov, who slander her?

The author, a Crimean Tatar, lives in Malinovka Village, Belogorsk District, Crimean Region, where she is registered.

* * *

The Tashkent newspaper Truth of the East of 12 February published an 'Open Letter of Soviet Citizen **Rollan Kadiyev** to Former Soviet Citizen **Aishe Seitmuratova**' (in January 1980 Kadiyev was convicted of 'malicious hooliganism' and sentenced to three years' strict-regime camp - Chronicle 56; his present whereabouts are not known to the Chronicle)

It did not occur to me right away to write this letter. But events are unfolding in such a way that my civic conscience does not let me remain silent.

Now you are living in the USA. At first there was no news of you. Then in 1979 the Western radio-stations started talking about the Crimean Tatar Aishe Seitmuratova. The Voice of America, Deutsche Welle and the BBC broadcast slander of socialism through your lips ...

You became involved with Ukrainian nationalists, joined the representatives of the 'Ukrainian Helsinki Group abroad' and associated with people who had been deprived of Soviet citizenship for their hostile activities - people I know well - and devoted yourself wholly to their 'work', which is of course aimed at undermining the authority of our country.

It's all the same to you who your friends are: anti-Sovietists of all breeds, Ukrainian nationalists, Russian White emigres, former executioners, Vlasovites and all kinds of other trash. The fact that you have associated with people who fled the USSR and now appear in the role of 'defenders of the Crimean Tatars' just goes to show yet again how unprincipled you are. Your father died heroically in the struggle against the German Fascist invaders. And you think nothing of giving your hand to traitors of the Motherland, who shot Soviet people and later escaped to the West with what was left of the interventionists. In doing this, Aishe, you insult your father's memory most of all.

Now you are trying to pass yourself off as 'the sole authorized representative of the Crimean Tatars in the West'. Personally I fail to understand your reasons for doing this. The point is not that a person who once agreed with you about something (that is, myself) cannot understand you now. The point is something else: long before you left the USSR, the people around you ceased to understand you, because you did not live spiritually with your people, you did not work with them, you did not share your joys and sorrows with them. You lived as a parasite sponging off your people, you took advantage of their generosity and kindness. Therefore your moral decline is a natural phenomenon.94

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

No. 152 (4 January 1981): 'The Trial of Alexander Lavut' (Chronicle 60)
No. 153 (5 January 1981): 'The Trial of Leonard Ternovsky' (Chronicle 60)
No. 154 (25 January 1981): 'The Arrest of the Last Member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, Felix Serebrov' (see this issue)
No. 155 (29 January 1981): 'Second Convictions of the Brothers Alexander and Kirill Podrabinek' (see this issue)

No. 156 (7 February 1981): 'The Case of Oksana Yakovlevna Meshko' (Chronicle 60 and this issue)
No. 158 (1 March 1981): 'On Women Prisoners of Conscience' (see 'In the Prisons and Camps')

SAMIZDAT NEWS

I. Kovalëv: 'Article 64' (February 1981, 12 pp)
In October 1980 I. Kovalëv accompanied T. Velikanova's relatives to Mordovia, to Barashevo, for a visit. The essay gives an account of the trip. On the day they left Barashevo Kovalëv was detained and a miniature camera with a half-used roll of film confiscated from him (nevertheless Kovalëv later published about 30 photos). The searchers threatened Kovalëv with prosecution under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (hence the title of the essay).

B. Gajauskas: 'Something about Dudko' (1980, 3 pp); 'For the Good of the Empire' (1980, 1 p); 'The People and the Law' (1980, 1 p)
The articles were written by the author (trial - Chronicle 49) in Perm Camp 36 (special regime) in Lithuanian. A Russian translation is circulating in samizdat.

V. Nekipelov: 'To Whom We Open the Door (on a not quite ordinary piece of information)' (6 pp)
The author publishes the record of an interrogation of **Roald Mukhamedyarov** (Chronicles 27, 34) on 30 November 1972.

> What is most astounding in these profuse ... testimonies is the light manner in which they were dashed out on to paper ... in total about 50 persons were delivered up to the State Security ...
>
> No, I do not call for reclusion and wholesale suspicion; but discrimination, alertness nad caution - these I do call for.
>
> However that may be, we must give some thought to whose hand we shake, whom we open the door to.

(Much of Mukhamedyarov's evidence in this record was false - Chronicle).

