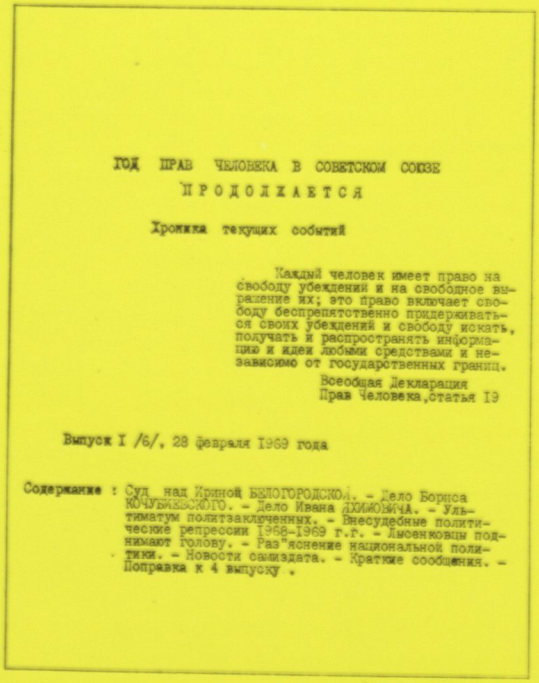
# A Chronicle of Current Events

## Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR

## Numbers 34, 35, 36



ГОД ПРАВ ЧЕЛОВЕКА В СОВЕТСКОМ СОЮЗЕ

П Р О Д О Л Ж А Е Т С Я

Хроника текущих событий

Каждый человек имеет право на свободу убеждений и на свободное выражение их; это право включает свободу беспрепятственно придерживаться своих убеждений и свободу искать, получать и распространять информацию и идеи любыми средствами и независимо от государственных границ.

Всеобщая Декларация
Прав Человека, статья 19

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*Cover:* Title page of one of the original *samizdat* versions of *Chronicle 6*

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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL opposes the use of torture and the death penalty in all cases and without reservation. It is now conducting an international Campaign for the Abolition of Torture.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL advocates fair and early trials for all political prisoners and works on behalf of persons detained without charge or without trial and those detained after expiry of their sentences.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL seeks observance throughout the world of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States and has observer status with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees).
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# A Chronicle of Current Events

Numbers 34, 35 & 36

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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 publicising 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, comprising *Chronicles* 34 to 36, is, like previous ones, a translation of copies of the original typewritten texts. The editorial insertions are the endnotes (numbered) and the words in square brackets. The table of contents, abbreviations, extracts from the R S F S R criminal code, illustrations, names index, bibliographical note and material on the outside and inside of the cover have been added to help the general reader. None of this material appeared in the original texts.

The endnotes have been kept to a minimum, partly because the Russian text already refers readers to earlier issues, and partly because the names index 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
November 1977

ABBREVIATIONS

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

**Activities in Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continue**

# 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 34** **31 December 1974**

**Contents**

The arrest of Sergei Kovalyov. The trial of Kheifets. The trial of Ladyzhensky and Korovin. Trials in Armenia. The trial of Shtern. A trial in Vilnius. Arrests, searches, interrogations. In the camps and prisons. In the psychiatric hospitals. Persecution of Soviet Germans. Persecution of Crimean Tatars. Persecution of religious believers. Georgian samizdat on the situation in the Georgian Patriarchate. Surveillance of Ginzburg and Marchenko. Extrajudicial persecution. An exhibition by independent artists. Biographies. News in brief. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Official documents. Trials of recent years. Corrigenda and addenda.

**Seventh Year of Publication**

# The Arrest of Sergei Kovalyov

On 27 December 1974 Sergei Kovalyov was arrested in Moscow. On 23 December a search had been carried out at his house — one of many searches which took place on that day in Moscow and Lithuania in connection with 'Case 345', being investigated by the Lithuanian K G B. (See below: 'Arrests, searches, interrogations'.)

The search began in the early morning and went on for 12 hours. The following items were confiscated: statements and letters written by political prisoners; statements on their behalf; issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* and *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*; a list of 135 imprisoned Lithuanians; 43 photographs (of P. G. Grigorenko, I. Gabai, P. Litvinov, L. Bogoraz and others); the texts of trial verdicts; a copy of *The Gulag Archipelago*; V. Chalidze's book *Human Rights and the Soviet Union*; letters; and notebooks.

After the search, S. Kovalyov and his wife were taken away to be questioned as witnesses. During the interrogation, Kovalyov told the investigator A. V. Trofimov that he refused to take part in the investigation; he gave as the reason for his refusal the many violations of the law that were taking place in the conduct of cases concerning the dissemination of information. When the interrogation ended, Kovalyov was given a summons to come again on the following day. On 24 December, after he had been sitting in the waiting-room for about two hours, he left, leaving his passport in the office. On 26 December the investigator Trofimov spoke to Kovalyov on the telephone, inviting him to collect his passport at any time he found convenient, and also to have a short '10-minute' conversation with him. On the 27th, Kovalyov arrived at the Lubyanka prison at 10 am. In the evening, it became known that he had been arrested. Next day it became known that he had been flown to Vilnius.

* * *

### Statement

Sergei Kovalyov, a scientist and Doctor of Biological Sciences, has been arrested. He is my close friend, a man who has wonderful spiritual integrity and strength and limitless altruism. Not long ago, he and I discussed writing a New Year appeal for an amnesty for political prisoners. Today, he himself is on the other side of the prison wall.

The official reason for his arrest is a charge concerning the publication in Lithuania of *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*. I consider this to be a pretext convenient for the authorities, who can now conduct the investigation and trial far from his friends and from publicity. Kovalyov, a wise and talented man, has already devoted many years of his life to the defence of people's rights, to the struggle for openness and against illegality. He has been a member of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights from the very



beginning of its activity; he is a member of the Soviet group of Amnesty International; he is the co-author or author of fundamental documents which have marked out the path to be taken in the struggle for human rights in our country. Kovalyov has quietly done many good works and accomplished many difficult tasks. It was not fortuitous, for instance, that it was he who managed to put the mother of Simas Kudirka in contact with the U S Embassy, something which led in the end to Kudirka's release. In May of this year Kovalyov, together with T. Velikanova and T. Khodorovich, announced the renewed publication of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and his own responsibility for disseminating it. This was a courageous and historic step, but at the same time it was a challenge to those who had called the *Chronicle* libellous and anti-Soviet, those who fear truth and openness. His arrest yesterday was an act of revenge for his courage and integrity.

I appeal to Sergei Kovalyov's colleagues — the biologists of all countries.

I appeal to Amnesty International, of which Kovalyov is a member; all his activities have been in accordance with the spirit of this organization.

I appeal to the International League for the Rights of Man.

I appeal to everyone who prizes goodness, integrity and intellectual freedom.

I call for an international campaign for the release of Sergei Kovalyov.

28 December 1974
Andrei Sakharov.

* * *

Together with this statement A. D. Sakharov issued an appeal written by himself and Kovalyov on the eve of 27 December:

> Today, on the threshold of the New Year of 1975, we call for a general amnesty for prisoners of conscience throughout the world, for the release of those suffering for their convictions and for their selfless, non-violent defence of other people's rights. We write this in a great and tragic country, whose fate has an enormous influence on the life of the whole world.

* * *

### A Statement for the Press

I have the honour to be a friend of Sergei Kovalyov. He is one of the best people I know, perhaps the very best. I love him like a brother, and I admire his rare personal qualities as a man, a scholar and a citizen.

I share the values of Sergei Kovalyov and I approve of his activities in defence of human rights. If I myself do not take part in this activity, it is merely a matter of personal capabilities and talents, nothing more.

My approval of Sergei Kovalyov's activities extends also to those about which for some reason or another I don't know in detail. Sergei Kovalyov is not capable of immoral or dishonourable behaviour. Nor could he break the law, if we mean by this the law in its strict sense, without arbitrary

interpretations or qualifications.

And, of course, I trust Sergei Kovalyov more than all the investigators and procurators in the world.

I am surprised at the behaviour of those persons who carried out the arrest of Sergei Kovalyov. Do they really not understand that, by taking part in such an unjust and uscrupulous act, they have for ever — I repeat, for ever — deprived themselves of the possibility of being considered decent people?

I cannot but note that a nation which treats the best of its sons in such a stupidly wasteful manner provokes doubts about its own future. Nevertheless, I love this nation and wish to remain with it to the end, no matter what that end may be.

30 December 1974
K. Babitsky[1]

* * *

On 30 December the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR — T. Velikanova, G. Podyapolsky and T. Khodorovich — issued a statement, which was signed by another 52 people. The statement reads in part as follows:

> We who know Sergei Kovalyov, a man of great mind and heart, cannot accept this act of arbitrary injustice; nor can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that an honest and open campaign for human dignity, for the right to have and defend one's own convictions, leads only to prison.
>
> Sergei Kovalyov is a talented scientist, the author of more than sixty scientific articles, mostly in the field of the electro-physiology of pathogenic matter and the mechanisms of cellular interaction. Half of these were published after he was forced, in 1969, to leave the Laboratory of Mathematical Methods in Biology at Moscow University on account of his participation in the Action Group.
>
> For Kovalyov, the defence of human rights is a natural extension of his scientific work: a scientist cannot reconcile himself to lack of freedom in information, to forced conformity of opinion, to falseness. Kovalyov keeps to the same principles in his public activity as in his scientific work: a full knowledge of the facts, responsibility for reporting them accurately, exactitude in drawing conclusions. And always — openness and frankness.
>
> Sergei Kovalyov has openly spoken out in defence of a great many unjustly persecuted people; he has defended legality, free speech, humanitarianism. . . .
>
> Today, he himself is in need of support.
>
> We express our solidarity with Sergei Kovalyov in his noble activity. We demand his release.
>
> We call on all those who agree with us to come to his support.



# The Trial of Kheifets

From 9 to 13 September 1974 the Leningrad City Court, composed of presiding judge Karlov and people's assessors Karpov and Kosenko, heard the case of M. R. Kheifets. (For details of his arrest and the pre-trial investigation see *Chronicle* 32.) Kheifets was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The charges were put by procurator Ponomaryov. The lawyer Zerkin conducted the defence. The trial took place in open court.

In the indictment the accused was charged with preparing and storing (in 1971) two copies of A. Amalrik's article 'Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?' for the purpose of disseminating them, and with allowing three people to read this article in 1971-74; with storing and summarizing the book *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule* by Fainsod; also with reproducing the following items, in autumn 1973, for the purpose of disseminating them: the article 'Joseph Brodsky and Our Generation', a letter by Belinkov to the Union of Soviet Writers, and a letter by Grigorenko and Kosterin to the Budapest Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The court concerned itself mainly with the article 'Joseph Brodsky and Our Generation'. This article had been written by Kheifets as an introduction to a collection of Brodsky's works, which was being prepared for *samizdat* publication. He showed it to several of his literary acquaintances by way of consultation (it was this that was later termed dissemination). After making some unsuccessful attempts to alter the article in accordance with the comments these people had made about it, he put the draft-copy, with its crossings-out, in a desk, where it was found during a police search on 1 April.

All the incidents of 'dissemination' mentioned in the charges (with the exception of one of the three instances of 'dissemination' of A. Amalrik's article) were admitted either by the accused or by other witnesses.

At the beginning of the trial, Kheifets pleaded not guilty and declared that he was not anti-Soviet, but a dissenter; Kheifets explained that his interest in *samizdat* literature was the professional interest of a historian and literary critic. However, at the very end of the judicial proceedings, he changed his position. Perhaps the following dialogue with his lawyer influenced him in this:

> Lawyer: Kheifets, do you agree that the documents the court has been discussing are anti-Soviet in character?
>
> Kheifets: Yes.
>
> Lawyer: And what about your article on Brodsky?
>
> Kheifets: Yes, that is too, but the point is that it wasn't deliberately so.
>
> Lawyer: That doesn't matter. Did you show it to those persons who appear as witnesses in this case?
>
> Kheifets: Yes.
>
> Lawyer: Do you agree that these actions could have been classified as propagation?

Kheifets: Apparently, yes. Formerly I did not think they were, but having listened to the opinion of the court, I agree with it. Even though I did not do so deliberately, I carried out propaganda against Soviet authority.

Lawyer: Before the pre-trial investigation you did not admit any guilt. During the pre-trial investigation you admitted yourself guilty in part. I ask you now: do you consider yourself guilty, after these four days of your trial?

Kheifets: As I did not fully understand, I did not admit my guilt. But I am used to trusting qualified people. After listening to these jurists, I now understand that my actions come under Article 70, and I admit my guilt.

Lawyer: You fully admit your guilt?

Kheifets: Yes.

In answer to additional questions from the judge, Kheifets said:

> I formerly understood the word propaganda to mean deliberate dissemination. I did not understand that, even if I myself did not agree with the contents of the documents which I distributed, I could still be considered guilty in law.

As a result of this, the final speeches by the defence and the prosecution basically concerned the question of whether Kheifets had repented sufficiently for what he had done.

*Extracts from the Speech of the Procurator Ponomaryov*:

> In giving evidence during the pre-trial investigation and this court trial, the accused denied his guilt at first, but he always admitted the facts of the case to be true. Later, during this trial, the accused stated that he did not consider himself guilty, as agitation and propaganda had not been his aim. Now, in answer to the questions of the court and his lawyer, Kheifets has stated that he fully admits his guilt, but alleges that at the time he was committing the crime he did not realize the anti-Soviet nature of his activities and did not consider his actions to be anti-Soviet propaganda. Let us say quite clearly that this is a one-sided admission! The nature of a person's activity is not determined only by his own opinion of it, or that of others, nor by any evaluation of his behaviour and actions, but by the innate character of the actions themselves. No one could doubt for a moment that the objective circumstances show that Kheifets's actions were knowingly and deliberately aimed at subverting the Soviet political and social system. No one could doubt that Kheifets, because of his level of education, understood that the literature he stored and disseminated was anti-Soviet in nature . . . Kheifets not only distributed *samizdat* literature produced by others, he even wrote an anti-Soviet article himself. The article in question cannot be called anything else but anti-Soviet. In any case, there is no third choice in the ideological struggle: either you are for Soviet authority and for your motherland — or you are an enemy, you are fighting against Soviet authority. The facts show that Kheifets made the second choice: he was against Soviet authority, he was an enemy, he fought against it! . . .
>
> The accused has taken a step — no, not a step, a half-step — in the direction of repentance. But he has not repented . . . He has not repented because he has not revealed what he really feels in his soul . . . Even though Kheifets has admitted his guilt, I am not convinced of his sincerity, since he has said that it was only here in court that he understood his guilt. The point is that Kheifets, who knowingly took part in such activity, does not wish to repent or to admit his fault. And I cannot say that Kheifets was sincere when he acknowledged that he is fully guilty. Therefore I consider that he must be isolated from society for a lengthy period of time. I ask the court to recognize the full gravity of the offence committed and set the punishment at five years' imprisonment, to be followed by two years in exile.



*Extracts from the Speech of Lawyer Zerkin*:

> The procurator has based his request for such a severe sentence on the argument that Kheifets has not repented sufficiently. The procurator maintains that he is not convinced of Kheifets's sincerity in admitting his guilt. I consider that such a subjective attitude on the part of the procurator to this admission cannot be allowed to justify so severe a sentence. The term of imprisonment demanded by the procurator is almost twice as long as the sentence passed on the authors of the *samizdat* literature which Kheifets is accused of disseminating. The indictment states that during the pre-trial investigation Kheifets gave frank evidence and actively assisted in establishing the truth. And the procurator still says that Kheifets has not repented! He is not taking into account Kheifets's behaviour during confrontations with the witnesses, when Kheifets himself reminded the witnesses of details which showed his own guilt. This behaviour is different from that to which we are accustomed. And on the basis of all this, the procurator demands such a severe punishment . . . Kheifets's misfortune is that he gave this material to others with the aim — true, this is his version — of informing them. Kheifets understands that he is being tried not for storing this material, but for the act of passing it on to others. If he has passed anti-Soviet literature to another person, this is an action which the law calls propaganda. He has now understood this, and to ask the court to punish him by five years of imprisonment and two more years of exile is . . . well! (a gesture of total amazement).
>
> As regards the free discussion of various controversial questions, such discussions will, and must, go on taking place. However, Kheifets did not take into account the necessity of distinguishing problems caused by minor inadequacies and difficulties in our economic development and problems which involve the basic interests of our people, our party and our country. If a discussion is concerned with the first type of problem, it is necessary.

However, Kheifets's article on Brodsky is anti-Soviet in nature, it concerns the most fundamental interests of our country, and Kheifets could not but have known this, especially after his friends had unanimously pointed out to him the incorrectness of the article's political aspect. Having been made aware of the anti-Soviet nature of his article, Kheifets should not have continued distributing it to other people; such dissemination was a crime, and Kheifets should have realized this. I am happy to conclude that Kheifets has now realized it — perhaps rather late, but he has now understood this.

(. . .) Seven years' imprisonment is not the only penalty provided by this article of the law; the period of detention may be from six months upwards, or instead of imprisonment the penalty can be limited to one year in exile. I should like to hope that you, comrade judges, will react differently from the procurator to Kheifets's admission of guilt. The procurator's point of view seems to me to be subjective. You know about this man's life, the fact that he has two children, that he is himself a sick man. The case-file includes a report giving details of Kheifets's state of health. He has been in hospital, suffering from suspected heart-trouble. I hope that, taking all this into account, taking into account Kheifet's sincere repentance in court, you will account, taking into account Kheifets's sincere repentance in court, you will consider it possible to demonstrate the strength of our judicial system not by the severity of the sentence, but by its mercy! (Prolonged applause in the courtroom.)

The court sentenced Mikhail Kheifets to four years of imprisonment in a strict-regime camp and two years in exile.

On 22 October, at the appeal hearing, the Supreme Court of the R S F S R upheld the sentence passed by the Leningrad City Court.

According to people who were present in the courtroom, the judge Karlov behaved rudely to witnesses. In addition, he told the witness Maramzin, who was brought into the court under guard (see later in this issue), that for giving false evidence and refusing to give evidence he could be imprisoned for from two to seven years. Maramzin then asked the judge to tell him the penalties for false evidence and for refusing to give evidence, separately.

'Up to seven years,' Karlov repeated. When Maramzin said that he had heard that the penalty for refusing to give evidence was no more than six months of corrective labour, the judge said nothing. The procurator and defence lawyer also kept silent.