Searches and Reflections No. 3 (11) (1980); No. 4 (12) (1980); No. 5 (13) (1980, 107 pp); No. 6 (14) (1981); No. 7 (15) (1981, 109 pp); No. 8 (16) (1981, 103 pp)
No 5 contains a letter in defence of V. Abramkin, a ballad by Vysotsky about childhood, the article 'To the Memory of Three Poet-Singers' (Galich, Vysotsky and ... Okudzhava), a discussion of B. Komarov's book The Destruction of Nature, a letter from V. Sokirko to F. Abramov (Chronicle 56), a review of Rasputin's Live and Remember, and V. Sorokin's article 'Gold Mines' (a guide for people in search of work).

No. 6 contains letters and statements in defence of T. Velikanova, T. Streltsov's story I Know There Will be a Town ... (how a church was built in one night in Novokuznetsk), 'The Story of How I Fought in the War' by Yu. Velichkin (Chronicles 52, 56), poems by A. Antono-

vich, the articles 'Without Dogma' by G. Nilov and 'The Microbe of Communism or the Typhoid Louse?' by Maksudov,[95] and a review of the second edition of the book The USSR: 100 Questions and Answers (Moscow, APN, 1980).

No. 7 contains an account of V. Abramkin's trial, G. Nilov's article 'Without Dogma' (continued) and 'National Minority Formations of the Tsarist Army in the Lead-Up to the Civil War' by Maksudov, and 'A Speech I would Like to Make at My Grave' by David Dar.

No. 8 contains an account of L. Ternovsky's trial, the article 'The Corrupt World of the Moscow Institutes' by A. Vetsman, 'The Orthodox State and Christianity' by M. Orlov, 'The Structure of the Bolshevik Party - a Determining Factor of Totalitarian State Capitalism' by B. Vail, 'Numbers and Casualties for the Latvian Sharpshooters in 1918-20' by Maksudov, 'The Linguistic and Semantic Problems of Detente' by Ya. Nizhegorodsky, and poems in memory of Vysotsky.

Information Bulletin of the Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People [SMOT], No. 10 (November 1980, 7pp); No. 11 (January 1981)

No. 10 contains 'The Ceremonial Inauguration of the Monument to the Workers Shot in Gdansk in 1970', 'At the Lipetsk Tractor Plant', and 'Events in Estonia' (the demonstration of schoolchildren in autumn 1980).

No. 11 contains 'What Can We Expect from the Next Five-Year Plan?', 'People are Dying in Afghanistan', 'The End of the Black Saturdays' (in Leningrad they were stopped as of 12 January), and 'The Excesses of Artistic Life' (about the exhibitions of independent artists in Leningrad).

Summary No. 1-2 (5-6), 1980 (146 pp)

Section A ('Synopses and Excerpts') contains 40 articles; Section B ('Reviews; Points of View') - 19 articles. Section C contains the tables of contents of the journal Dialogue (Leningrad) and of the Jewish journal (in Russian) Khaim Nos. 1 and 2 (Riga). Section D ('Appendix') contains information about the end of the journal Searches, a letter 'In Defence of Valery Abramkin' and a reprint from issue 56 of the Chronicle of notes on an essay by Pomerants and articles by Sokirko.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

For official use only

Decree
of the Chairman of the State Committee
of the USSR Council of Ministers
for Publishing, Printing Presses and the Book Trade
I No. 346/DSP

Moscow 6.6.1975

On the Confirmation of the Provisional Directives on the Second-Hand Book Trade

With a view to mobilizing additional reserves in the formation of funds of books, to reusing books possessed by the population and still in demand, to expanding the trade

in books obtained second-hand from the population, to establishing a unified procedure for carrying out these operations and having them reflected in the accounts, I DECREE THAT:

1. The Provisional Directives on the Second-Hand Book Trade be confirmed.

B.I. Stukalin

Provisional Directives on the Second-Hand Book Trade

I. General Provisions

3. Printed matter (books, albums, pamphlets, pictorial matter, original manuscripts, etc) may be bought second-hand by state agencies, first of all rare and obscure editions, the sale price of which is difficult to establish. Periodical publications may be sought second-hand (in complete sets, both Soviet and pre-Revolutionary periods).

N.B. Antique and collectors' books and periodicals, and other publications dated prior to 1946, are to be bought second-hand only by second-hand bookshops (or departments) which have permission to trade in second-hand literature according to the established procedure.

Foreign publications are bought by those second-hand bookshops (or departments) which deal in literature published in foreign languages by permission of the USSR State Committee on Publishing.