## The Trial of Ladyzhensky and Korovin

From 25 September to 10 October the trial took place in Riga of Lev Aleksandrovich Ladyzhensky (Doctor of Physics and Mathematics, acting head of the Laboratory of Mathematical Methods at the Baltic Scientific Research Institute



for the Fishing Industry) and of Fyodor Yakovlevich Korovin, senior engineer at the Latvian University Computer Centre, both charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (*Chronicle* 32). The presiding judge in the case was Lotko; the people's assessors were Shcherbakova and Ryazanskaya.

In the indictment, the accused (either singly or together) were charged with storing, reproducing (by retyping) and disseminating the following documents: the story *This is Moscow Speaking* (according to the indictment this story is about 'a campaign of terror against the leaders of the Communist Party and the government') and the story *The Man from M I N A P*, both by N. Arzhak (Yu. Daniel); the story *Lyubimov* (according to the indictment, it 'contains a slander against V. I. Lenin'); the article 'What is Socialist Realism?' by A. Tertz (A. Sinyavsky);[2] the book *The Technology of Power*[3] and the article 'The Partyocracy' by Avtorkhanov; an 'Open Letter' and a 'Letter to the P E N Club' by Belinkov; Conquest's work *The Great Terror*; the article 'The Russian Path of Transition to Socialism' by Academician Varga; the article by Amalrik, 'Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?'; A. Bolonkin's article, 'A Comparison of the Standard of Living of the Workers of Tsarist Russia, Those of the U S S R, and Those of Leading Capitalist Countries'; the article 'Tank Logic'; a 'Letter from Prague'; a letter 'To the Deputies of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet' by V. Moroz; the statement 'This Is How We Live!' by Solzhenitsyn; Ladyzhensky's own letter to the Procurator General of the U S S R about illegalities committed during trials (1967); a number of issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* (according to the indictment the *Chronicle* contains libels even on the 'theory of Marxism-Leninism'), and a number of issues of the *Messenger of the Russian Student Christian Movement* (*Vestnik R S K h D*). The criminally-indicted actions took place from 1966 to 1973.

It was noted in the indictment that the prosecution greatly appreciated the active assistance given by Ladyzhensky and Korovin during the pre-trial investigation; they had given very detailed and thorough evidence and should not be blamed for failing to remember a few dates and persons.

Both the accused pleaded guilty: they admitted that their opinions had been anti-Soviet (Ladyzhensky had been 'influenced by anti-Soviet radio broadcasts', while Korovin 'had been influenced by Ladyzhensky'); they also admitted the objectively anti-Soviet nature of their activities, although they denied that their intention had been to undermine Soviet authority.

In their final statements both men spoke mainly about their long and hard-working careers:

*Ladyzhensky*: I think the honourable procurator has accused me of having a love for capitalism and the bourgeois West. Such an accusation was never made during the investigation, such a thought never entered anyone's mind, and I cannot leave this charge unanswered. All my life I have hated the rule of idle people; all my sympathies are on the side of the workers, one of whom I consider myself. (Here Ladyzhensky listed a number of research jobs

at which he had worked — *Chronicle*.) I do not speak of this as a boast — these were not epoch-making discoveries. It was simply work, the ordinary work of an ordinary Soviet scientific worker. I am simply answering the procurator's accusation. For the last twenty years I have worked at the rate of fifteen hours a day. It was creative work, for which I lived and without which I could not live.

*Korovin*: I am guilty. I have committed a crime. I realized this too late (. . .) But all the same I cannot accept the prosecution's charge here that I am an anti-Soviet. I have never been anti-Soviet. I grew up in a Soviet family. I studied at a Soviet school. I worked as a metal craftsman in a mine for six years. I worked among Soviet people — workers who never told me I was anti-Soviet. In essence, I have remained a worker myself — I have had no higher education. I always tried to work hard and I was happy that my work was of use to everyone.

Both the accused asked the court to take into account the great value of their specialised work to the country. They reminded the court that their sons (Ladyzhensky's son is 14 years old, Korovin's is seven) had been left without fathers, who were necessary for their upbringing and development.

In addition, Ladyzhensky said in his closing speech:

> Finally, I regret most of all that so few people are present in the courtroom to hear my words (the trial took place in closed court — *Chronicle*). In the past, when such trials as this were discussed, people always said that illegalities were committed during the investigation, that the accused were subjected to pressure, that they were badly treated. I myself talked in this way. I want to say that if people are going to say such things about this trial, I hope they will not refer to me as a source. I have not noticed any violations of Soviet laws during this investigation and trial, although I was careful to look out for such things. The entire investigation and the judicial proceedings have taken place in strict accordance with all the norms of Soviet justice.

The court regarded the guilt of the accused as proved, and observed that their intentions could be deduced from the contents of the literature in evidence and the actions of the accused in acquiring, copying and storing it. The aims of the accused could also be deduced from the long-term nature of their activities, and from the fact that they became still more active after their warnings of 1968.

The court sentenced Ladyzhensky to three years in a strict-regime labour camp and three years in exile; Korovin was sentenced to two years in a labour camp and two years in exile.

As regards the following persons who figured in the case — Buiko, Tsvetkov, Plyukhanov, Baitman, Kilov, Rubinchik (Riga), Mirman, Margulis (Moscow), Prestinsky, Kuchinskaya (Leningrad) and Magelatov (Gelendzhik) — the evidence concerning them was set aside for separate consideration.



* * *

Ladyzhensky is now in Camp 36 in the Perm camp complex. He has been put to work on a 'vybro-stand'.

* * *

The *Chronicle* gives the addresses of the accused men's families:
Riga, ul. Kirova, 13, flat 6, Braika Abramovna Raizman (wife of Ladyzhensky).
Riga, ul. Suvorova, 32, flat 37, Zoya Korovina.

## Trials in Armenia

In Armenia in 1973-74 a series of trials took place in which Armenians were charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' and with 'organizational activity aimed at committing especially grave crimes against the State and participation in anti-Soviet organizations'. Under the latter article the accused were charged with membership in the organization 'The National United Party of Armenia', whose aim was the secession of Armenia from the U S S R.

In November 1973[4] **Bagrat Shakhverdyan** was sentenced to five years in a labour camp and two years in exile (he is now in camp 36 of the Perm complex)[5]; his co-defendant. **A. Tovmasyan,** was sentenced to three and a half years in a labour camp (he is now in camp 17 of the Mordovian complex). Tovmasyan has five children; the youngest is one year old.

In the spring of 1974 both **Ruben Khachatryan** and **Levon Badalyan** were sentenced to two and a half years in labour camps; **Kadzhik Saakyan, Norik Martirosyan** and **Samvel Martirosyan** all received sentences of three and a half years of labour camps (Badalyan, N. Martirosyan and S. Martirosyan were co-defendants). **Ashot Navasardyan** was sentenced to seven years of labour camps and two years in exile. During his trial Navasardyan asked that the procurator, Gambaryan, be replaced, on the grounds that during the pre-trial investigation the latter had threatened the defendant Airikyan with a sentence of 10 years in a special-regime labour camp. In addition, Navasardyan challenged the composition of the court on the grounds that since its members were all Communists they could not be objective towards him, a member of another party. These challenges were, of course, rejected. As a protest, Navasardyan refused to take part in the trial. He was charged with drawing up the party's programme and also with preparing and distributing around 1,000 leaflets. In 1969 he had been sentenced under the same article to two years in a labour camp.[6] Under the article corresponding to article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, **Anait Karapetyan** [a woman] was sentenced, in the summer of 1974, to

two years in a labour camp.

In the autumn of 1974 both **Gagik Arakelyan** and his co-defendant **Kostan Karapetyan** were sentenced to two and a half years in labour camps; **Razmik Markosyan** was sentenced to four years in labour camps and two years in exile; **Razmik Zograbyan, Azat Arshakyan** and **Paruir Airikyan** were each sentenced to seven years in labour camps and three in exile. (Markosyan, Zograbyan and Arshakyan were co-defendants.)

Navasardyan, Markosyan, Zograbyan and Arshakyan were born in 1950, A. Karapetyan was born in 1951 and Arakelyan and K. Karapetyan in 1956.

Since August 1974 prisoners in the K G B investigation prison in Erevan have been confined in subterranean cells, which were closed in 1937 and were opened up again only this year. These cells are cold and contain scorpions. In answer to Arshakyan's complaint to the procurator about the scorpions, his cell was disinfected while he was in it, after which for a long time he was seriously ill from poisoning by toxic fumes.

### The Trial of Airikyan

Paruir Airikyan was born in 1949 in Erevan. He did not complete his higher education.[7] In 1969 he was sentenced to four years in a labour camp under article 65, paragraph 1 of the Armenian Criminal Code (corresponding to article 70 of the R S F S R Code) and article 67 of the Armenian Code (equivalent to article 72 of the R S F S R Code). He served his sentence in the Mordovian camp complex, and was released in March 1973 (see *Chronicle* 33). On his return to Erevan, Airikyan was placed under administrative surveillance. On 5 March 1974 a people's court sentenced Airikyan to two years in a labour camp for breaking the rules of surveillance. After the trial he was sent to a K G B investigation prison. On 19 March 1974[8] new charges were brought against him — once again under articles 65 (this time paragraph 2) and 67 of the Armenian Code.

His case was tried from 29 October to 22 November by the Supreme Court of the Armenian S S R. At Airikyan's request the court was adjourned from 30 October to 5 November, so that he might prepare his defence (he had refused the services of a lawyer). The charges against Airikyan related to the letters he had written to his relations and friends from the Mordovian camps (these letters had been confiscated by the camp censors and turned over to the K G B); the charges also concerned the statements he had sent from the camp to the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian S S R and to the U N; he was also charged with preparing and distributing slogans and pamphlets which were 'anti-Soviet and slanderous in content and which defamed the Soviet political and social system', and with having 'links with foreign governments'.

In his speech for the prosecution, procurator Khudoyan[9] asserted that Airikyan had carried out anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda by means of sending the statements and letters from his labour camp.[10] The procurator cited



the following examples: in one of his letters, Airikyan wrote to his parents on the 50th anniversay of the foundation of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, saying that this was a tragic day for him, as 50 years ago Armenia had ceased to exist; in another letter, Airikyan used the phrase 'poor Armenia'; in his statement to the Supreme Soviet for the Armenian S S R, Airikyan wrote: 'Why are we, Armenians, serving our sentences in the labour camps of Mordovia? We should be in Armenia, not in Russia.'

All the witnesses, except one, denied that Airikyan had participated in any way in the reproduction and distribution of pamphlets or slogans. Only Ruben Khachatryan gave some sort of evidence during the pre-trial investigation about his involvement in this. At the trial he stated only that he had shown Airikyan a pamphlet, and that Airikyan had read it and given it back to him in silence. On being asked by the procurator when he had given the true evidence, at the pre-trial investigation or at the trial, Khachatryan replied: 'I've already forgotten, I don't remember, probably the first time, during the investigation.' On the basis of this testimony alone the procurator charged Airikyan concerning the pamphlets and slogans. In his defence speech, Airikyan said that he fully agreed with the texts of the slogans and pamphlets, but that he had taken no part in reproducing them.

The procurator based the charge of 'links with foreign governments' on the fact that, in a search of the Moscow flat of Elena Sirotenko, a list had been confiscated which contained the names of Armenians sentenced for 'nationalism', and that the 'Possev' publishing-house in Munich had published the same list. Sirotenko, who appeared as a witness at the trail, denied that she had received the list from Airikyan. Besides the list, a letter to a foreign addressee was also confiscated during the search at Sirotenko's flat; the letter contained a request to locate a relative of Airikyan and to inform him that Airikyan and other arrested Armenians needed help and support. The procurator interpreted this as a link between Airikyan and Sirotenko, who in turn had links with foreign countries. Finally, according to evidence given by Ruben Khachatryan's brother, Airikyan had asked him for a photograph of Ruben. On this ground the procurator stated: 'It is quite clear that Airikyan wanted this photograph so that he could send it abroad.'

The procurator asked for Airikyan to be sentenced to 10 years in a special regime labour camp and four years in exile.

At the beginning of the trial, when he was asked 'Do you plead guilty?' Airikyan replied: 'I do not consider myself guilty. In fact I've done nothing since my release from the Mordovian camps; I have not taken part in any activities. As for my opinions, they have remained as before, I have not altered them.'

In his defence speech Airikyan stated that since 1967 he had been a member of the National United Party of Armenia and that he still supported its aims and programme. He said that he wanted to see Armenia free and that he considered this to be possible only if Armenia exercised its right to self-

determination in accordance with the Soviet constitution.

In his final statement, Airikyan said, in part:

> Up to now there has been no country in which they try people for patriotism. But I am being condemned for my patriotic opinions . . . Soon I shall be sent away from my beloved Armenia, from my native land. This is very hard to bear, but I know that until there is an independent Armenia my place will be in a prison cell. You fear me greatly, and this shows that you are very weak. The strong fear no one. Only the very weak fear words, and answer words with brute force. Your attitude to me shows the weakness of your ideology. This is not my final speech. I think this is not the place for that. Long live a free and independent Armenia! My goal is not class struggle. I am interested only in achieving an independent Armenia. The people themselves will decide the question of social structure.

In the verdict the charge of 'links with foreign governments' was found to be unproven. The court sentenced Airikyan to seven years in a strict-regime labour camp and three years in exile. A sentence of the Supreme Court is not subject to appeal.

T. S. Khodorovich, a member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the U S S R, and Yu. F. Orlov, corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, issued the following statement:

> To the International Commission of Jurists
> To Amnesty International
>
> **Statement**
> We, having been present at two sessions of the trial of P. Airikyan, declare that neither during the pre-trial investigation nor at the trial was it proved that the accused had committed the crimes with which he was charged. Paruir Arikyan is not guilty. He has been condemned for his beliefs and opinions, not for his actions. This contravenes not only the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also Soviet laws.
> We ask Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists to acquaint themselves with the investigation and trial documents in the case of P. Airikyan, and to call for his exculpation and release.
> 22/11/74 Tatyana Khodorovich
> Yury Orlov



# The Trial of Shtern

On 31 December 1974, the Vinnitsa Regional Court sentenced Mikhail Shayevich Shtern to eight years in an intensified regime labour camp and confiscation of his property. Shtern was charged with receiving bribes and with swindling.

M. S. Shtern was born in 1918. He graduated from a medical institute in 1944 and has been working as a doctor for 30 years. In 1943, while he was a medical student, Shtern joined the Party. In 1947 Doctor Shtern founded in Chernovtsy the first dispensary in the Ukraine specializing in thyroid and endocrinological problems and he himself worked there as the Senior Doctor. In 1952 he moved to the town of Vinnitsa. In 1963 an endocrinological dispensary was founded in Vinnitsa. Since 1963 Shtern has been working as the director of the consultants' Polyclinic section of this dispensary.

M. S. Shtern has two children: Viktor and August. Viktor Shtern was born in 1941. In 1968 he graduated from the Physics Faculty at Novosibirsk University. In 1973 Viktor also graduated from the special department (the evening stream for 'engineers') in the Faculty of Higher Mathematics and Cybernetics at Moscow University. In September 1973 he went to live with his parents in Vinnitsa. However, in Vinnitsa Viktor could only get work delivering telegrams. August Shtern was born in 1945. In 1968 he graduated from the Faculty of Natural Sciences at Novosibirsk University as a 'medical-biologist'. In 1972 August received the higher degree of 'Candidate of Technological Sciences'. In 1973 he graduated from the evening course at the Mathematical-Mechanical Faculty of Leningrad University, after which he moved to Chernovtsy.

In November 1973 August Shtern applied to the Chernovtsy O V I R Department for permission to emigrate to Israel. In April 1974 M. S. Shtern was summoned to the Vinnitsa O V I R Department and was asked if he objected to his son's emigration to Israel. M. S. Shtern replied that his son was now sufficiently adult to decide things for himself, and that if his son wanted to emigrate he would raise no objections.

On 12 May 1974, when M. S. Shtern was away from home, Viktor Shtern and his mother were summoned on different pretexts by the authorities and delayed for four hours from returning home. During this time, unknown persons broke into the Shterns' apartment, for an unknown purpose. Realizing on their return home that this had happened, the Shterns sent a complaint to the Procurator General of the U S S R and the chairman of the K G B in Moscow. They have still received no reply to this complaint.

On 28 May August Shtern told his parents that he had been summoned to the O V I R Department. M. S. Shtern and his wife left for Chernovtsy. On 29 May M. S. Shtern was arrested in Chernovtsy. On the same day, searches were carried out at the Shterns' apartment in Vinnitsa and at two apartments in Chernovtsy. Officials of the police and the Vinnitsa City Procurator's Office

entered the Shterns' apartment without giving any warning or ringing the bell, but simply by opening the front door. Only three of the 10 men who entered showed their identity cards after insistent requests to do so. The search in Vinnitsa lasted for three days. The objects confiscated included microfilms and authors' copies of scientific articles belonging to Viktor Shtern, a list of scientific works and a notebook. Two invitatons to Israel were also confiscated. Kravchenko, a procurator of the investigation section of the Vinnitsa Regional Procurator's Office, who was in charge of the search, said in the presence of Viktor Shtern, his wife and the witnesses: 'The charges are related to your family's desire to go to the state of Israel.' The objects confiscated during the searches at Chernovtsy included August Shtern's Doctor of Sciences diploma, the manuscript of a scientific monograph and a scientific archive. On 29 May August Shtern was told by the Chernovtsy O V I R Department that he had been given permission to receive an exit visa to Israel, but that its provision was being delayed at the request of the Vinnitsa Regional Procurator's Office.

The investigation of M. S. Shtern's case was carried out by a team of investigators from the Vinnitsa Procurator's Office, with Kravchenko at their head. More than 2,000 people were interrogated, including anyone who had been a patient of Dr Shtern's. The openly biased nature of the investigation was obvious, for example, from the words used by a deputy procurator of the Ilenetsky dstrict, who, when seeking the necessary evidence from the witnesses M. Soloveichuk and E. Timoshenko, told them: 'We must save the lives of children who could be poisoned by the doctor Shtern.' The pre-trial investigation ended on 18 October.

However, as early as 14 November (a month before the trial!) a circular issued by the Ukrainian Ministry of Health, signed by Bratus, the Ukrainian Minister of Health, referring to a letter from the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice (dated 30 August) and to a report from the Ukrainian Procurator's Office (dated 12 October), stated:

> In the town of Vinnitsa M. S. Shtern, the former Head of the Polyclinic at the endocrinological health-centre, has been extorting money and asking patients to bribe him to give them consultations in the clinic without a note of recommendation from the regional hospitals. He has received more than 1,000 roubles from 50 patients. In addition, this money-grabber has sold medicines at excessively high prices.

M. S. Shtern is himself very ill (he has partial tuberculosis of the lungs in its progressive form, an ulcer ailment, stenocardia, a deformation of the spinal discs, a slipped disc and gall-stones). Nevertheless, all his wife's appeals for a change in his conditions of detention were in vain and M. S. Shtern spent half a year in prison until his trial.

The trial began on 11 December. The presiding judge was Orlovsky. Krivoruchko conducted the prosecution. The defence was represented by the Moscow lawyer D. M. Akselbant. The charges against the accused related to



19 episodes classified as 'swindling' and 21 episodes of 'receiving bribes'.

The 'swindling', according to the indictment, consisted in M. S. Shtern's having sold medicines for a higher price than they cost him. The indictment stated, for example: 'He apparently procured some of the "foreign" medicines in a dispensary, and then deceitfully sold them to patients and their relatives as "foreign" medicines.'

Referring to one of these 'swindling' episodes, the indictment stated: 'On 10 December 1971, after examining the youth I. M. Sushko, who was suffering from moderate retardation of sexual development, and having made out a prescription for him, Shtern offered two bottles of pereodine (worth 15 kopecks) to the youth's father, M. A. Sushko, and when Sushko asked him the price of this medicine, he replied 10 roubles, thus making a profit of nine roubles 70 kopecks.' At the trial, this indictment began to look quite different:

> M. A. Sushko (born 1928, a collective farmer): Shtern never asked me for money. I gave him 10 roubles. The medicine really helped my son. I went to him later for a check-up, but I gave him no money. My son is now well and serving in the army.

Procurator: You asked him for this medicine (these two bottles)?

Sushko: Shtern gave them to me himself. And the price was on the bottles.

Procurator: What price?

Sushko: 30 kopecks each.

Procurator: So why did you pay him 10 roubles, and not five roubles, not 30 kopecks?

Sushko: He didn't extort anything from me, I gave him the 10 roubles voluntarily.

Procurator: But at the pre-trial investigation you stated that Shtern had said the medicine cost 10 roubles.

Sushko: Oh, no, I gave him the 10 roubles voluntarily. He didn't extort anything from me.

Procurator: But did you ask Shtern how much the two bottles cost?

Sushko: Yes, and he told me, 30 kopecks each.

Judge: Can you guess why the Procurator keeps tormenting you? No? Remember what you said at the pre-trial investigation. These are your words: 'I asked Shtern how much the Choriogonin cost, he told me 10 roubles, and I gave him 10 roubles.'

Sushko: But I was right there in the consulting room . . .

Judge: Wait, answer the question. Did Shtern say how much the medicines cost?

Sushko: No, he didn't.

Judge: Then which is the truth — what you're saying now, in court, or what you said before?

Sushko: If you've got it written down there, that must be the truth.

Procurator: What did you write about this case in your statement?

Sushko: That I don't have anything against the doctor.
Procurator: Who wrote this? (Brings him a sheet of paper.) Read it aloud.
Sushko: (reading word by word) 'He said that the medicine cost 10 roubles.'
Judge: So did you write this, with your own hand? Tell us, did he name the price, or did he not? Remember Shtern's words, when he gave you the medicine.
Sushko: Two roubles, and something . . .
Judge: But you keep giving contradictory evidence; don't you see, you must tell us what really happened.
Sushko: Well, he said it cost 30 kopecks a bottle.
Procurator: Who's been talking to you about this matter?
Judge: You are not allowed to ask questions in that manner.
Procurator: I apologise. Did someone come to see you before the trial and try to tell you what to say here?
Sushko: The procurator . . . or someone . . . (Laughter in the courtroom.)
Judge: Are there any more questions?
Defence Lawyer: You have filed a statement that you have no complaint to make against Shtern?
Sushko: Yes, that's what I wrote.
Defence Lawyer: And you really don't have any complaint to make against him?
Sushko: No, I've nothing against him.
Defence Lawyer: Why did you give Shtern the 10 roubles? Was it because of his good manner of consultation, or what?
Sushko: Yes, it was because he gave me a good consultation, he explained to me everything about what was to be taken . . .
Defence Lawyer: When you came to Shtern's consulting room, did they receive you at once, and did Shtern examine your son?
Sushko: Yes.
Defence Lawyer: Before he gave you the medicine, did Shtern ask you for any money or did you hear people talking about the subject, in the corridor, perhaps?
Sushko: No, nobody said anything of the sort.
M. Shtern: Thank you for your evidence.
Procurator: I protest, Comrade Judge; witnesses are not thanked for giving evidence.
M. Shtern: Did you know that your son often came to me on his own for injections?
Sushko: Yes, he used to go.
M. Shtern: Did you give him any money for those drugs?
Sushko: No, I never gave him any money for that.

In spite of all this, the Sushko episode went from the indictment into the verdict without alteration.



According to the indictment, Shtern received 'bribes' for using his professional position as director of the consultants' polyclinic section to examine patients without referral, to refer patients to the Medical Board on Labour Fitness, to assign them to a hospital, or to receive them at his home . . .

Ninety-four witnesses were invited to testify for the prosecution at the trial. The defence attorney applied to the court for permission to call another 47 witnesses. Without giving any reason, the court allowed him to call only three of these.

In his speech for the prosecution, the procurator paid no attention to the fact that many of the charges in the indictment had not been confirmed in the court hearing, and merely repeated the indictment and demanded a punishment of nine years in a labour camp.

The defence lawyer, in his speech, drew the court's attention to the fact that his client had not been employed as a government official in the sense defined by the Criminal Code, and that consequently his actions (referring patients to the Labour Fitness Commission, assigning people to hospitals, or examining them medically) had no legal consequences, and that therefore no money received by him could be classified as a bribe. The defence lawyer asked for his client to be acquitted.

In his closing speech, Shtern fully denied all the charges made against him. He stated his conviction that the whole 'case' against him had been fabricated in connection with his family's wish to emigrate to Israel.

On 31 December 1974, after repeated and mysterious delays, the verdict was pronounced.

## A Trial in Vilnius

From 2 to 24 December, 1974 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR heard a case arising out of case number 345. The presiding judge was A. Bataitis; the state prosecutor was Bakučionis, the First Deputy Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR. The accused were:

Petras Plumpa, born in 1939. From 1958 to 1965 he had already served a seven-year term of imprisonment under article 68, paragraph 1. He was arrested on 19 November 1973, and charged under articles 68 (paragraph 2) and 70, and also with forging a passport.

Povilas Petronis, born in 1911, arrested on 19 November 1973 and charged under articles 68 (paragraph 1) and 70.

Jonas Stašaitis, born in 1921, arrested on 4 December 1973, article 199-1.

Virgilijus Jaugelis, born in 1948, arrested on 4 April 1974, article 199-1.

A. Patrubavičius, born in 1935, arrested on 20 November 1973; charged under the article 'violation of the rules of traffic safety'.

(Articles 68, 70 and 199-1 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code correspond to

articles 70, 72 an 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.)

The arrests and investigations were carried out in connection with Case 345 (see *Chronicles* 30, 32). The defendants (apart from Patrubavičius) were charged with duplicating and disseminating the following 'anti-Soviet literature': *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, several Lithuanian books and translations of Russian *samizdat* materials. In addition, Plumpa and Stašaitis were charged with making an 'Era' copying machine and a duplicator; and Jaugelis was charged with having collected signatures for the 'Memorandum' of Lithuanian Catholics (see *Chronicle* 24). Petrubavičius, as the trial evidence shows, helped Plumpa and Petronis to reproduce *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and other literature, but at the trial he was charged only with a traffic offence.

In answer to the judge's question, Jaugelis pleaded not guilty. Plumpa, Petronis and Stašaitis pleaded 'guilty in part'. Petrubavičius pleaded guilty.

When the defendants were asked to give their nationality, Plumpa described himself as 'a stateless Lithuanian', Stašaitis said he was 'a Lithuanian, a citizen of Lithuania', Jaugelis said he was 'a citizen of Lithuania'. Petronis and Patrubavičius said they were citizens of the U S S R. In explanation of his answer, Plumpa said that after his release from a labour camp, he could not get permission to register anywhere as a resident, nor could he obtain permanent employment. Before his marriage, wanting to ensure a peaceful, normal life for himself and his family, he had changed his surname in his passport to 'Pluiras'. During the trial Plumpa explained that he had hoped that if his forgery were discovered he would serve a two-year sentence and emerge from the camps not as a 'political offender' but as a 'criminal', which he believed would have ensured him the protection of the authorities.

The prosecutor, in his speech on 16 December, called for Plumpa to be sentenced to five years in a strict-regime labour camp for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' and three years for forging his passport; he also asked that these terms should run consecutively to make a total of eight years. (The article of the Criminal Code referring to sentences 'for multiple offences' allowed such a 'combination' in this case, he said.) The procurator asked for Petronis to be given five years in a strict-regime camp, and Jaugelis three years in an ordinary-regime camp. In the case of Stašaitis, the procurator proposed that his frank evidence and acknowledgement of his mistakes be taken into account: he asked the court to sentence him to two years in an ordinary-regime camp. For Patrubavičius, the procurator proposed one and a half years in an ordinary-regime camp.

Petronis's lawyer spoke of his client's humanity and selflessness, of his desire to do good, and of other people's respect for him, especially for his active participation in the campaign against alcoholism. The lawyer asked the court to take into account the fact that Petronis had openly given evidence concerning his production of religious literature and had expressed regret that he had distributed *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*. He had



not seen anything anti-Soviet in this publication and he had no anti-Soviet aims in what he did. The attorney asked that the actions of Petronis be reclassified as falling under article 199-1, and also made reference to his client's age and weak state of health.

Stašaitis's lawyer asked the court to take into account his client's admission that he had made a grave error in reproducing *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*. He also asked the court to take into consideration his client's cooperation during the investigation. In concluding his speech, the attorney expressed the wish that his client would see in the New Year together with his family. Patrubavičius's lawyer expressed amazement that his client's case, concerning a traffic offence, was being included in a trial of this kind. He asked that the court limit his client's sentence to the 13 months he had already spent in pre-trial detention.

At the beginning of the trial Plumpa had refused the services of a lawyer, declaring that in cases of this kind lawyers were of no help and only made matters worse, and that the money he would have to pay a lawyer was needed by his family. Jaugelis also declined the services of a lawyer. Plumpa and Jaugelis said that their defender would be the Lord God.

In his defence speech Plumpa stated that during the pre-trial investigation threats had been made that his case would be 'loaded' in order to give him a 10-year sentence. He explained that after 1965 he had been involved in religious, not nationalist, activities and had not set out to undermine Soviet power. He did not consider *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* to be an anti-Soviet publication.

After the judge had interrupted Jaugelis's defence speech at the very beginning, Jaugelis declined to defend himself any further.

In his concluding statement Petronis said that he had not taken part in anti-Soviet activity. He admitted that his distribution of *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* had been a mistake, but he asked which other publications allowed free debate with the atheists. Petronis said that the main purpose of his life was apostolic activity, trying to bring some good to people. The charges of slander were unjustified and he found them painful. Therefore articles 68 and 70 were not relevant to his actions. Referring to his feeble health, Petronis asked to be allowed to spend his sentence in an ordinary-regime camp.

Stašaitis, in his concluding statement, said that *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* was of no benefit to the religious life of believers; and that the facts contained in it were subjective and biased. In pre-trial detention Stašaitis had understood that nowadays the need was not for an intensification of the struggle against atheists, but for a rapprochement with them.

In his closing speech Plumpa asked how long the punishment which he had been undergoing since his release from the first camp would continue. He exclaimed: 'What kind of ideological work could be harmed by my work in the Vilnius sanitation department where I carried clay around in a bucket?'

In concluding, he expressed the hope that his family, at least, would escape persecution.

Jaugelis, in his closing statement, accused the Soviet authorities and the atheists of persecuting Catholics. The atheist authorities called believers illiterates and remnants of the past, did not allow them to bring up their children in accordance with their convictions, and closed their churches. 'Who will speak out in our defence, if all the government posts are filled by atheists?' he asked. Jaugelis said that 'people are not brave enough to be guided by truth and justice; they do what government officials tell them to. Millions of martyrs have suffered and died for Christ and for preaching His gospel. Let the atheists not imagine that today there is no-one like that left: there are still those who are not afraid to suffer for the truth, for religion and the Church.'

On 24 December the court gave its verdict. In the verdict it was stated to be a crime that Plumpa had taught people how to bind prayer-books. A number of charges against Plumpa were struck from the indictment, as they were not proved. The court sentenced Plumpa to five years' imprisonment under articles 68 (paragraph 2) and 70 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code and to three years for forging his passport, making a total punishment of eight years in a strict-regime camp. Taking into account the advanced age and weak health of Petronis, the court sentenced him to four years in a strict-regime camp. Jaugelis received a sentence of two years in an ordinary-regime camp. Patrubavičius was sentenced to 13 months, and Stašaitis to one year; both of them having already spent this term in detention during the pre-trial investigation, they were released.

The details of the trial are given in *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, number 13. It is notable that although during pre-trial investigation and the trial much attention was devoted to the production and distribution of prayer-books (for example it emerged that Petronis has produced 20,000 copies and had managed to distribute 16,000 of them), and although the prayer-books were confiscated during the searches, this activity was not openly formulated as a charge.

## Arrests, Searches, Interrogations

On 24 July 1974 the writer **Vladimir Rafailovich Maramzin** (see *Chronicle* 32) was arrested in Leningrad. The arrest was preceded by open police surveillance over many days and by three interrogations, at the last of which Maramzin was handed a summons to appear at a further interrogation on 25 July. However on 24 July a search was carried out at his house, with a warrant, and after the search he was arrested. It appears that the investigator in charge of Maramzin's case is Major Ryabchuk, one of the investigators in the Kheifets case. The circumstances of Maramzin's arrest are described in the anonymous



*samizdat* document 'Leningrad, Case Number 15', dated August 1974.

On 2 August Iosif Brodsky issued a statement in defence of Maramzin (see *A Chronicle of Human Rights*, number 10).

* * *

On 19 July and again in the middle of December searches connected with the Maramzin case were carried out at the Moscow apartment of **Professor A. Voronel** (see *Chronicle* 32). During the July search, those in charge obviously knew in advance where everything was kept. The December search was carried out after A. Voronel had received permission to emigrate to Israel. All issues of the *samizdat* journal *Jews in the U S S R* were confiscated, including one in which were published some stories by Maramzin. At the end of December 1974 A. Voronel left the U S S R.

* * *

In the autumn of 1974 the abstract artist **Ganibari (Boris) Mukhametshin** was arrested in Moscow; he is an architect by education and a member of the graphic artists' group committee. He was charged under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. According to rumour, Mukhametshin is charged with designing some posters of an anti-Soviet tendency, and of trying secretly to send these works to the West. There is a report that Mukhametshin is co-operating with the investigators and, in particular, that he is giving testimony against young 'leftwing' artists.

Mukhametshin's wife Charlotte, an American citizen, had left for the U S A before the arrest of her husband. (Mukhametshin himself was not allowed to go abroad.)

He took part in the Izmailovsky Park exhibition, and his abstract works have been exhibited three times in the U S A.

It is known that many of his acquaintances have refused to give evidence during the investigation.

Mukhametshin's mother and his sister Roshaniya (Roza), who has a two-month-old child, lived in Moscow, at Budyonny Prospekt 27, flat 125.

* * *

In the spring of 1974 a number of people were arrested in the town of Gorodenka, in Ivano-Frankovsk region. They were charged with preparing and disseminating Ukrainian *samizdat*.

* * *

In early October 1974 **Oksana Popovich** was arrested in Ivano-Frankovsk. It has become known that one of those arrested in Gorodenka gave evidence to the effect that Popovich had given him Ukrainian *samizdat*, and that a few years earlier she had collected money to pay for the defence of Ukrainian political

prisoners. The investigation is being conducted by the Procurator's Office.

Oksana Popovich is 47 years old; she has already spent 10 years in imprisonment on a political charge. Not long before her arrest she underwent an operation, and she was walking with crutches. She was to have undergone a further operation. She has as a dependant her 85-year-old blind mother. Until her arrest Popovich was working at an electricity power station.[11]

* * *

On 20 November 1973 a search was carried out at the apartment of **Vlada Antano Lapienis,** an organist, in Vilnius. The search was led by First Lieutenant Gudas. A number of sacks of religious literature was confiscated (part of this literature had been produced on an 'Era' duplicating machine). The books were taken away without an inventory being made, nor were they marked in any way.

After the search Lapienis was summoned eight times for questioning, the last time being in about June 1974.[12] During the interrogations he was threatened with imminent arrest and a seven-year sentence. At one of them, investigator Jankauskas asked him to give evidence corroborating statements purportedly made by the priest Buliauskas, who was said to have been arrested. In actual fact, Buliauskas had not only not been arrested, but had not even been interrogated by the K G B.

* * *

On 20 September 1974 **Anatoly Sergeyevich Kudinov** (born in 1955) was summoned to the police station. There he was told that he was suspected of a theft, and he was subjected by force to a search. A copy of *Vestnik RSKhD No. 107* [*Messenger of the Russian Student Christian Movement*] and a book about Bukovsky were found in Kudinov's briefcase and confiscated. After this, Kudinov was escorted to his home (Moscow, ul. Golovacheva, 17, flat 171), where a search was already going on, also 'on suspicion of theft'. However, those carrying out the search was interested only in *samizdat.* A great deal of *samizdat* was confiscated (for example two copies of Berdyaev's *The Origin and Meaning of Russian Communism*).

* * *

In 1972 **G. M. Prokhorov,** a junior research officer with a doctoral degree at the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of the U S S R Academy of Sciences, took a trip to Bulgaria. There he met his acquaintance, Catherine Lvova, a French citizen of Russian descent, who had once been a graduate student of Russian literature at Leningrad State University and was now living in Bulgaria. After his return to the U S S R, Lvova, Martynov and Belyakovsky (all Russian by descent and living in Bulgaria) were arrested on charges of importing forbidden literature, and at the beginning of 1974 they were tried



by a Bulgarian court. At the trial, Martynov stated that they had sent similar literature to the U S S R through Prokhorov. Prokhorov was not called as a witness either during the pre-trial investigation or at the trial.