5. The following are not to be bought or sold second-hand:

(a) books appearing in the 'Cumulative List of Books to be Removed from Libraries and the Book Trade Network' (Parts 1 and 2, published by the USSR Glavlit [Censorship] in 1960 and 1973), and in the analogous lists of the Glavlits of the Republics of the Union; books subject to confiscation by decrees or other documents of the censorship organs, and by circulars or written instructions of the top book trade organizations; and foreign publications with the censor's 'hexagon' stamp;

(b) Soviet publications with any restrictive labels, stamps or remarks, such as 'Secret', 'Not for Publication', 'For Official Use', 'For CPSU Members Only', 'For Komsomol Members Only', 'Distributed According to List', 'Proof Copy', 'Manuscript Edition', 'For Comment', 'Requires a Conclusion', 'Privileged Copy', 'Publication Permitted', 'Control Copy', official publications issued without indication of price, and publications with censorship stamps permitting wider publication;

(c) publications bearing the stamp or seal of Soviet state and public libraries and institutions;

(d) resolutions and instructions of the USSR government not published in the press, and narrowly departmental publications designed for official use;

(e) politically harmful, non-periodical, home-produced literature in all languages; publications with articles and pictures of persons all of whose works are subject to confiscation, with quotations from their works or speeches, and with texts praising these persons; books propagating the views of former oppositionist trends in Communist Parties and of leaders of these trends; publications directed against the CPSU and the founders of Marxism-Leninism; Black-Hundred and monarchist, White-Guard, anti-Soviet and anti-Socialist literature; and literature hostile to communism published by parties which fought against the RSDRP[96]- CPSU (SRs, Mensheviks, Kadets, etc);

(f) foreign publications containing anti-Soviet or

anti-socialist materials; books propagating reactionary ideology; pornographic, vulgar, religious and religious-propaganda publications, and also all literature published by anti-Soviet emigre organizations;

(g) all officially produced religious publications; publications containing religious propaganda; literature of religious mysticism; and books on chiromancy, magic, etc.

N.B. Publications of a religious nature of artistic or literary value, first editions, manuscripts, etc, may be bought up in Moscow and Leningrad through the main second-hand bookshops, and in other towns with the permission of administrators (heads, directors) of book trade agencies or their deputies;

(h) vulgar and pornographic works;

(i) Soviet periodical publications of a military and scientific-technical nature not included in open 'Soyuzpechat' catalogues;

(j) books with inscriptions, underlinings and insertions of an undesirable political nature, as well as those which obstruct reading or distort the text;

(k) Soviet-published books without a title page;

(l) books with a text which does not correspond to the title;

(m) books with printing faults.

N.B. (1) The following publications may be sold only to libraries, Party organizations and Soviet institutions, if ordered by them: verbatim reports of congresses and conferences of the CPSU and the Komsomol, of congresses and sessions of Soviets and trade unions (issued prior to July 1953), of congresses and plenums of the Comintern, and sets of the following encyclopedias: Short Soviet Encyclopedia, first and second editions, Large Soviet Encyclopedia, first edition, Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Granat Russian Bibliographical Institute and the Literary Encyclopedia. Individual volumes of these publications may, if they do not contain defects of a political nature, be sold without receipt of special orders.

(2) Libraries may be sold social-political and literary-artistic journals (complete sets) of pre-Revolutionary and Soviet publication prior to 1954, only if ordered by Soviet organizations. Individual issues of such journals, which are not politically dubious, and journals published since 1954 and included in open 'Soyuzpechat' catalogues, may be sold freely without special orders. Also saleable without special orders are scientific-technical pre-Revolutionary and Soviet journals, regardless of the year of publication, and progressive literary-artistic journals published prior to the twentieth century.

(3) Publications destined for sale by order of libraries and Soviet organizations are to be kept in special rooms in shops, and not to be placed in the sales area;

(n) the following pictorial matter is not to be bought up second-hand:

- matter of politically harmful contents; pictures of a monarchistic, Black-Hundred or chauvinistic nature;
- pictorial matter of religious contents, if it is not a reproduction of a classical work of fine art;
- pictures praising the petty-bourgeois life-style; pictorial matter with indecent pictures of a vulgar or pornographic nature;
- pictorial matter without publication details;
- photographic postcards printed in the Soviet period

without publication details; postcards used in postal correspondence and advertising postcards issued by firms;
- photographic postcards printed abroad of no artistic or informative value.