After the trial was over, his home was searched and he was repeatedly summoned to Moscow for interrogations. Prokhorov categorically denied having imported anything which was forbidden. In spite of this, he was 'cautioned' according to the decree of 25 December 1972 (see *Chronicles* 30, 32).

In August the institute received a document from the K G B, in which the verdict of the Bulgarian court was referred to as a fact which discredited Prokhorov. A meeting took place in which the following persons participated: the director of the institute, the head of the Ancient Russian Literature department (in which Prokhorov worked), a K G B representative and Prokhorov himself. Prokhorov again categorically denied being guilty of anything.

In the autumn of 1974 a general meeting of Prokhorov's department discussed his 'behaviour'. The head of the institute's personnel department said that applications should be sought for Prokhorov's job in early 1975, ahead of schedule. Prokhorov submitted a complaint about the K G B to the Procurator's Office.

* * *

In the summer of 1974 a photocopy of *Gulag Archipelago* was confiscated from Alekseyev-Popov, an assistant professor of Odessa University. He told the K G B that he had received it from Gleb Pavlovsky. Pavlovsky stated that he had received the photocopy from **Vyacheslav Igrunov.** On 9 August Igrunov was taken to K G B headquarters for questioning. During the interrogation he denied Pavlovsky's statement and asked for a personal confrontation with him. On the same day Igrunov's wife, Svetlana Artsimovich [see *Chronicle* 11] gave K G B officials a number of *samizdat* works (without any search being ordered by them). Later, Oleg Kursa, who had come to visit Igrunov on that day, was detained at Igrunov's apartment. A number of works were taken from his briefcase: a photocopy of *Gulag Archipelago, Forever Flowing* by V. Grossman, two copies of the two-volume edition of Mandelshtam's works, and a microfilm of a book by Avtorkhanov. When questioned, Kursa stated that he had bought all the books in Simferopol and that the microfilm had been given to him as a present, and he had no idea what it contained.

Between 9 August and 4 September Igrunov and Kursa were questioned four times. In connection with Pavlovsky's evidence the K G B also questioned A. Katchuk, V. Sudakov, S. Makarov, Yu. Shurevich and Svetlana Artsimovich.

On 3 September Pavlovsky, Kursa and Igrunov were 'cautioned' according to the decree of 25 December 1972 (see *Chronicles* 30, 32). Pavlovsky and Kursa signed the 'record of caution', but Igrunov refused to do so. Pavlovsky was 'cautioned' for having 'over many years received and disseminated literature which was ideologically harmful and anti-Soviet in nature'. Kursa was 'cautioned' for having 'procured and stored' such literature. In signing the

'record of caution', Kursa added in writing that the nature of the literature was unknown to him, as he had not had time to read it. Igrunov was 'cautioned' for having 'procured, stored and disseminated' literature. As his grounds for refusing to sign the 'record of caution' Igrunov stated that he had *not* procured any literature which was 'ideologically harmful and anti-Soviet in content'.

On 4 September Igrunov was again summoned for a 'chat'. On this occasion the investigator, who refused to give his name, spoke in a very loud voice, sometimes rising to a shout, and hammered on the table, demanding that Igrunov should answer *all* questions. Among other things, the investigator said: 'You're not Chalidze, not Solzhenitsyn, not Sakharov. We'll find a way to deal with you, though, just as we dealt with them. Do you know what happened to Solzhenitsyn? We'll soon put Sakharov in his place, too. Just wait — you'll see for yourself.' Igrunov once more explained, in greater detail, his reasons for refusing to sign the 'record of caution': first, he did not consider it a proved fact (after all there had been no investigation or trial) that he had distributed or stored anti-Soviet literature; and second, he considered he had a right to read any kind of literature and to distribute any non-criminal literature, even if the investigators called it anti-Soviet. Igrunov stated that the *Chronicle of Current Events,* for example, was not in his opinion criminal literature. He asked the investigator either to show him a list of anti-Soviet literature or to give him a precise definition of what constituted 'anti-Soviet literature'.

In October lecturers at political seminars in Odessa spoke of the ideological sabotage carried out by Reiza Palatnik (see *Chronicle* 20) and Nina Strokatova (*Chronicle* 28), and of how, after Palatnik and Strokatova had 'received their just punishment', Igrunov had become the 'leader of the group'.

### A Chronicle of Case 345

On 27 August 1974, in the city of Vilnius, **Nijole Sadunaite** was arrested for making copies of *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* on her typewriter.

* * *

On the night of 27-28 November 1974, on the orders of the K G B attached to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, a search was carried out at the Moscow apartment of **A. N. Tverdokhlebov** in connection with case 345. Tverdokhlebov was leaving a cinema when he was picked up by police and escorted to the scene of the search.

During the search the following were confiscated: three issues of *A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* in a foreign English-language edition; a copy of *Gulag Archipelago;* three issues of *A Chronicle of Human Rights;* one issue of the *Bulletin of the Council of Relatives of Evangelical-Christian Baptist Prisoners*; documents in defence of civil rights; lists of

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1 The Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights, Moscow, summer 1975. *L to r:* Sergei Kovalyov, Tatyana Khodorovich, Tatyana Velikanova, Grigory Podyapolsky, Anatoly Levitin. 2 Vladimir Albrekht, secretary of the Moscow group of Amnesty International. 3 Leonard Ternovsky, doctor, and Sofia Kallistratova, barrister. 4 Sergei Khakhayev *l* and Vadim Gayenko *r*, both sentenced in Leningrad in 1967 in the case of the 'Communards'. 5 Yury Gastev *r*, Moscow mathematician, with Nikolai Vilyams and Lyudmila Alekseyeva. 6 Prof. Andrei Snezhnevsky, leading official psychiatrist.

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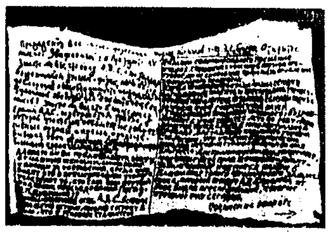

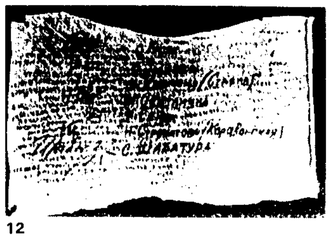
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7 Oksana Popovich, Ukrainian political prisoner. 8 Stefania Shabatura, Ukrainian prisoner with a tapestry she had woven. 9 Vladimir Balakhonov, a U N employee sentenced to 12 years for briefly defecting in Switzerland. 10 Vladlen Pavlenkov, Gorky history lecturer, with his wife Svetlana in 1977, after his release. 11 Mikhail Kheifets, Leningrad writer. 12 Facsimile of an appeal by seven women prisoners written in 1973 on a scrap of cloth and smuggled out of their camp. Both sides of the cloth are shown. The last signature is Shabatura's. The appeal is in defence of Dr Sakharov.

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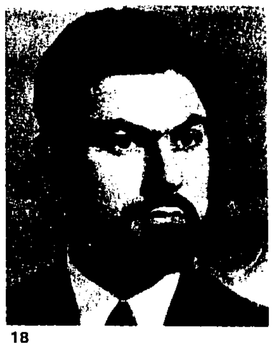
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13 A group of Moscow Jews who staged a number of demonstrations in 1973-74. On the left of the front row is Mark Nashpits and next to him is Boris Tsitlyonok, both later exiled. 14 Dr Mikhail Shtern, Ukrainian Jewish doctor. 15 Gilel Butman, Leningrad Jew. 16 Valery Buiko, Riga Jew. 17 Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Georgian activist, with his doctor wife Manana. 18 Vladimir Markman, Sverdlovsk Jew.

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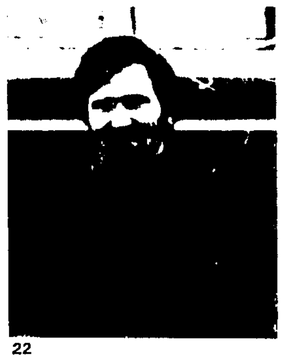
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19 Paruir Airikyan, Armenian student and nationalist. 20 Kadzhik Saakyan, Armenian teacher. 21 Alvidas Seduikis / and Jonas Volungevicius, Lithuanians who served camp terms for political offences in the late 1960s. 22 Algirdas Petrusevicius, Lithuanian ex-political prisoner. 23 Balys Gajauskas, Lithuanian prisoner photographed in a labour camp in 1964. 24 Vasily Lisovoi, Ukrainian philosopher, with his family. 25 Oksana Meshko, campaigner for her son Alexander Serhiyenko, imprisoned in 1972 in wave of Ukrainian arrests.

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'6 Plainclothes men enter the yard of a house in Kaluga to break up a Pentecostals' meeting, 14 August 974. 27 One of the plainclothes men tries to avoid being photographed. 28 Pentecostal leader Ivan edotov with his wife. 29 Ekaterina Olitskaya, author of memoirs about the Socialist Revolutionaries, ho died in 1974. 30 Leonid Borodin with his wife Larissa.

# ОНИ ПЕЧАТАЛИ ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ

Пидченко Виталий Иванович 1941 г. рож., прож. Харьков, пос. Песочин, ул. Новоселовская 18.

Гриценко Екатерина Ивановна 1943 г. рож., прож. Киевская обл. с. Малая Салтановка.

Никулов Виктор Анатольевич 1950 г. рож., прож. г. Фергана, ул. Омская 18.

Тарасова Зинаида Петровна 1942 г. рож., прож. Курская обл. д. Ворощнево.

Коротун Ида Даниловна 1938 г. рож., прож. Ворошиловград, Ленинский райсовет, ул. 2 Высокая 10.

Кожемякина Татьяна Сарионовна 1937 г. рож., прож. Жданов, с. Талаковка, ул. „40 лет Октября" 88.

Львова Надежда Герасимовна 1946 г. рож., прож. Краснодарский край, станица Елизаветинская, ул. Дубинская 109.

## ВСЕМ ХРИСТИАНАМ МИРА
## ВСЕМ, КОМУ ДОРОГИ ПРИНЦИПЫ СВОБОДЫ

### ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНОЕ СООБЩЕНИЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВА «ХРИСТИАНИН»

*Спасай изъятых на смерть, и неужели отклонишься от обреченных на убиение?*
Пр. 24, 11

24 октября 1974 г. в районе Цесис, хутор Лигукалис, Латвийской ССР, были арестованы 7 сотрудников нашего издательства вместе с печатным оборудованием и материалами. Это произошло в то время, когда они готовили 30 тысяч Евангелий — Новогодний подарок верующим.

Мы постоянно были готовы к этому, «ибо ... нам ... Бог судил быть как бы приговоренными к смерти...» (1Кор.4,9). И все же такое известие принесло нам большую скорбь.

Арест наших друзей является грубым нарушением Конституции, принципов Всеобщей Декларации прав человека и всех Международных Конвенций. Более того, 5 июня 1971 г. мы офи-

31 Facsimile of p.1 of the Baptist appeal 'To all the Christians in the World, to all who prize the principles of Freedom', reporting on the arrest, on 24 October 1974, of the seven Baptist printers pictured. The appeal is dated 26 October and was printed on a different Baptist clandestine printing press.

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ФОТОИЛЛЮСТРАЦИИ

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32, 33 Nikolai Loiko, a 17-year-old Baptist, after he had been shot by a policeman during a Baptist youth meeting in Mogilev, Belorussia, on 2 May 1974. He was wounded in the arm and chest, but survived. Photograph taken from a Baptist *samizdat* journal. 34 Baptist pastor Georgy Vins, photographed in his camp in 1976. 35 Photographs taken in the home of Baptist leader Gennady Kryuchkov in Tula on 26 April 1974. No.1 shows an electricity meter in the house, which was gradually dismantled on that day and found to contain a listening device.

36 Cornelius Tissen

37 Viktor Verner

38 Ivan Fertikh

39 Viktor Klink

40 Valentin Klink, brother of Viktor

41 Gergard Fast

42 Peter Bergmann

43 Valdemar Shults

44 Lyudmila Oldenburger

Nine Soviet Germans who were imprisoned in 1974 for their part in the German emigration movement.

addresses of political prisoners and their families; lists of addresses of German families wishing to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany (about 2,000 families); materials about the situation in labour camps and prisons; notebooks; a typewriter; and a tape recorder.

On 28 November Andrei Tverdokhlebov issued a 'Statement on the Search of 27/28 November', ending with the words: 'However, they have not yet taken away my fountain pen.'

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In December 1974, a trial arising from case 345 took place (see above, 'A Trial in Vilnius').

* * *

On 23 December 1974, on the orders of the K G B attached to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, six searches were carried out in connection with case 345 in Moscow and the suburbs of Moscow. The searches were at the apartments of **Sergei Kovalyov** (see above, 'The Arrest of Sergei Kovalyov'), **Andrei Tverdokhlebov, A. P. Plyusnina** (the search warrant stated: 'Carry out a search at the apartment of A. P. Plyusnina, as it is the actual place of residence of G. I. Salova . . . for the purpose of confiscating items and documents belonging to G. I. Salova which are relevant to the case'), **G I. Salova** (in the township of Chernogolovka near Moscow), **Malva Landa** and **Irina Korsunskaya.**

During the searches all *samizdat* and all typewriters were confiscated. In the search at Plyusnina's apartment (see the excerpt from the search warrant, above), notebooks belonging to her husband, Yury Shikhanovich, were among the material confiscated. In the search at Salova's home, all the letters written from a labour camp by her husband, Kronid Lyubarsky, were confiscated, although these letters had passed the official camp censorship (later the letters were returned, after many categorical demands by Salova). In the search at Korsunskaya's flat, a photograph of P. G. Grigorenko was confiscated. The greater part of the material confiscated during the searches had no connection with Lithuania.

After the searches Kovalyov, Tverdokhlebov, Salova and Landa were summoned for questioning.

* * *

On 23 December 1974 eight searches were carried out in Lithuania in connection with case 345, followed by two more on 24 December. In the course of a week about 40 people were questioned. Some interrogations took place on 25 December, Christmas Day in the Catholic calendar.

In May 1973 **Balis Gajauskas** (see *Chronicle* 24) returned to Kaunas after serving 25 years in labour camps and prisons. On 23 December 1974 a search was carried out at his home. During the search the K G B confiscated a list of 135 Lithuanian prisoners and some money, which they reckoned was a mutual-

aid fund for the families of political prisoners. After the search Gajauskas was taken to Vilnius and interrogated in custody for three days. When he was asked why the list confiscated from him was identical to the list confiscated from Sergei Kovalyov (see above, 'The Arrest of Sergei Kovalyov'), he replied that he could not explain this coincidence and that he did not know Sergei Kovalyov. Neither did he know the other Muscovites whose addresses had been written into his notebook by chance.

**Algirdas Petrusevičius** was questioned on three days in succession — 23, 24 and 25 December. He was asked in particular about Gajauskas and Galina Lyubarskaya (as the Lithuanian K G B refers to G. Salova).

**Birute Pašiliene** was also questioned on three consecutive days after her home had been searched. Her husband, **A. Pašilis,** was also questioned. He was asked: 'Does Gajauskas often come to visit you?' 'Who gave you *Gulag Archipelago* — Gajauskas or Lyubarskaya?' The couple were reminded that their son, Alexis Pašilis, had only recently been released from a labour camp (see *Chronicle* 33).

Many of those interrogated were asked about Gajauskas and Kovalyov. Katkus from Plunge stated that he had given Gajauskas a list of former political prisoners living in his area without residence permits and in difficult material circumstances. (He himself was in the same situation.)

### A Chronicle of Case 38

Issue 32 of the *Chronicle* has already reported that the Vladimir region of the K G B is conducting an investigation of case 38, which concerns the journal *Veche*.

* * *

On 15 August a second search was carried out at the apartment of the Moscow mathematician **Yu. A. Gastev** (see *Chronicle* 32). The following were confiscated: 32 issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events;* issue 1 of the journal *Veche;* a typewriter belonging to someone else; photographs of friends of Gastev, and a copy of Mandelshtam's essay 'Chaadayev'. On 3 September Gastev was questioned at the K G B headquarters in Vladimir by Major P. I. Pleshkov, who is in charge of case 38. During Gastev's interrogation he was threatened with arrest. On 1 September a group of Muscovites appealed to world public opinion in the following statement:

*Appeal to World Public Opinion*

We appeal to world public opinion on behalf of Yury Gastev, the well-known Moscow mathematician and philosopher, who is now in a dangerous situation. He is the author of scores of academic works and has a doctoral degree in philosophy. His work is well known in the U S S R and abroad. He is a member of some foreign academic societies.



During the last three months Yury Gastev has been subjected to searches on three occasions. He has been repeatedly summoned for questioning. He has been threatened with arrest. However the most astonishing circumstance in Gastev's case is that the formal pretext for this persecution is the so-called case 38, in which the Vladimir K G B is investigating the Russian nationalist journal *Veche,* a journal with which Gastev has not the slightest connection.

It is hard to understand what exactly the security organs hope to gain by linking Gastev with the *Veche* case, which is itself artificially manufactured and blown-up.

We would remind world public opinion that Yury Gastev has already spent four years in Stalinist camps in the post-war years, when he was only a youth. His father, Aleksei Gastev, an outstanding worker and revolutionary, a scholar and a poet, the director of the Central Labour Institute, was arrested by the N K V D in 1938 and shot. His mother and two of his brothers spent many years in Stalinist labour camps and prisons. Another brother was killed at the front during the war with the Germans.

Yury Gastev began to be persecuted again in 1968, for his defence of the mathematician A. Esenin-Volpin. Since then he has periodically been deprived of employment.

We call on the world academic public to come to the defence of Yury Gastev. We appeal especially to mathematicians and philosophers.

[Signed] Igor Shafarevich, Valentin Turchin, Mikhail Agursky, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, Yury Orlov, Anatoly Levitin-Krasnov, Vladimir Albrekht. Alexander Lavut, Grigory Rozenshtein, Tatyana Velikanova, Sergei Kovalyov.

1 September 1974, Moscow.

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In early autumn 1974 **Sergei Pirogov** (*Chronicle* 32) was visited in camp by N. N. Belyayev, an investigator of Arkhangelsk K G B, who questioned him about V. Osipov and the journal *Veche*.

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From July to October 1974 the following people were questioned in connection with case 38: I. V. **Ovchinnikov,** A. M. **Ivanov,** Viktor **Polenov** and Yury **Pirogov** (both of Yaroslavl), Ivan **Cherdyntsev,** Svetlana **Melnikova,** Aida **Khmeleva, Ilyakov** (of Kiev), Adel **Naidenovich,** Georgy **Petukhov,** and **Zaitsev.**

During the interrogations references were made to evidence given by a certain Dyakonov.

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On 27 November 1974, in the town of Aleksandrov in Vladimir region, searches were carried out at the homes of **V. N. Osipov** and **V. S. Rodionov.** The warrant

for the search of Osipov's home stated that 'investigations conducted under case 38 have established that V. N. Osipov has published and disseminated the illegal typewritten journals *Veche* and *Zemlya,* in which certain articles contain slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system'. The search at Osipov's home took place in his absence and in the presence of his wife, Valentina Mashkova. After the three-hour search Mashkova was forcibly taken to the headquarters of the Aleksandrov city K G B for questioning, but she refused to make any statements.

Rodionov, too, was taken by force to the K G B headquarters in Aleksandrov for interrogation, likewise after a three-hour search at his home. After protesting against the fact that he had been forced to come for interrogation, he refused to answer any questions. Major Pleshkov, who was questioning him, said: 'You should all be rounded up and imprisoned till you rot!'

* * *

### Appeal Regarding the Arrest of Vladimir Osipov

On 28 November 1974 Vladimir Osipov was arrested in the town of Aleksandrov in Vladimir region. He is the former editor of the manually-produced journal *Veche* and the current editor of the journal *Zemlya,* and he has already spent seven years in a corrective labour camp for being a member of a small political group. His arrest was the outcome of the criminal investigation case 38, concerning *Veche,* which has been dragging on for half a year now and has involved scores of interrogations and searches.

As everyone knows, the journals *Veche* and *Zemlya* were published quite openly. The editor's name was given in every issue of the journals. Vladimir Osipov always retained the position of a loyal citizen and called on his readers to do the same, although he criticised the ruling ideology in various ways for its lack of attention to the cultural heritage of the Russian people and for the destruction of the country's ancient buildings. In particular, he advised his readers to avoid confrontations with the authorities and to concentrate their efforts on doing something about the inner problems of national life. The destruction of the journals *Veche* and *Zemlya* shows that in contravention of the constitution of the U S S R, which guarantees freedom of the press, even publication of politically loyal typewritten journals is regarded as a threat to the state system.

We call on all those who are not indifferent to freedom in the U S S R to come to the defence of freedom of speech and of the press in the U S S R, and to the defence of Osipov, a victim of unjust, unconstitutional persecution.

[Signed] Igor Shafarevich, Valentin Turchin, Yury Orlov, Leonid Borodin, Mikhail Agursky, Sergei Kovalyov, Tatyana Velikanova, Tatyana Khodorovich, Igor Khokhlushkin, Vadim Borisov, Alexander Voronel, Vladislav Ilyakov Vyacheslav Rodionov, Nikolai Ivanov, Stanislav Sery, Andrei Grigorengo.

29 November 1974



## In the Camps and Prisons

On 15 November 1974 **Vasily Lisovoi** (*Chronicle* 30), who is in camp 3 of the Mordovian camp-complex, was put in a punishment isolation cell for 15 days and deprived of a scheduled visit as punishment for his refusal to work or to wear a patch bearing his surname.

* * *

**Boris Borisovich Zalivako** (*Chronicle* 17) was [in 1971] transferred for three years to Vladimir prison from camp 3 in the Mordovian camp-complex because he organised prayer-meetings and refused to work on religious holidays. His state of health is so bad that his relatives fear for his life.[13]

Before his arrest Zalivako was a priest in Ulan-Ude. He was deprived of his parish status because he had disregarded several unwritten regulations (he visited parishioners at their homes, and walked through the streets wearing his cassock). He was arrested in December 1968, together with Chinnov (see below, 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals'), for attemping to cross the border.

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In December **Alexander Bolonkin** (*Chronicles* 30, 32) was transferred from camp 3 to camp 19 in the Mordovian complex.

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In the course of 1973 the Ukrainian women political prisoners in camp 3 of the Mordovian complex (see *Chronicle* 33) held 15 hunger strikes (lasting from 24 hours to seven days). These included, in particular, the traditional hunger strikes of 5 and 10 December, a hunger strike in protest against the order forbidding **Stefania Shabatura** (*Chronicle* 30) to paint, and a hunger strike in protest against the administration's refusal to allow **Nina Strokata** a visit from her legal representative Leonid Tymchuk (*Chronicle* 30).

In early April 1973 S. Shabatura, **I. Stasiv-Kalynets** and N. Strokata sent a request to the procurator in Saransk in charge of supervision of corrective labour institutions, asking to be given the opportunity to prepare themselves for the celebration of Easter — in particular, to go to confession. In reply the Procurator's Office instructed the camp administration to conduct with those who had so appealed a discussion about the separation of the church from the state.

In December the Ukrainian women political prisoners sent two letters out of the camp. (The first reads):

To Heinrich Böll, President of the P E N Club,
To the President of the World Federation of Medical Workers,
To the Permanent Representative at the U N of the World Federation of Scientific Workers,

To the heads and leaders of international women's associations, cultural organizations and trade unions, the Red Cross and Red Crescent organizations.

It would be impossible to send you and your countrymen New Year's greetings without having faith in a civilization, the ideal of which will become the sanctity of human life. We women, living in the kingdom of Grandfather Frost, still have faith that garlands made of barbed wire will be rejected by the power of reason and the ideals of our contemporaries.

With respect,
Ukrainian Women Political Prisoners
Mordovia, December 1973

The second letter reads:

To all our friends outside the little zone,
Happy New Year, dear and faithful friends.
We wish you joy, inspiration, faith and freedom!

Mordovia
December 1973

When observing 10 December 1974, the Ukrainian women political prisoners demanded the status of political prisoners. As punishment for this **I. Senik, N. Svetlichnaya** and N. Strokata (who had only just returned from her latest medical examination at the oncological centre in Rostov-on-Don) were put in punishment cells; I. Stasiv-Kalynets was deprived of a scheduled visit (she was not put in a punishment cell only because of her bad state of health); S. Shabatura was put in the cell-type premises for six months (it is known that she had cursed one of the camp administration officials).

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*Chronicle* 33 reported that starting on 19 August 1974 **I. Svetlichny, Z. Antonyuk, S. Gluzman** and **V. Balakhonov** undertook a hunger strike in camp 35 of the Perm complex.

On 18 October Svetlichny was transferred from the camp to the K G B investigation prison in Kiev, and because of this he ended his hunger strike. On 22 November he had an hour-long visit from his wife.

At the end of November Antonyuk and Gluzman were still continuing their hunger strike. There are reports that Antonyuk is seriously ill.

Apparently Balakhonov was still continuing his hunger strike in early November.

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In early November 1974 **Iosif Meshener** (*Chronicles* 16, 33) tried to commit suicide in camp 35 in the Perm complex. He was taken to hospital in a serious condition. He has now been returned to the camp zone.

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In camp 35 of the Perm complex **Valery Marchenko** (*Chronicle* 33) is seriously ill with acute nephritis. He needs medications which are in short supply (the Hungarian drug 'negramon' or the American 'negram').

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In early December 1974 **Vladlen Pavlenkov** (*Chronicles* 11-13, 33) was transferred from camp 35 in the Perm camp-complex to serve the remainder of his sentence in Vladimir prison. This was punishment for 'the combined aggregate' of his offences against camp discipline. According to the usual practice in the prison he has been placed on strict regime for the first two months.

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In late December 1974 **Gilel Butman** was transferred from Perm camp 35 to Vladimir prison.

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On 29 October 1974 an incident occurred in camp 36 of the Perm camp complex. Five Jewish prisoners were talking together in the club — the usual meeting place for prisoners. Lieutenant Salakhov, who is in charge of their detachment, ordered them to disperse. **I. Mendelevich** and **L. Ladyzehnsky** objected that this order was unreasonable. Thereupon Salakhov called those who were gathered there an 'assembly' and threatened them with punishment.

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On 12 January 1967 the Murmansk Regional Court sentenced **Vitaly Vasilevich Kalinichenko** to 10 years in labour camps for attempting to cross the border. The court ruled that this constituted attempted treason and thus came under articles 15 and 64 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Kalinichenko is now in camp 36 of the Perm complex. On 24 November he sent to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, with a copy to the U N Commission of Human Rights, a 'Statement requesting that his conditions of detention be changed to accord with the status of political prisoner'.

In this statement Kalinichenko wrote that the court had, in fact, condemned him for his political beliefs. He proved this by quoting from the verdict: 'He is opposed to the social and political system of our country,' and 'he attempted to flee because of political motives.'

Kalinichenko asked that (1) his conditions of imprisonment be changed in accordance with his status as a political prisoner; (2) his sentence be quashed; and (3) representatives of the U N and other international organizations be given the opportunity to investigate the substance of the charges against him, his sentence, and his conditions of imprisonment.

Kalinichenko gave notice in advance that if his first request was not fulfilled

by 12 January 1975, then he would adopt for himself the status of a political prisoner and from that day would refuse to take part in compulsory labour and to have his head shaved.

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On 12 December **Stepan Sapelyak, Andrei Turik** and **Dmitry Grinkov,** of camp 36 in the Perm complex (on them see *Chronicle* 33) sent a statement to Podgorny. They demanded to be given the status of political prisoners and requested that their conditions of imprisonment be changed in accordance with this status. They also asked for the possibility to serve their sentences in the Ukraine and for an end to forced labour.

In their statement they declared that if they had not received a clear answer in a month, and if their demands were not fully met, they would refuse to have their heads shaved or to go out to work.

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In November 1974 **B. D. Dandaron,** the 60-year-old academic and expert on Buddhism, died in a labour camp. He had already served 19 years in labour camps under Stalin, had later been fully exculpated, and then, in December 1972, had been sentenced again by a people's court in Ulan-Ude to five more years in a labour camp. *Chronicle* 28 reported on the investigation of his case and his trial, which were marked by many illegalities.

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On 13 November 1974 **Yury Grodetsky** (whose case and sentence are unknown to the *Chronicle*)" was transferred from Mordovia to camp 36 in the Perm complex. He refused to work on the 'vibrostand' and then refused to do any work at all, demanding to be granted the status of political prisoner and corresponding conditions of imprisonment. Repressive measures were taken against him: he is being kept almost continuously in a punishment cell.

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**G. V. Davydov** (*Chronicle* 29) has been transferred to Vladimir prison from camp 36 in the Perm complex.

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The Supreme Court of the R S F S R has heard the appeal by **Sergei Pirogov** (*Chronicle* 32) and upheld without change the verdict against him. Pirogov is now in a labour camp in Arkhangelsk region (Nyandomsky raion, st. Shozhma, uchr. UG-42/10-2). There are about 500 people in the camp. Pirogov is the only 'political' among them. Pirogov's sentence will expire in August 1975.



# In the Psychiatric Hospitals

**V. I. Trifonov** (*Chronicle* 26) is now undergoing compulsory treatment in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital (he was charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code); he has been diagnosed as suffering from paranoia. He does not consider himself ill, and in recent years has been refusing to go to sessions of the psychiatric commission: he does not want, as he says, to take part in such a farce.

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**Anatoly Fyodorovich Chinnov** (*Chronicle* 26) was first held for forcible treatment in the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital; then he was transferred to the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital on Arsenalnaya Street, and in 1972 he was transferred back to Dnepropetrovsk.

Prior to his arrest Chinnov was a student of Vladimir Solovyov's works. He embraced Solovyov's philosophy and became an Orthodox Christian. He considered that it was possible to lead a Christian life in the U S S R, and therefore he tried to leave the country.

In the Dnepropetrovsk hospital, Chinnov was subjected to electric-shock therapy (a full course of treatment) and then to insulin therapy (30 shocks). In Leningrad he was at first given drugs in small doses, and then the medical treatment stopped altogether. But on his return to Dnepropetrovsk he was again prescribed drugs in tablet form. During the periods of compulsory medical treatment Chinnov's health sharply deteriorated: he developed chronic gastritis, he became abnormally emaciated and he lost half his teeth. Psychiatric commissions have been prolonging his compulsory treatment, since he does not wish to renounce his religious and philosophical views. Chinnov's sister asked for him to be released into her supervision, but she was told this would only be possible after he was discharged from the hospital.

On 30 January 1974 a psychiatric commission again extended Chinnov's 'treatment in a special psychiatric hospital'.

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**Kim Davletov** (*Chronicles* 24, 25) is undergoing compulsory treatment in the Kazan special psychiatric hospital.

Davletov was born in 1932. He was arrested on 7 December 1971 because of the publication in Albania of his Stalinist-line booklet.

Before his arrest his address was: Moscow, Polyarnaya ul. 7, flat 69.

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**Yury Belov** (*Chronicles* 26, 27) is in the Sychyovka special psychiatric hospital. He is being given the drug haloperidol, although the doctors themselves see no medical necessity for this. For instance, Albert Lvovich Zeleneyev, a doctor

in the fourth section of the hospital, said to Belov: 'You don't need medical treatment, but if we don't give you any treatment, then when you leave you'll say that you were healthy and that no treatment was prescribed for you.' Kholodkovskaya, a representative of the Serbsky Institute, stated at a session of the psychiatric commission in the spring of 1974: 'We cannot find anything medically wrong with you, but we cannot discharge you.' She explained: 'We consider religious convictions to be a form of pathological illness and so we try to treat you for them.' Belov was forbidden to have a pen. His access to books was also restricted: parcels of books addressed to him were often returned. His correspondence was restricted, and his letters frequently went astray.

At the latest session of the psychiatric commission in December 1974 Belov's term of confinement to a special hospital was once more prolonged, although the hospital doctors had recommended him for discharge.

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**Konstantin Petrovich Malyshev** is being held in the same hospital; he is 45 years old and was chief engineer of the town economic committee of Kulebaki in Gorky region. He was charged under article 190-1 for his complaints to higher authorities.

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A few months ago **Mikhail Kukobaka** (*Chronicle* 27) was transferred from the Sychyovka special psychiatric hospital to an ordinary psychiatric hospital in the city of Vladimir. Mikhail Ignatevich Kukobaka was arrested on 14 April 1970 in Aleksandrov in Vladimir region. During a search of the hostel where he lived, an exercise book containing his article 'An Open Letter to the English Writer Ivor Montagu' was confiscated. The investigation was at first conducted by the City Procurator's Office (senior investigator Fedosov), so it can be supposed that the investigation related to article 190-1 of the R F S F R Criminal Code. An out-patient psychiatric diagnosis found Kukobaka to be responsible. After Kukobaka refused the lawyer assigned to him, and also refused to sign article 201 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, he was transferred to Vladimir prison, and his case was handed over to the regional K G B. The investigator, Major Evseyev, head of the K G B investigation department in Vladimir region, sent Kukobaka to the Serbsky Institute for a psychiatric examination. From September 1970 to autumn 1971 Kukobaka was again held in Vladimir prison, ignorant of his own legal position and of the results of the psychiatric examination. Only in September 1971, after many written protests on his part, was he told by the prison's special section that he had been ruled to be mentally non-responsible, and that on 4 November 1970 a court had ordered that he be sent for compulsory treatment to a special psychiatric hospital. In early November 1971 Kukobaka was sent to Sychyovka, where he remained for around three years without receiving any medical treatment.



In the Vladimir ordinary psychiatric hospital (its K G B supervision is conducted by Captain Vinogradov) Kukobaka is not allowed to receive parcels containing books about history, philosophy or politics, or textbooks on foreign languages. He is forbidden to study Esperanto.

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**The psychiatric unit in the Mordovian camp-complex** is at the following address: Barashevo, Tengushevsky raion, ZhKh 385/3-2, korpus 12. The head of the department is V.V.(?) Kokorev.

Convicts without medical training work in the psychiatric unit as orderlies. They are allowed to hand out drugs and even to give injections of sulphazin. The orderlies practise extortion and steal from the patients; they also beat them. Many of the orderlies are drug-addicts. The building is in a dilapidated, unsanitary condition. The duty doctor for the zone, and the administration officials, never visit it. Statements and complaints written by the patients are never delivered — not even to the camp administration. The following are patients there:

**Albert Kuzmich Ugnachev,** born in 1938. He was sentenced under article 58 of the old Criminal Code, and he has already been imprisoned for 17 years. He was diagnosed as schizophrenic at the Serbsky Institute. Ugnachev is due to be sent to a special psychiatric hospital.

**Sakulsky:**[15] article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

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**Algirdas Pranas Žipre** (see *Chronicle* 32, where his name was given incorrectly; he was born in 1927) has been in the Serbsky Institute since 29 July 1974. Žipre's sister Jadviga Jakubeniene has sent an appeal to the U S S R Procuracy and to the Latvian S S R Procuracy, requesting that the procurator for supervision visit her brother and acquaint him with the documents in his case. Jakubeniene gave as the reason for this request the fact that the doctors have noted only one symptom of mental illness in her brother: his complaints since January 1973 about his illegal detention which he writes because, first, he is convinced that he was wrongly sentenced, and second, because he has received no reply to his complaints for one-and-a-half years.

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In January 1974 **Ozhegov** (born in 1939, from Tyumen, article 70 of the R S F S R Code) was in the Serbsky Institute for a psychiatric diagnosis.

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In November 1974 **Pyotr Starchik** (*Chronicle* 28) was transferred from the Kazan special psychiatric hospital to an ordinary psychiatric hospital in Moscow (Hospital No. 15).

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In November 1974 the Moscow City Court ordered the release of **Roald Mukhamedyarov** (*Chronicle* 29) from compulsory medical treatment.

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In October 1974 **Vladimir Gershuni** was released from an ordinary psychiatric hospital (*Chronicle* 32).

### Concerning Leonid Plyushch

In the summer of 1974 mathematicians abroad came to the support of L. I. Plyushch. The Soviet embassy in Washington received a petition signed by 650 American mathematicians.

Lipman Bers, a member of the International Committee of Mathematicians for the Defence of Plyushch, said in an article published in *Annals of the American Mathematical Society*, volume 21, number 6, October 1974, that the petition of 8 July was returned to the senders. In a letter signed by V. I. Kuznetsov, Second Secretary at the Embassy, this was said to be because of the petition's 'hostile and slanderous character'. Bers writes: 'Mr Kuznetsov did not succeed, however, in pointing out even one inaccuracy in the Committee's statements.'

In August Academician Sakharov appealed to the International Congress of Mathematicians, which was taking place in Vancouver (Canada), calling on them 'to do everything possible to save Leonid Plyushch'.