N.B. Photographic postcards printed abroad may be bought and sold if they reproduce classical paintings, graphics, sculpture and architecture; views of places, towns and other populated areas; pictures of prominent progressive political figures and scientific, literary and artistic figures.

6. The shop employee responsible for buying up books must carefully examine each printed publication submitted for second-hand sale, from the viewpoint of political content, usefulness of the material, historical value, etc.

In cases when the responsible person is in doubt as to the expediency of buying a particular home-produced publication, the manager of the bookstore consults the local office of USSR Glavlit about the publication in question.

When doubts arise as to the expediency of buying a particular foreign publication, the local book agency request an elucidation from the All-Union Book Trade Association of the USSR State Committee on Publishing, which, if necessary, will consult USSR Glavlit.

14. Those held responsible for the quality of books bought, and their sale, will be the buyers, department managers, and the managers or directors of shops.

Shop administrations must systematically give instructions to their employees in charge of buying second-hand books and selling them.

The present Directives are to be shown to all employees of shops (or departments), who must sign statements that this has been done ...

ADDENDA

On 16 June 1980 in Samarkand, in connection with **Lavut**'s case (trial - Chronicle 60) a search was conducted at the home of **Kemal Useinov** (Chronicle 51). Crimean Tatar Information Sheet No. 9/132 (22 November-30 December 1979) was confiscated.

CORRIGENDA TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

Chronicles 33, 38, 39 and 57 refer to Iokhann (or Johannes) Valdman. The correct spelling is Juhan Valdmann.
Chronicle 54, p. 170: entry omitted from the 'Index to Photographs in Chronicles 1-54': Rumachik, Pyotr 51.
Chronicle 56, p. 141: V. Mogila should read V. Mogilny; p. 177: S. Onishchenko should read S. Anishchenko
Chronicle 57, p. 61, line 4: M. Arutyunyan was in fact sentenced to 2 years (not 8) - corrected in Chronicle 61. Page 63: the two surnames Uzleistaite should read Uzmestaite. Page 76: Zubkov should read Zubko. Page 79, 12 lines from the bottom: 'taken to be examined' should read 'put on the out-patient register'

ENDNOTES

1 A well-known figure in the book Story of a Certain Town by the 19th century writer Saltykov-Shchedrin.
2 See the Bibliographical Note below.
3 See endnote 5 in Chronicle 57.
4 In July 1981 Grivnina was sentenced to 5 years' exile.
5 Changed in March 1981 to 1 year of corrective tasks, without imprisonment. See Chronicle 61.
6 M. Yakovlev was arrested in May 1981 and sentenced to 1 year in a camp in July.
7 Kharitonov, a talented literary scholar, died on 29 June 1981.
8 G. Shepelëv was arrested in February 1981 (Chronicle 61) and in March sentenced to 6 months in a camp.
9 Myasnikov was given 3 years. See Chronicle 61.
10 The title relates to the fact that the Soviet Constitution contains 174 articles.
11 Lazareva was sentenced to 10 months in a camp. For her trial and photograph see Chronicle 61.
12 Maltseva was given a 2-year suspended sentence in spring 1981.
13 Brailovsky was sentenced to 5 years' exile in June 1981.
14 Bogolyubov was sentenced to 1½ years in February 1981. See Chronicle 61.
15 Eremenko was sentenced to 2½ years in a camp in April 1981.
16 Wives of political prisoners.
17 Lepilina and Azadovsky were sentenced to 1½ and 2 years in camps, respectively in February and March 1981.
18 A Russian emigre organization based in Paris and Frankfurt.
19 In April 1981 Osipova was sentenced to 5 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 in exile.
20 Nos 7 and 8 were translated in full in the book The Ukrainian Herald: Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the USSR, compiler (pseudonymous) Maksym Sahaydak, introduction by Robert Conquest, Smoloskyp Publishers (PO Box 6066, Patterson Station, Baltimore, Md. 21231), 1976.
21 Included in ibid., pp. 35-161.
22 2nd edition (of English translation), Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1970.
23 For her trial see Chronicle 61.
24 For his trial see Ibid.
25 For his trial see Ibid.
26 On 31 March 1981 Altunyan was sentenced to 7 years in camps plus 5 in exile.
27 For the trial of Niklus and Kukk see Chronicle 61. On 27 March 1981 Kukk died in captivity.
28 In March 1981 Kalep was sentenced to 4 years in camps, and in May Madisson received the same, plus 2 years' exile.
29 Sentenced to 2 years in camps plus 2 in exile in April 1981.
30 According to Chronicle LCC No 44, Iesmantas (wrongly spelled Jesmantas in Chronicle 57) was in fact arrested on 4 March 1980.
31 Both here and in Chronicle 56 his birth-date is wrongly given as 1926. It is 17 May 1928.
32 Corrected from 'Kadzys'. The same name is misspelled