On 24 August five members of the Committee for the Defence of Plyushch: M. Atiyah (England), L. Bers (U S A), H. Cartan (France) and I. Halperin (Canada) organized a meeting at which they agreed on the texts of a petition to Kosygin and a telegram to Sakharov. The petition, containing an appeal for the release of L. Plyushch and also asking that his family be given the possibility of choosing his form of medical treatment, was signed by 900 participants of the Congress.

Sakharov did not receive the telegram sent to him on 27 August.

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In October 1974, when Plyushch was no longer being treated with insulin, and no new drug had yet been prescribed, his doctors suggested to him that he should write a statement condemning his 'anti-Soviet activities' after the manner of Yakir and Krasin. Plyushch categorically refused to do so: 'Yakir lied: Do you want me to become a liar?' No further suggestions of this kind were made to him and there was no further discussion. Soon a new treatment was prescribed for him — large doses of triftazin in tablet form.

On 13 November 1974 a non-scheduled medical commission, led by the chief psychiatrist of Dnepropetrovsk Region, visited the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. The hospital administration told T. I. Zhitnikova, Plyushch's wife, that this commission had been organized on her petition. Only Plyushch



was interviewed by the commission. He was asked three questions:

How do you feel?
Much the same as always.
Do you have any complaints?
I have started to have pains in my chest.
What do you know about Valentin Moroz?
What a strange question! What can I know about anyone when I'm completely cut off from the world?

The commission decided that it was necessary to continue the compulsory treatment of Plyushch and his treatment with triftazin.

On 15 November 1974 Plyushch was put into a 'surveillance' ward, where he was lodged with more than 20 aggressive mental patients. In that ward the light is never switched off. The patients are never taken outside: even the lavatory is in the ward. From 15 November onwards, Plyushch was given triftazin by injection. The injections of triftazin induce in him drowsiness (but the light makes it difficult to sleep), inertia, and constant shivering. Plyushch does not go for walks (it is not known whether this is because he is not able to do so, or because he is not allowed to). During a scheduled visit, Plyushch hardly said anything and asked no questions even about his children. He has almost stopped writing letters: only one letter from him was received last month.

On 16 December 1974 T. Khodorovich, G. Podyapolsky, Yu. Orlov (corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences), the geologist Malva Landa and the psychologist Boris Landa appealed to 'the scientific academies of various countries and to professional associations of jurists, psychiatrists and journalists':

> The torture of the mathematician Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch in a special psychiatric 'hospital' is exactly the same kind of revolting crime as the experiments carried out on living people in Hitler's Germany . . . We appeal to all persons who prize the human intellect and conscience to defend L. I. Plyushch from such outrages by sending protests to the Soviet government.

On the same day T. Khodorovich made a statement 'To the press, to mathematicians and psychiatrists'. The statement ended with these words:

> In the name of humanitarian solidarity and professional brotherhood, in the name of reason and human dignity, in the name of compassion and justice — please HELP Leonid Plyushch and his family to leave the Soviet Union.

On 19 December 38 people issued a 'Statement to the Press' urging: 'Do not give up, continue the campaign to free Leonid Plyushch!'

On 20 December T. Khodorovich and Yu. Orlov appealed to the 'International Committee of Mathematicians for the Defence of Plyushch':

> We call your attention to the special danger in the fact that in a huge

country, possessing great power, the forcible and uncontrolled use of modern drugs for the purpose of 'correcting' the free intellect and destroying the conscience has become a custom.

We appeal to you to send to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Committee of State Security, the Soviet government and the Supreme Soviet your protests and demands that the compulsory 'treatment' of Leonid Plyushch be ended at once.

Demand the release of L. Plyushch from his psychiatric prison!

On 20 December 1974 Zhitnikova handed in to the procurator of Dnepropetrovsk region a statement calling for the initiation of criminal proceedings against F. K. Pruss, the director of the Dnepropetrovsk hospital, Dr L. A. Chasovskikh,[16] the head of the hospital's ninth section, and E. P. Kamenetskaya, Plyushch's former doctor and the head of the hospital's 12th section, on charges of deliberately destroying 'the physical and mental health of L. I. Plyushch by means of forcible doses of drugs over a lengthy period in unsanitary conditions'.

On the same day T. Khodorovich and Yu. Orlov appealed 'To the International Commission of Jurists and to all professional bodies of psychiatrists'. The text of the appeal was agreed upon in advance with Zhitnikova by telephone.

> We appeal to international, independent associations of jurists and psychiatrists to provide L. Plyushch's wife with a lawyer and a consultant-psychiatrist to take part in a legal action which she is initiating against the medical personnel of the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital . . . Plyushch's wife asks especially for the participation of the London psychiatrist Gery Low-Beer in this legal action.

After Zhitnikova made her next visit to the hospital, she wanted to buy a ticket to Moscow at the Dnepropetrovsk railway station. She was told by the cashier, who apologized, that although there were seats on the train to Moscow he had for some reason been forbidden to sell tickets for it. Zhitnikova then took a bus from Kiev to Moscow, but the bus was stopped in the suburbs of Kiev by police and Zhitnikova was forced to get out.

On 27 December 1974 Plyushch's injections were stopped. As a result of the suspension of treatment Plyushch's health at once improved somewhat. However he was not transferred from the 'surveillance' ward.

## Persecution of Soviet Germans

The campaign by Soviet citizens of German nationality for permission to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany (see *Chronicle* 32) continues. Numerous letters, appeals and statements, addressed to Soviet leaders, leaders of the F R G and world public opinion, have publicized cases of judicial and extra-judicial repressions for participation in this movement.



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Between January and April 1974 a series of trials involving Soviet citizens of German nationality took place in Kazakhstan. All of the defendants were charged under article 170-1 of the Kazakhstan Criminal Code (corresponding to article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code):

**Ergard Rudolfovich Abel.** Karaganda regional court, 16-21 January 1974; arrested 26 September 1973; on 30 May and 11 June 1973 he was 'cautioned' according to the Decree of the Praesidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet of 25 December 1972 (*Chronicles* 30, 32). Before his arrest he lived at flat 2, 29 Zhdanov Street, Karaganda, and worked as a welder; his wife is Maria Iosifovna Bauer; they have two sons.

**Tissen.** Aktyubinsk regional court, 18 February 1974; 60 years old; four children.

**Viktor Yakovlevich Verner.** Alma-Ata regional court, 5 March 1974; arrested on 25 October 1973; before his arrest, he lived at 10 Kalinin Street, Issyk, Alma-Ata region. His wife is Adolina Vilgelmovna Verner; they have three non-adult children.

**Ivan Ivanovich Fertikh.** Alma-Ata regional court, 15-22 April 1974; arrested 25 October 1973; before his arrest, he lived at flat 4, 46 Belinsky Street, Issyk, Alma-Ata region, and worked as a doctor; his wife is Roza Fertikh; they have two small children.

All four received three-year sentences.

**Valentin Arturovich Klink.** Alma-Ata regional court, 15 February 1974; arrested 3 November 1973; before his arrest, he lived at 34 Ordzhonikidze Street, Issyk, Alma-Ata region, and worked as a taxi-driver; his wife is Nina Klink; they have four small children and elderly parents.

**Viktor Arturovich Klink.** Alma-Ata regional court, 15-22 April 1974; arrested 25 October 1973; before his arrest he worked as a dental technician; he was a member of the party; co-defendant of I. I. Fertikh; his wife, Marta Klink, is now living at Valentin Klink's address; they have three young children.

The Klink brothers each got two-year sentences.

In all the verdicts, the following statements were described as 'deliberately false fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system': that Soviet citizens of German nationality are deprived of their own language and culture, that people of German nationality are being assimilated in the U S S R, that the German nationality problem has not been solved, that the necessary conditions for the survival and development of the German national minority are absent in the U S S R, and that, in order to preserve their national identity, Soviet Germans must return to their 'historical homeland' — Germany.

Other 'fabrications', quoted in the verdicts, include the following statements: that there is no democracy in the U S S R, that there is no freedom of speech, and that the constitutional rights of citizens are crudely infringed.

Some of the accused were also charged with praising private property, the capitalist economic system and living conditions in the Federal Republic of Germany.

These charges refer, specifically, to statements made in the family, in the presence of the defendant's wife and children, and at party and trade union meetings.

The material evidence against the accused included appeals, letters and statements they had written to high Soviet authorities, on the subject of their emigration to West Germany.

Finally, the accused were charged with 'stimulating a mood in favour of emigration' in others, and with compiling lists of ethnic Germans who wished to emigrate to West Germany.

The wives of the accused have appealed to various international organizations for help (see *Archive of the Chronicle*, number 2). In their letters, they expressed the firm conviction that the main reason for the imprisonment of their husbands was their wish to emigrate to West Germany: E. R. Abel's family has been seeking permission to emigrate to West Germany for the past 15 years.

* * *

On 6 and 7 August 1974 an Estonian S S R Supreme Court assizes, in the town of Kehra, tried the case of **Peter Bergman, Voldemar Shults, Gergard Fast** and **Lyudmila Oldenburger** (*Chronicle* 32). P. Bergman was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, V. Shults, G. Fast and L. Oldenburger to two years. The sentence was suspended in the case of L. Oldenburger.

On 8 August Academician A. D. Sakharov sent a letter to Chancellor H. Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Chairman of the S P D W. Brandt, and the deputies of the Bundestag, calling on them to seek a review of this 'unlawful and cruel verdict'. A. D. Sakharov concluded his letter by saying: 'I also call on you to do all you can to support the right of Soviet Germans to emigrate to West Germany, and the right of any person freely to choose the country he wants to live in . . . I also ask that material support be organized for the families of those condemned and for persons persecuted for their wish to emigrate from the U S S R: only if such support is forthcoming can the emigration movement withstand the repressive measures of the Soviet authorities.'

P. Bergman is the father of eight children. His home address is: 202132, Estonian S S R, Rakvere district, p.o. Lasila. Dependant on V. Shults are five children and an aunt — an invalid of the most disabled type. His address is: Estonian S S R, Valga district, Keni sovkhoz [state farm]. G. Fast has one child. His address is: Estonian S S R, Paide, Ehitojatti Street 6, flat 1. His wife is Alvina Fast.



A. D. Sakharov also wrote a letter about the verdict in this case to N. V. Podgorny. In the letter he says: 'I ask you to intervene and to help obtain a review of this unjust verdict, which has damaged the prestige of our state.'

* * *

In the autumn of 1972 **Ivan Genrikhovich Vanzidler** (Estonian S S R, Valga, Pikk Street 34, flat 5) received an invitation from his sister in West Germany, in which she invited him and his family to come and settle with her permanently.

His son Ivan, a fifth-year student at Riga Polytechnic Institute, applied for a reference, which he required to submit with his application for an exit visa. Three months before he was due to defend his thesis, on 23 January 1973, he was expelled from the institute on the order of the director 'in connection with his departure for permanent residence abroad'.

On 16 April 1973 the Vanzidler family was refused an exit visa. On 17 April the son Ivan received his call-up for army service.

In February 1974 I. G. Vanzidler applied to O V I R once more. In May he was once again refused an exit visa, on the grounds that his daughter Elli had taken part in a demonstration in Tallinn in February 1974 (*Chronicle* 32).

On 21 August his second daughter, Vanda, was arrested. Criminal charges were brought against her under the Criminal Code article corresponding to article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code.

* * *

When **Vladimir Shvindt** flew from Alma-Ata to Moscow, he was searched four times. The first time he was searched six hours before flight departure, because of an alleged theft in some shop or other. The second time, he and his luggage were searched when he was boarding the plane. (Such a search is allowed by the decree passed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 19 March 1971 'where there is sufficient reason to suspect a passenger of intending' to take on board with him objects which might be a danger to the aircraft or the passengers.) The third time, he was taken off the plane and searched, after he had already got on. The fourth time he was searched in Moscow on leaving the airport.

* * *

K G B official Timofeyev came to the home of **Ekaterina Keller** in Frunze and told her that she had been given permission to emigrate, but that she would not receive it in writing until she admitted that she had given to foreign journalists lists of Soviet Germans who wished to emigrate to West Germany.

* * *

In Estonia, during the visit of the German Chancellor Schmidt to the Soviet Union, activists of the German emigration movement were placed in preventive detention on various pretexts. Usually, both husbands and wives were detained. In many cases, children were left with no-one to look after them.

# Persecution of Crimean Tatars

In the Crimea a typewritten information bulletin has begun to come out. The second issue of the bulletin (the *Chronicle* does not possess the first issue) reports details of the persecution of Tatars between May and August 1974. According to the bulletin, even occasions such as the first of May holiday (May-day in the village of Perevalnoye) or laying a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on 9 May (in the village of Kormovoye) attract the attention of the K G B, when Crimean Tatars are among those taking part. In the middle-school in the village of Kormovoye, the sports department's wrestling section, consisting mainly of Crimean Tatars, has been closed down.

The bulletin reports the preventive measures taken by the Crimean authorities on the 30th anniversary of the deportation of the Tatars on 18 May 1944. (See also *Chronicle* 32.) On the night of 17-18 May, road blocks were set up on Crimean roads, and many population centres were surrounded by the police or *druzhinniki*. For several days prior to 18 May 1974 traffic policemen recorded numbers of cars owned by Tatars. There were cases where Tatars were summoned for military training sessions (e.g. **Eldar Shabanov**) or detained by the police.

In connection with the anniversary, the bulletin reports the arrest, conviction and hunger-strikes of **Mustafa Dzhemilev** in Uzbekistan (see *Chronicle* 32 and below in the present issue).

It reports that at the end of May, in Simferopol, 18 Crimean Tatars from different districts were given temporary jobs in the Crimea Spa Building Repair Trust and were promised they would be registered for permanent employment. The bulletin explains this 'farce' by the proximity of the elections and by Nixon's visit to the Crimea. In July all 18 persons were dismissed from their jobs on the false pretext that the work was completed. Baranovsky, the chairman of the region's Executive Committee, replied to their protests by telling them they would be tried and punished for coming to the Crimea without permission.

The bulletin states that, according to unofficial sources, the Crimea authorities have ordered higher education establishments and technical colleges to prevent the admission of Crimean Tatar students, and have ordered factories and collective farms not to employ Crimean Tatars in any leading positions. Thus, in the village of Alekseyevka, a teacher at the Physical Culture School, **Seidamet Yachlov,** was dismissed; in the village of Kormovoye, the brigade-leader **Veli Rasulov** and the accountant **Susanna Tippa** lost their jobs.

The bulletin publishes a list of 34 famiiles living in the Crimea without residence permits.

The bulletin refers to the Crimean Action Group. The *Chronicle* has no information about the composition or activities of this group.

* * *



**Appeal to K. Waldheim, Secretary-General of the U N, and the Human Rights Commission** (October 1974, 3 pages)

The return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland, begun in 1967, cannot be stopped by any punitive measures: trials, prisons or exile. And this year, 1974, hundreds of people have managed to return from exile to the Crimea, knowing quite well what awaits them in their homeland.

The following persons have been sentenced to banishment from the Crimea for different periods of time:

**Ibraim Akhchilov** (the father of three children), from the village of Aivazovka (Sheikhmamai*) — for five years.

**Mustafa Pashala** (five children), from the village of Zolotoye Pole (Dzheilaz) — for two years.

**Ismail Akhtemov** (four children), from the village of Dolinnoye (Ak-chora) — for two years.

**Asan Budzhek** (five children), from the village of Lgovka (Chelebi-eli) — for one year.

**Seiyar Kanar** (seven children), from the village of Pushkino (Eseneki) — for five years.

**Kerime Ibraimova** (two children) from the village of Vostochnoye (Uch-kuyu) — for five years.

**Sulbie Mazinova** (four children), from the village of Chernopole (Karachel) — for two years (she has been living without a residence permit since 1971).

**Enver Dzhemilev** (three children), from the village of Zemlyanichnoye (Ortalan) — for two years.

The trial was set for 4 November for **Seitkhalil Abdzhelilov,** who was living with his wife and five children in the village of Zhuravka (Seit-eli). The police had already tried to deport them, breaking the windows and doors of their house, but finding the owners were not at home.

The **Kashka family** came to the Crimea in 1969 and settled in the village of Kizilovka (Dzhimrik). Twice they were expelled from the Crimea, their property was stolen and their house confiscated without compensation. In January 1974 they again bought a house in another village, Novoklenovka (Uch-koz). They are being threatened with a third expulsion.

(See the 'Appeal of Bedzhiye Kashka' and her son Amet's letter to *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in the *Archive of the Chronicle,* number 2.)

The appeal reports about forcible deportations and judicial persecution.

According to facts given in the appeal, not less than 200 families are now living in the Crimea without residence permits; there are 65 such families in

*Here, and below, the pre-1944 Tatar names of the villages are given in brackets after the Russian names.

the Lenin (Kyzylkuyu) district alone.

The appeal ends with these words:

> We, the one percent of the Crimean Tatars who have been able to return to our homeland, appeal to the United Nations . . . asking them to set up a commission to investigate on the spot the situation of our people, to help us to obtain an end to the discrimination against our people, and to re-establish our rights as a nation and as human beings in our homeland.
>
> In order to avoid further arrests and persecution, this Appeal is sent to you without signatures, but with the approval of all Crimean Tatars living in the Crimea.

* * *

An anonymous article entitled 'The Little Dictator' tells how Gavrilov, a deputy to the U S S R Supreme Soviet and Director of the 'Slavny' state farm, zealously persecutes the Crimean Tatar farm workers. Because of this, of the 23 families which came to the village of Kotovskoye under a work-recruitment scheme in 1968-9, there are now only 12 families left.

* * *

### Two Unsuccessful Deportations

The **Seitzhelilov and Yakubov family** was forcibly deported from the Crimea, but on the following day it was brought back. The details of this incident are known from *Information bulletin* 2 and other reports.

Seventy-year-old Zebide Seitzhelilov, her son Sabri, her daughter Sidikha and elder daughter Shevkie Yakubova, a widow with seven children, bought a house in the village of Rovnoye in the spring of this year. Like many other Crimean Tatars, they were refused residence permits and employment, although Sabri is a qualified taxi driver, a skill 'in high demand'. On 15 June the Pervomaisky district court decided that their purchase of the house was illegal and that they should be deported.

On 12 August the following persons turned up to carry out the order: the procurator; the judge; Tikhovsky, the head of the local police; the party organiser of the 'Voskhod' collective farm; Kozlov, the chairman of the village soviet; the head of a soviet department, Novikov; 16 policemen; and 12 students from the Sevastopol Instrument-making Institute. The executors of the action paid no attention to Yakubova's request for a postponement until she had time to visit the regional party committee; the head of police tore from her hand a document issued by the village soviet recording the purchase of the house for 3,300 roubles, and neighbours who stood up for the family were driven away. Then the adults and children were forced into a lorry; their arms were twisted behind their backs; Yakubova was struck on the legs; the 12-year-old Aibek, who ran away four times, was caught and brought back; Z. Seitzhelilova was carried and put into a car in a state of unconsciousness.



Towards evening, these people and their household effects were driven to the village of Novo-Alekseyevka, which is in Kherson region, near the Crimea, and deposited in the square near the station. In the morning over 100 villagers (about 2,000 Crimean Tatars live in Novo-Alekseyeva) did not go to work; they gathered round the deported family and expressed their indignation. Soon some officials of the Genichesk District Aministration of Internal Affairs arrived on the scene, and the major in charge wrote down Sabri's account of the circumstances of the deportation and promised to telephone to the city of Kherson and settle matters. S. Seitzhelilov sent a telegram to Brezhnev, Shcherbitsky and the first secretary of the regional party committee, asking that his family be returned to their home at once.

At 4.00 p.m., a notice was put up in the square: 'Put an end to anti-Communist actions and stop driving people out of their homeland. Stop the persecution of the Crimean Tatars.' The police asked for this notice to be removed, but the local inhabitants agreed to do this only when the people who had been deported were returned to their home in the company of their representatives.

At 7.00 p.m. a lorry was provided, the Crimean Tatars took down the notice and their representatives accompanied the Seitzhelilovs back to the Crimea. Although they were taken to a different village, Otkrytoye, 20 kilometers from their house, they were promised a residence permit and jobs.

In Novo-Alekseyevka photographs were taken of the Seitzhelilov 'camp' and the notice; these were given to western journalists in Moscow, together with a short report of the events.

* * *

A 'Protest' has been circulating, in the name of the Crimean Tatars living in the Crimea, against the actions of the authorities in the village of Batalnoye in Lenin district.

> On 16 September the party organizer Ganus, the chairman of the village soviet D. Rugin, and the director of the state farm arranged for the unlawful expulsion of the **Ibragimov family** (seven people) from their home. In the morning a lorry drove up, the door was broken down and windows were smashed. Party organizer Ganus himself dragged sleepy children outside in their nightclothes, throwing them into the lorry like puppies, while policemen and other officials were dealing with the parents.
>
> Hearing the noise, the villagers assembled, took all the luggage out of the lorry and removed the children; they did not allow the Ibragimov family to be taken away. The officials called for reinforcements. Policemen, traffic-police, officials of the Theft of Public Property Department, the Criminal Investigation Department and the fire-brigade arrived from district headquarters . . . They began to drive people out of the house and the garden.

Major Odintsov especially distinguished himself during this operation, as did the Head of the Criminal Investigation Department, who twisted the arms of women and men alike, without regard for age. Odintsov shouted that he would take revenge on them for his father who he said had been killed by Crimean Tatars: when this was checked, it turned out that his father had died in his eighties in 1973.

To make the official actions look justified two of our comrades, Izzet Khalilov and Server Zeidullayev, were tried for allegedly resisting the authorities and given 15 days in prison each.

* * *

On 20 September, in the village of Novozhilovka (in the Crimea), **Shevket Useinov**'s house was demolished by a bulldozer.

* * *

**The Trials of Two Families Who Returned to the Crimea on Their Own Initiative**

Osmanov has been found guilty and sentenced by the people's court for having returned on his own initiative to the Crimea in September 1973, together with his wife and daughter, and for having settled without a residence permit in the home of citizeness Yumatova in the village of Mazanka.

(From the decision taken by the Crimea Regional Court on 16 June 1974 at the appeal hearing of D. Osmanov.)

At the same time that **Dilyaver Osmanov** and his wife **Vilyara Shchetkina** bought a house in the village of Mazanka, the brothers Dzhefer and Shevki Abdurashitov also bought a house there. The local authorities tried to prevent the sale of the houses and the families settling there. (V. Shchetkina later stated in a complaint to Minister Shchelokov that a guard was put on their house at this time.) This succeeded to some extent: Sh. Abdurashitov had his house registration book taken away by Shkvorets, the chairman of the village soviet, and his garden allotment was given to a neighbour by the collective farm authorities; in the end, Sh. Abdurashitov and his family of five persons had to go and stay in his brother's house. The two other families have been subjected to a series of trials lasting for about a year and perhaps still not over.

In September and October 1973 they were fined on two occasions; in January, a Simferopol district court, on the initiative of the procurator, declared the purchase of the houses to be invalid and, finally, D. Osmanov, V. Shchetkina, **D. Abdurashitov** and his wife **Gulnar Alieva** were charged with malicious violation of the residence regulations (article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code). On 27 May a court presided over by Judge Mironova, who had earlier tried cases concerning the expulsion of Crimean Tatars (*Chronicle* 31), sentenced



the women to one year in prison each, and their husbands to one-and-a-half years each, all the sentences being suspended on condition that they be obliged to work on building sites under the administration of the M V D. The appeal court upheld the verdicts.

In August D. Osmanov and D. Abdurashitov were sent to do compulsory labour in Dzhankoi, but the authorities there would not accept them. In October they were sent to a new destination — Orenburg region, and registered for special surveillance.

On 24 September both of the convicted persons sent identical complaints to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S S R, in which they asked that the verdicts against them be reviewed and declared null and void. The complaints state that the actions of the authorities in their case were illegal and biased, beginning with the official refusal to allow the purchase of the houses to be legally registered. The complaints quote a statement made by Shkvorets, the chairman of the village soviet, that he 'will not allow the sale of houses to Crimean Tatars'.

Osmanov and Abdurashitov write that in returning to the Crimea they based their action on the legal exculpation of the Crimean Tatars. In addition to the relevant decrees, they quote from the reply of 31 March 1973 sent by the *Pravda* columnist Yu. Zhukov to G. R. Dzhemilev, a war invalid: 'At present, as far as I know, Crimean Tatars are allowed to choose their places of residence according to their wishes; no restrictions are imposed.'

Osmanov, the brothers Abdurashitov and their wives have complained many times to various authorities.

This is a reply received from a deputy to the U S S R Supreme Soviet:

Dear Vilyara Asanovna,

I have received your letter. I sympathize greatly with you, but you are wrong to attribute your unsuccessful attempt at resettlement to your nationality. Hundreds of citizens of various nationalities write to me complaining of their lack of success in trying to settle in the Crimea and obtain residence permits there. People from all over the country want to settle in the Crimea on account of their health, and our region is not capable of absorbing all would-be settlers. This explains the refusal to allow you to resettle here.

23.1.74.

With respect,
Zhuravlev

The authorities ignore circumstances such as the illness of V. Shchetkina, who was advised by a medical board in the town of Andizhan to live in the Crimea. They also ignore the fact that G. Alieva's father, a communist, was executed by the Germans (the order to expel them from the purchased house even included in its list of names this man's widow, 75-year-old Makhube Alieva), and the facts that Shevki Abdurashitov is a war veteran, and that his son is now serving in the army.

* * *

On 14 June 1974 **Enver Ametov** sent a statement to Podgorny. In this statement he enumerated the persecutions he had been subjected to since 1967 because of his attempts to return to the Crimea and his participation in the national movement (in particular, for taking part in the demonstration in Moscow, on Mayakovsky Square, on 6 June 1969 — see *Chronicle* 8). The immediate reason for his appeal to Podgorny was the deception and threats of military officer Komelin and K G B official Popov (see *Chronicle* 32). In concluding his statement, Ametov writes:

> . . . What connection can the K G B have with the nationality problem? Is the nationality problem in the U S S R an especially dangerous crime? It turns out that the Decree of 5 September 1967 [rehabilitating the Crimean Tatars] has remained merely a piece of paper and has not rehabilitated anyone. I remain a second-class citizen in terms of my political rights. Even if I have always known that I am denied my political rights, I have now, it seems, also lost the right to work.
>
> At present, I must strive not only to obtain residence in the Crimea, but also to assert my right to work in the place where I am allowed to work.
>
> I have been subjected to all these humiliations because I expressed the desire to live in the Crimea, my national homeland, and because of my nationality. Am I guilty of some crime for being born a Crimean Tatar and belonging to a small nation? I could hardly have picked other parents for myself or chosen a nationality more acceptable to the authorities.
>
> Taking all this into consideration, I make the following statements:
>
> 1. I refuse to do military service. I will not obey any call-up by a military board in peacetime until I am allowed to make use of the rights guaranteed to me in Lenin's Decree of 18 October 1921.
> 2. I refuse to obey any summons by the K G B, either to appear as a witness or for an interrogation, in any matter relating to the nationality problem.
> 3. I am ready to appear before any Soviet court, if the expression of a wish to live in one's national homeland . . . is an especially dangerous crime or a violation of public order.

This statement was sent to the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, which told E. Ametov that his 'statement on the question of a residence permit' would be examined by the Kherson regional M V D administration.

* * *

As the text of E. Ametov's statement shows, *Chronicle* 31 was wrong in reporting that confiscations were made during the search at his house on 28 June 1973, in connection with the case of Kurtumerov. During the search nothing was confiscated.

* * *



In April 1974 the Zaporozhe regional court sentenced **Kubus Islyamov** to six years of strict-regime camps, under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the R S F S R Code). K. Islyamov is over 70 years old; he was born in the Crimea, in the village of Kokkoz; recently he had been living with his family in the village of Konstantinovka in Melitopol district. Islyamov's family were not informed of the place or time of his trial, and none of his relations or friends could be present at the trial.

* * *

**Dzhemil Kurtseitov,** sentenced to seven years in January 1974 for 'hooligan assault' (*Chronicles* 31, 32) is now in this labour camp: Zhitomir, institution YaYu—309-4. In September or October, he sent a protest to the Supreme Court of the U S S R, the full text of which is published in the *Archive of the Chronicle,* number 2.

His protest tells the story of harassment to which his family was subjected, demonstrates the provocative nature of the sheep-stealing episode for which he was tried, and enumerates the procedural violations committed in his case. D. Kurtseitov demands that he be released.

Earlier, an appeal court had reduced Kurtseitov's sentence from seven years to four-and-a-half years and the sentences of his co-defendants **R. Charukhov** and **E. Mustafayev** from five years to three-and-a-half (?) years.

E. Mustafayev's address is: Voroshilovgrad region, g. Vakhrushevo, UL-314/19-1.

* * *

**Reshat Dzhemilev,** now in a camp in Krasnoyarsk territory (*Chronicles* 31, 32), is ill with a stomach ulcer and requires an operation. His relatives asked for him to be transferred to a hospital in Uzbekistan, but this was refused.

* * *

**Mustafa Dzhemilev** has been transferred to another camp: Omsk — 644062, uchr. 16/3 — E. He has called off his hunger strike, which lasted for more than a month (*Chronicle* 32).

* * *

**Aishe Seitmuratova** was released on 15 June from camp 2 in the Mordovian complex; she had served a three-year sentence, which was imposed in Tashkent in July 1971 (*Chronicle* 23). This was her second conviction for participation in the Crimean Tatar movement. On the first occasion, in Moscow in May 1967, she was sentenced conditionally to three years' imprisonment, after being kept under arrest for seven months. Prior to her second arrest she was a graduate student at the Institute of History of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences in Tashkent.

A. Seitmuratova was shunted around for two months on the way to her camp: from Tashkent by way of Kuibyshev, Ryazan, Vyazma, Smolensk, Minsk, Smolensk, Vyazma, Ryazan, Potma, camp 2 in institution ZhKh-385 (here she was put in a punishment cell for three days — not as a punishment, but because she was designated as still *en route* to her destination); then to camp 3 in institution ZhKh-385 (three days), and then back to camp 2. In this camp she repeatedly demanded to be accorded the status of a political prisoner and transferred from camp 2, where 1,200-1,500 criminal women prisoners are held, to camp 3.

Soon after A. Seitmuratova returned to her mother's house in Samarkand, they were visited by a police inspector; when he was asked by Aishe to give the reason for his visit, he gave her an official letter from the city department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Head of the police station, ordering that Aishe be kept under 'preventive' surveillance for six months and that monthly routine reports be submitted on her.

At the end of November A. Seitmuratova sent to the Procurator-General a statement in which she demanded that her sentence be retrospectively quashed.

## Persecution of Religious Believers

In October 1974, in Kiev, the pre-trial investigation of the case against **Georgy Petrovich Vins,** Secretary of the Council of Churches of Evangelical-Christian Baptists (C C E C B), came to an end. Vins was arrested in March 1974. He was charged under articles equivalent to article 142, paragraph 2 ('Contravention of the law on the separation of the church from the state and the school-system from the church'), article 190-1 and article 227 ('Infringement of the personality and civil rights of citizens under the pretext of conducting religious ceremonies') of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Vins's mother, wife and adult children asked the Soviet authorities to allow him to appoint a believing Baptist as a defence lawyer; they appealed to the European Committee of the World Baptist Alliance, asking them to nominate such a lawyer from the committee's Legal Commission. This, as they said, was what Vins himself wanted. His mother also asked the organization 'Amnesty International' to send a representative to the trial.

In answer to the appeals of the Vins family, seven Norwegian religious leaders appointed by a congregation (among them a lawyer), applied to the Soviet embassy for visas and asked to be informed of the date of the trial. They were refused visas; and they were given no answer to their question.

Meanwhile, the trial of G. P. Vins had been postponed: the case was sent back for further investigation. It is believed that the investigation was reopened in connection with a case of the publishing of the Gospels in Latvia (see below).

Vins has already served a sentence for his religious activities [see *Chronicle* 5].



The statement made by the Vins family, together with a letter from A. D. Sakharov, G. Podyapolsky, S. Kovalyov and T. Velikanova to the World Council of Churches and Amnesty International (22 October 1974) and a statement by the Council of Churches of Evangelical-Christian Baptists to the Soviet government will all be published in *Archive of the Chronicle* number 2.

* * *

On 24 October 1974, after a number of days of helicopter surveillance, a large militarized deachment of K G B officials and police (180-200 in number), under the command of a general, surrounded the farmhouse Ligukalys in the woods of the Cesis district, in the Latvian S S R. Inside the farmhouse, which belonged to the Gaver family (a married couple), one of the printing presses owned by the E C B (Evangelical-Christian Baptist) publishing-house *The Christian* was discovered. The K G B officials confiscated a home-made printing press, nine tons of paper, obtained through the voluntary contributions of believers, and 15,000 printed Gospels. The *Bulletin of the Council of Relatives of E C B prisoners in the U S S R* number 18, 1974, reports that seven printing workers were arrested: **Vitaly Ivanovich Pidchenko** (born 1941), **Ekaterina Ivanovna Gritsenko** (born 1943). **Viktor Anatolevich Pikalov** (born 1950), **Zinaida Petrovna Tarasova** (born 1942), **Ida Danilovna Korotun** (born 1938), **Tatyana Sairovna Kozhemyakina** (born 1937) and **Nadezhda Gerasimovna Lvova** (born 1946). *Bratsky Listok* [*The Fraternal Leaflet*] No. 5, 1974, the organ of the Council of Churches of the E C B, reports that when they were detained they 'agreed on a three-day fast in prison'. *Bratsky Listok* also includes the statement by the C C E C B sent to Podgorny and Kosygin on 24 November 1974 in connection with the confiscation of the printing-press and the arrest of its workers.

At the present time an investigation is being conducted into this case.

* * *

The above-mentioned statement of the Council of Churches of the E C B, dated 24 November, states that the number of Baptists 'sentenced to long terms of imprisonment has long since exceeded a thousand and is still growing. The elected leadership of the churches — the C C E C B — has become a particular object of persecution'. N. G. Baturin and P. V. Rumachik, members of the Council of Churches, have been sentenced for the third time (*Bratsky Listok,* number 5).

* * *

According to the figures given by the *Bulletin of the Council of Relatives of E C B Prisoners in the U S S R,* number 18, 1974, about 25 Baptist prisoners in the U S S R have been released early on probation since October 1974. Other sources give the number released as around 32.

* * *

On 14 May 1974 four Baptist supporters of the CCECB were arrested: Mikhail Aleksandrovich **Pshenitsyn,** Vasily Fedosovich **Ryzhuk,** Nikolai Vasilevich **Smirnov,** Vasily Sergeyevich **Chevordayev.**

Their trial took place from 6 to 24 September in Moscow region. All the defendants were charged under articles 142 and 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Pshenitsyn, Smirnov and Ryzhuk were each sentenced to three years in a labour camp (this was Ryzhuk's third prison term), and Chevordayev was sentenced to two years.

M. A. Pshenitsyn's family consists of his wife, Tamara Matveyevna; his children — Gena (six years old), Nadya (five), Andrei (four) and Petya (one and a half). Their address is: Moscow region, st. Zheleznodorozhnaya, Prigorodnaya ul. 99.

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On 15 August 1974 **Ivan Petrovich Fedotov,** one of the leading Pentecostalist preachers, was arrested in the town of Maloyaroslavets, Kaluga region. He was charged under articles 142 and 227 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Fedotov's wife has been dismissed from her job. The Maloyaroslavets congregation of 'Christians of the Evangelical faith' has been fined 2,500 roubles for holding 'illegal religious services'.

I. P. Fedotov is 45 years old. Earlier he served 10 years in strict-regime labour camps under article 102 (?) of the RSFSR Code. He was released on 30 August 1970. In the past four years he has twice been forced to change his place of residence. (For example in the Tula region the authorities simply struck his name off the list of residents, without informing him.)

At present, it appears Fedotov is undergoing psychiatric diagnosis.

* * *

Throughout 1974 there has been gross interference in the internal affairs of the congregation of Saint Sergei's Church, the only Orthodox church in the city of Fergana [Uzbekistan]. Rakhimov, the Fergana Regional Executive Committee official in charge of religious affairs, supported by Abdunazarova, the deputy chairman of the City Executive Committee, refuses to register the new parish committee of 'Twenty' and the church council elected by the 'Twenty'. Rakhimov is trying to ensure that the 'Twenty' includes persons who support the former church rector Father Aleksei (Leonid) Zinchenko, whose appointment the church council has annulled on behalf of the congregation because he perfomed marriage ceremonies for couples who were not adults, and in an unconsecrated place; because he conducted services without transferring money he received to the church funds, extorted fees larger than those allowed, sometimes took services while intoxicated, and so on.