Kazis in Chronicle 47.
33 Ie Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights.
34 Eduard Bulakh is a Pentecostalist who has been denied permission to emigrate. In July 1981 he was forcibly interned in a mental hospital for a few weeks, and in September sentenced to 1 year in a labour camp.
35 Pavel Rytikov, father of Vladimir, was sentenced to 3 years in strict-regime camps, apparently at the same time but at a separate trial.
36 Rumachik was sentenced in March 1981 to 5 years in strict-regime camps. His photograph appeared in Chronicle 51, but his name was inadvertently omitted from the cumulative index of photos in Chronicle 54.
37 Mendelevich was released early, in February 1981, and emigrated to Israel. See Chronicle 61.
38 Allowed to emigrate in summer 1981.
39 Zubko was arrested in May 1981 and in July sentenced to 4 years in camps.
40 No. 2-3, 1979.
41 Misspelled there as Zipre.
42 In Chronicle 54 Zinchenko was corrected to Zinenko in the Amnesty edition.
43 Charged with spying for the USA.
44 See also Chronicles 10, 12, 13, 38, 42.
45 For K. Podrabinek's trial see Chronicle 61.
46 In August 1981 he was reimprisoned.
47 Transferred to an OPH and then released in March 1981. See Chronicle 61 and note 89 below.
48 A minor inaccuracy: I.P. Kikilo was in fact this committee's secretary for ideology.
49 See Chronicle 32, pp. 64-67.
50 It has not been possible to check this name. The spelling may therefore be inaccurate.
51 See reports of the premiere in a Moscow theatre in The Times, 10 July 1981, and The New York Times, 11 July.
52 On this episode see A. Austin's report in The New York Times, 1 December 1981.
53 See AP, UPI and Reuter reports from Moscow of 28 October 1980.
54 Among the signatories were the Estonians Enn Tarto and Erik Udam. See UPI report from Moscow, 22 September 1980.
55 A reference to the notion that there is little more freedom in the 'large zone' of Soviet society as a whole than in the zones (or sections) of labour camps.
56 Russkaya mysl, 10 April 1980.
57 Edited by A. Sinyavsky and his wife in Paris.
58 Published in English translation in 1979 by Karoma Publishers, 3400 Daleview Drive, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103, USA.
59 A full French translation of this 20-page speech appears in Esprit, Paris, June 1981, with a commentary by T. Mathon.
60 In June 1981 Koryagin was sentenced to 7 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 in exile.
61 In July 1981 Serebrov was sentenced to 4 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 in exile. On Grivnina see note 4 above.
62 In July 1981 Zotov was interned by court order in a mental hospital.
63 In March 1981 Shepelëv was sentenced to 6 months in a camp.
64 In part I, chapter 7, and part III, chapter 2.

65 Her brother is Boris Mukhametshin.
66 Published as a book by Sheba Feminist Publishers, London, 1980. The pseudonym is I. Tishchenko.
67 See note 12 above.
68 A novel by Venedikt Erofeyev, published in English as Moscow to the End of the Line (Taplinger, USA, 1981).
69 Gastev emigrated on 22 June 1981.
70 See note 49.
71 This samizdat collection of articles on 'forbidden themes' in Soviet history was published in Russian in Paris by YMCA Press, 1980.
72 Antsupov was arrested in April 1981 and sentenced in August to 6 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 in exile.
73 In summer 1981 he was ruled not responsible and interned in the Dnepropetrovsk SPH.
74 Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, 1973 (a translation of the Swedish original).
75 Son Andres (born 1968) and daughter Liis (born 1972).
76 Kukk died in Vologda, from being continuously transported big distances in a critical state, on 27 March 1981.
77 In 1961-66 and 1967-70. In August 1981 he was sentenced to 5 years in strict-regime camps.
78 In July 1981 Khomenko was given a 3-year suspended sentence.
79 See note 34.
80 G. Antonenko, T. Puzanova, L. Staskevich, N. Babayeva, D. Malamura, V. Migashkina, A. Mukhornikova, V. Perminova, L. Chernova, O. Chertovskaya and T. Boyarovskaya. See more details in USSR News Brief (see Bibliographical Note below), 1981, No 5, item 35.
81 The 26th CPSU Congress began on 23 February 1981.
82 Raikin is a famous Soviet comedian and also a Jew.
83 See note 49.
84 By signing a statement about the ending of the pre-trial investigation.
85 In September 1981 Airikyan was sentenced to 3 years in strict-regime camps (in addition to his current sentence).
86 Arrested in April 1981 and sentenced in the summer to 3 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 in exile.
87 Soldatov and his wife emigrated on 18 May 1981.
88 Barats was released after a little more than a month.
89 Plakhotnyuk was rearrested in September 1981.
90 In August 1981 Ermolayev was reimprisoned in his camp.
91 In April 1981 Sarbayev was sentenced to 10 months and promptly released.
92 Zubatov was a tsarist police agent who set up trade unions in the early 20th century to try to divert workers from purely political opposition.
93 Yury I. Fëdorov emigrated in summer 1981.
94 Pravda vostoka published further attacks on Seitmuratova on 7 June 1981.
95 Pseudonym of Alexander Babënyshev (Chronicle 60).
96 Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party - the original name of the CPSU.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The original Russian text of Chronicles 60 and 61, of which this book is a translation, appeared as booklets without annotations, entitled Khronika tekushchikh sobytii, Khronika Press, New York, 1981.

Earlier issues of the Chronicle are available in English as follows. Numbers 16-58 have been published by Amnesty International Publications as booklets (all except No 16 still being in print), and numbers 1-16 on microfiche (see inside back cover for details). Numbers 1-11 appeared, with annotations and 76 photographs, in Peter Reddaway's Uncensored Russia: the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union, London and New York, 1972.

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

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

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

Many texts referred to briefly in the Chronicle have appeared in full in A Chronicle of Human Rights In the USSR, Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018, quarterly (separate Russian and English editions), and (documents of Helsinki groups) in the volumes listed in endnote 2 of Chronicles 43-5. The Samizdat Bulletin, P.O. Box 6128, San Mateo, California 94403, USA, monthly, is also a useful source, as are, for Ukrainian Helsinki Group documents, several booklets published in English by Smoloskyp Publishers, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Maryland 21043, USA. In French the best source of samizdat texts is Cahiers du Samizdat, 48 rue du Lac, 1050 Brussels, Belgium, monthly; in German: Samizdat: Stimmen aus dem 'anderen Russland', Kuratorium Geistige Freiheit, Postfach 277, 3601 Thun, Switzerland (14 occasional vols to date), and Menschenrechte-Schicksale-Dokumente, Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/M, Germany, bimonthly; in Italian: Russia Cristiana, via Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan, Italy, bimonthly; and in Dutch: Rusland Bulletin, Fijnje van Salverdastraat 4, Amsterdam-W, Netherlands, bimonthly, and the series Rusland Cahiers, Stichting Comite V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands.

For information on persecution of religious believers see the fortnightly Keston News Service, and for religious

texts, see Religion in Communist Lands (quarterly), both publications of Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent BR2 6BA, England. 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, 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW, suite 2, Washington D.C. 20009, USA.

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

A NOTE ON PHOTOGRAPHS

Some 850 photos have been published in the English editions of the Chronicle. They comprise photos of individuals, demonstrations, labour camps, prisons, psychiatric institutions, other buildings, facsimiles of documentary material and groups of people. An alphabetical index to the first 700 photos appeared as a special supplement at the end of the English edition of Chronicle 54.

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Following the suppression of *Chronicle* 59 by the KGB in 1980, much of the material that was lost in that issue now appears in *Chronicle* 60. One of the longer compilations on human rights abuses in the USSR yet to be produced, it documents the trials of Lithuanian human and national rights activists—like Vytautas Skuodis and Povilas Peceliunas—and religious activists, such as the Catholics Genovaite Navickaite and Ona Vitkauskaite. It also follows the continuing persecution of a group defending the rights of the disabled, and reports on the arrest and trial of two members of a Moscow group set up to examine the political abuse of psychiatry.

The arrest of the last two members of this group—Felix Serebrov and Anatoly Koryagin—is documented in *Chronicle* 61, together with the trials of the Podrabinek brothers. Besides describing the trials of dissenters in Georgia and Estonia, and more Helsinki monitors in the Ukraine, it highlights the arrest of the Jewish emigration activist Viktor Brailovsky and the trial of the Soviet feminist, Natalya Lazareva.

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Dr ANDREI SAKHAROV

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