Rakhimov allowed Zinchenko to continue taking services, although this was against the law.

In October Rakhimov finally dismissed the church council and the auditing commission, and announced the registration of new personnel for the executive bodies of the congregation. However, only the assembly of the 'Twenty' has the right to re-elect the executive bodies, and it appears that the new church council, the new auditing commission and, probably, the new 'Twenty' were simply appointed by Rakhimov.



At the same time as the dissolution of the 'Twenty' which had been freely chosen in January 1974 by the believers (which is the only legal basis for its creation), a second priest at the St Sergei church — **Father Pavel Adelgeim** [see *Chronicles* 13, 17 (supp.), 24, 25] — was dismissed from his post. In his place Archpriest Valentin Rubanovich was appointed; he is reported to be using the church for his own personal profit.

The complaints sent by the parishioners to various authorities have remained unanswered. Ruzmetov, the commissioner for religious affairs in the republic, formerly the procurator of the republic, stated in a conversation that the congregation's representatives do not have the right to compose statements or complaints about the actions of Soviet authorities.

* * *

On 23-24 October 1974, in the city of Vladivostok, a people's court heard the divorce case of **Yury Bregman** and **Svetlana Vardapetyan.** The main request of the plaintiff Yu. Bregman was that the court should award him custody of the three small children — Misha (five and a half years old), Natasha (about three) and Masha (one year and three months).

Both the plaintiff and the respondent are biologists and research workers at the Institute of Marine Biology. Yu. Bregman is a Candidate of Science and a member of the CPSU Communist Party. S. Vardapetyan holds a postgraduate degree from Leningrad Biological Institute, and is a Baptist believer. Bregman based his request on the fact that his wife was bringing up the children in a religious spirit; she read the oldest child stories from the Bible and took him with her to prayer meetings. He also stated that his wife did not bother about their son's intellectual development and did not take him to the cinema; she looked after the younger child carelessly; and she cooked badly. Bregman said his mother would help him to bring up the children until he 'found himself a new partner'.

The respondent S. Vardapetyan agreed to the divorce, but asked the court to leave the children in her custody and not to deprive them of their mother. She insisted that she had the right to acquaint her children with her basic beliefs and to bring them up in the spirit of Christian morality — 'Christian morality and communist morality are not contradictory'. She said she had cared for her children's health and intellectual development. S. Vardapetyan refused to answer specific questions from Judge Stepanova about her religious convictions; she also refused to name the leaders of the religious congregation she belonged to, or to tell the court who gave her religious literature, etc.

The witnesses at the hearing were T. F. Orekhov, the head of the communist

education section on the newspaper *Pacific Ocean Komsomolets*, I. S. Yaichnikova and T. V. Volkova, employees of the Institute of Marine Biology; E. I. Bregman — Yury's mother; and others. The evidence of the witnesses basically concerned whether Svetlana Vardapetyan believed in God and was training her children (in particular, Misha) to believe: 'I've heard that Svetlana believes in God'; 'Somehow I came to the conclusion that he (Misha) says prayers'; 'Sveta . . . read the Gospel aloud and listens to religious broadcasts on the radio'; 'Misha says "Thank you, Lord God" after eating.' The witness Volkova, like Bregman himself, asserted that at a fancy dress party — a sea festival — Misha had been scared of 'people dressed as demons'.

During the trial, representatives of the public also spoke: they were employees of the Institute — Preobrazhensky, Brykov and Penchuk. They asked the court to remove the children from their mother's custody because she was a 'religious fanatic'. The district pediatrician Kozlovskaya stated that 'religious education assists the development of diathesis and rachitis' — these were social diseases. Physically, the children (Misha and Masha) were developing according to their age. In answer to a question by the judge as to how a child's psychological state could be affected by being deprived of films and television, Kozlovskaya said: 'The child will fall behind at school.'

At the request of Vardapetyan, the court heard evidence from Professor O. G. Kasakin, a Doctor of Biological Science and Professor of Biology at the Far East University. He stated that Misha gave the impression of being a normally developed, intelligent child. He gave Svetlana a good character reference as a laboratory worker. Kasakin stated his opinion that the mother's religious faith could not be used as a reason for depriving her of her children.

The court awarded all the children to the custody of their father; alimony was to be paid by S. Vardapetyan.

* * *

In November 1973 the Bogoyavlenskaya church in Zhitomir (K. Marx St. 66) was closed by order of the City Executive Committee.[17] The protesting parishioners were at first told that the reason for closing the church was its proximity to the school (the school and the church have stood beside each other for 32 years), and then the reason was said to be the reconstruction of the city. The many complaints sent to higher authorities by the believers have been sent back to the city authorities and have had no effect. The believers have sent a complaint to the Secretary-General of the U N.



# Georgian Samizdat on the Situation in the Georgian Patriarchate

Documents are circulating in Georgian *samizdat* in which the present hierarchy of the Georgian Orthodox Church, together with certain responsible officials of the Council of Ministers and the K G B, are accused of criminal activities.[18]

* * *

The most important such document is 'A Report on Crimes Committed in the Georgian Patriarchate', written by **David Koridze,** assistant procurator of the Kirov district in the city of Tbilisi, and sent by him to the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party.

The report describes the course of an investigation begun by the Procurator's Office because of the complaints of believers. In the course of the investigation, 'a large number of people concerned about the fate of the Georgian Church were interrogated' and 'documents providing conclusive evidence were discovered'.

Koridze reports that not long before the death of Patriarch, Catholicos Efrem II, a great many treasures — national heirlooms — were stolen from the Patriarchate. In addition, Koridze asserts that the will of the late Patriach, in which he named as his successor Metropolitan Ilya Shiolashvili, then the rector of the Mtskheta seminary, was destroyed and replaced by a forged will which recommended the nomination of Khariton Devdariani, now David V, as patriarch-Catholicos of all Georgia. After the death of Efrem II on 7 April 1972, this nomination was confirmed by the Synod; according to the 'Report', the Synod meeting was conducted with gross violations of the canon law.

D. Koridze regards Bidzina Keratishvili, now Bishop Gaioz of Tsilkan, as the organiser of the robbery of the Patriarchate, of the forgery of the will and of the rigging of the elections. He is a man with a murky past who managed to gain the confidence of the late Patriarch. Koridze asserts that the present Patriarch, David V, a man of little education and experience, is a puppet in the hands of Keratishvili.

According to the 'Report', Keratishvili's accomplices were D. A. Shalutashvili, who in 1972 was commissioner for religious affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Georgian S S R, and Tvalchrelidze, head of a department of the Georgian K G B. The protector of all three is Victoria Tyriskevich, wife of the former First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, Mzhavanadze. Shalutashvili, Tvalchrelidze and Tyriskevich all received 'valuable gifts', as Koridze puts it, from the Patriarchate treasury.

In conclusion, D. Koridze proposes a series of measures to bring the abovementioned facts into the open.

The 'Report' is dated 19 March 1973.

* * *

A second document on this subject, entitled 'Evidence', was written by **Teimuraz Dzhvarsheishvili,** a historian, at the beginning of 1974

Dzhvarsheishvili names a number of people who are ready to corroborate and supplement his evidence. Among these are Metropolitan Ilya Shiolashvili of Sukhumi and Abkhazia; Avtandil Samkharadze, now Father Illarion, priest of the Zion church; Viktor Shalamberidze, priest of a church in Mtskheta; and Valentina Pailodze (see *Chronicle* 32).

* * *

One of the potential witnesses just listed, **Father Viktor Shalamberidze,** died on 11 February 1974 in a car crash.

* * *

**Valentina Pailodze** has written a letter from a labour camp to Eduard Shevardnadze, the First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, in which she supports the accusations made against Keratishvili, Tvalchrelidze, Shalutashvili and others. The letter names witnesses to the crimes and reports the pressure put on her, even before her arrest, by Keratishvili and the authorities.

As V. Pailodze reports, in the course of the investigation carried out by D. Koridze, orders were issued twice for the arrest of Keratishvili and Shalutashvili. However, the case materials were demanded by Dzhibladze, a procurator of the republic, and the case was then closed.

V. Pailodze asks E. Shevardnadze to intervene in the case and to grant her a personal hearing, as she wants to give some evidence to him, but only in person.

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Yet another document on this subject is the article 'The Situation of the Orthodox Church in Georgia', dated 14 March 1974 and signed 'A Group of Georgian Christian Believers'. The article recounts the history of the Patriarchates of Efrem II and David V as a continuation of the state interference in the affairs of the Georgian Church which has gone on since 1921.

* * *

On 7 October 1974 O. Tskaroveli, a K G B official, came to D. Koridze's place of work and told him that the K G B had obtained a copy of D. Koridze's report on the theft at the Patriarchate, *in the Russian language.* He asked Koridze if he knew who had translated the report and how it had got abroad. D. Koridze replied that he did not know. Then Tskaroveli said that the authorities suspected Z. Gamsakhurdia (son of the well-known Georgian writer K. Gamsakhurdia). D. Koridze replied that he had shown the report to Z. Gamsakhurdia, but that besides him many officials of the Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Procurator's Office had read the report — it had passed through many hands. Koridze also said that the K G B



should be assisting the investigation into the robbery and giving practical help to the Procurator's office, rather than establishing how the report was translated into Russian. Koridze expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that the K G B officials who had taken part in the robbery of the Patriarchate had not been punished. Tsakroveli's only reply was silence.

At the end of October, D. Koridze was taken from his home and driven to K G B headquarters. There he talked with A. Inauri, Georgian K G B chairman, and his deputy, Sh. Zardalishvili. They told him that the report on the robbery of the Patriarchate, which he had sent to the Party Central Committee, had been broadcast by five foreign radio stations. The K G B also feared that the Pope might make a protest on the subject.

A. Inauri threatened D. Koridze with expulsion from the Party and arrest. D. Koridze objected that he had not committed any crime, and had only carried out his official duty. They asked him: 'Why did you show the report to that anti-Soviet type, Z. Gamsakhurdia?' D. Koridze replied that he had no information about Z. Gamsakhurdia being 'an anti-Soviet type'. He knew that Z. Gamsakhurdia was working in the Department for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, and he considered his interest in the investigation of the robbery at the Patriarchate to be natural. In addition, the document was not secret, so that in showing it to someone interested in the investigation, Koridze did not consider he was breaking the law.

D. Koridze was reproached for allegedly having become 'an anti-Sovietist' and 'a religious believer'. D. Koridze replied that unmasking a robbery was not an 'anti-Soviet act', besides which he was the son of a worker, he had been a party member for 30 years, he had been working for 34 years, he had taken part in the battle of Kerch and had graduated from the Higher Party School in Moscow. If, after all this, he was considered an 'anti-Sovietist' and a 'religious believer', the Soviet state was in a bad way.

At the end of October, D. Koridze was forced to retire on pension. His application for acceptance into the Collegium of Lawyers [i.e. the Bar] is lying unanswered at the Ministry of Justice. D. Koridze is a senior legal adviser, and has worked for about 30 years as an investigator of especially important cases.

### From the Soviet Press

On 10 December 1974 the newspaper *Molodezh Gruzii* (*Georgian Youth*) published an article by L. Mamaladze, 'She Got What She Deserved', about the trial of V. Pailodze. (The trial took place on 26 June — see *Chronicle* 32). The article states that V. Pailodze pleaded not guilty and justified her actions by reference to her religious faith.

In connection with this, the author writes:

> We must remember that in our country the church is separated from the state. Therefore we understand freedom of conscience as freedom to carry

out religious rituals in church, in a congregation, but never as freedom of propaganda. . . .

The article reports that a large group of intellectuals had gathered near the court building and were excitedly discussing the case. 'I do not wish to name all these respectable persons', writes the author. 'I do not want their names to appear beside that of V. Pailodze'. The article does not clearly state how the assembled intellectuals regarded V. Pailodze's case.

## Surveillance of Ginzburg and Marchenko

As reported in *Chronicle* 32, the former political prisoner Alexander Ginzburg, released in January 1972 and placed under administrative surveillance from February to August 1972, was informed on 11 April 1974 that he was to be subjected to a further six month period of surveillance. The surveillance was authorized by Yulin, procurator of Tarusa district in Kaluga region, who told Ginzburg that persons sentenced for especially dangerous crimes against the state could be placed under surveillance a second time without any additional reasons being given. Ginzburg's complaints to the Kaluga Procurator's Office have remained unanswered.

In the course of the period of surveillance, Ginzburg was subjected to a whole series of different administrative persecutions: several times he was dismissed from various jobs; he was refused other jobs as soon as he informed the police of his intention to apply for them (and meanwhile, the police demanded that he should find a job immediately, threatening him with the decree on parasites). The police would not give him permission to visit Moscow, where his mother, wife and son live; two weeks after his wife and child came to spend the summer at Tarusa, his wife was fined for 'living without a residence permit'. In May, when Ginzburg was in the local hospital, suffering from an acute ulcer condition, the police issued a warrant against him for failing to appear at his weekly check; in August he was refused permission to travel to Moscow for medical reasons officially approved by the Moscow hospital in which he had been a patient for a few months in 1973, and backed up by the Tarusa hospital which stated it could not give Ginzburg the drugs, etc., that he needed.

On 5 October, a few days before his period of surveillance was to end, Ginzburg's one-and-a-half year old son became seriously ill. There was no children's doctor or expert on infectious diseases in Tarusa that day. Ginzburg applied to the police for permission to make a journey out of Tarusa (his wife was in Moscow at the time) and on receiving a refusal took his son to Moscow anyway, where the child was found to have scarlet fever. On the same evening, the police (in the person of Lieutenant Lunev) checked on Ginzburg, and, not finding him at home, as he returned only on the morning of 6 October, they declared that he had 'infringed the surveillance regulations' and handed the case over to a court.



On 9 October, when Ginzburg came for his weekly check, Lieutenant Lunev told him that the surveillance order had been extended to one year. On 10 October, on the day appointed for the court hearing (which did not take place on that date, because of the non-appearance of a witness — Ginzburg's mother — who had a heart attack after hearing what Lunev had said), Ginzburg studied the text of the surveillance order in the judge's office: in the typewritten text the number '6' (months) had been changed by hand to '12', without even the note 'authoritative correction' which is obligatory in such cases. On 11 October Ginzburg sent a statement to the head of the Kaluga Regional Administration for Internal Affairs and to the regional procurator, demanding that Major Volodin, head of the Tarusa district department of internal affairs, and his colleague Lieutenant Lunev be charged with forgery of official documents under article 175 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

On 12 October Ginzburg was summoned to the police station and given an order ending his surveillance 'for family reasons and because of his health'. The order stated as before that the surveillance had been set at 12 months and that there had been an infringement of the regulations (although only a court can decide whether there has been an infringement). Ginzburg protested against this formulation in a letter to the U S S R Procurator's Office. On 15 October, the day appointed for the new court hearing, it turned out there was to be no hearing, as the police had withdrawn the case from court.

Ginzburg has as yet received no reply to the statements he sent to the Kaluga Procurator's Office and the U S S R Procurator's Office.

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On 14 October 1974 Anatoly Marchenko declared that he would no longer observe the regulations of the administrative surveillance ordered for him by the Tarusa city procurator in May of this year (*Chronicle* 32). In Marchenko's opinion, the surveillance had become an instrument for persecuting his family and himself.

At the end of November L. G. Krechetova, a judge in Tarusa, ordered an administrative penalty to be imposed on Marchenko for his infringement of the surveillance regulations — he was fined 35 roubles. Marchenko is slightly deaf and he was taken to the courtroom without his hearing aid. He could not hear the proceedings and told the judge this, but she did not believe him. It was only in December that Marchenko's wife discovered that he had been fined on a false charge: it had been alleged that on 7 November, at eight o'clock in the evening, he had not been at home. Marchenko's wife sent the court a statement which called for charges to be made out against the police officials for giving false evidence, and gave a list of witnesses to the fact that Marchenko had been at home on that night. The judge refused to accept the statement, because, she explained, the evidence had served as a basis for her

decision which, in being put into effect, became a legal act and now had legal force, so that the evidence too had become part of the law. Yulin, the Tarusa procurator, refused to charge the police officials, and, in reply to the statement, insisted that Marchenko's punishment should stand. The punishment was not revoked.

On 4 December Marchenko was fined again (40 roubles) for not turning up at the police station for the compulsory weekly check. A third trumped-up charge of infringing the surveillance regulations would make him subject to article 198-2 (which carries a penalty of up to two years imprisonment).

On 10 December Marchenko sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in which he renounced his Soviet citizenship and asked to be given the possibility to emigrate to the USA. He had received two invitations from citizens of the USA. However, the head of the Kaluga regional branch of OVIR advised him not to apply for an exit visa to the USA, but rather to use an invitation from Israel: 'In that case, we will let you out very quickly; but if you apply to go to the USA or any other capitalist country — you will be refused a visa, and you will be arrested for infringing the surveillance regulations.' Marchenko unofficially received the same kind of advice from the KGB (a year earlier a KGB official had advised him, also unofficially, to emigrate: 'otherwise you'll go back to where you came from', i.e. to a camp).

At present, Marchenko is awaiting an official reply to his application for an exit visa to the USA.

Marchenko's statements on the establishment of surveillance over him, on his refusal to cooperate with these surveillance regulations, and on his renunciation of citizenship will be published in the *Archive of the Chronicle*, number 2.

## Extrajudicial Persecution

In February 1974 **Ernst Orlovsky,** an employee at the Leningrad Metrological Scientific Research Institute, was reduced from the rank of leading engineer (190 roubles a month) to that of engineer (110 roubles).

On 12 August Orlovsky wrote an open letter addressed 'To the Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to everyone involved in the defence of human rights and the battle against tyranny'. In his letter he tells how his rank was reduced on the basis of a character reference, the only negative phrase in which was: 'He is inclined to praise an ideology foreign to our society.'

Orlovsky was informed unofficially that his 'guilt' consisted of the following: he had refused to express approval of the sending of troops into Czechoslovakia in August 1968; in 1972-3 the KGB had questioned him as a witness on five occasions; in 1970, when called as a witness in the trial of R. Pimenov (*Chronicle* 16), he had shown the court some documents which made it necessary for the court to nullify one of the charges — that of distributing the manifesto 'Two Thousand Words'; his typewriter had been confiscated by the KGB in January 1972 (it had, however, been returned in March); he did not deny that he liked some of Solzhenitsyn's works which had been published in the USSR; he refused to condemn statements made by other people, the full and precise texts of which were unknown to him; he did not see how the Franco regime in Spain was better than the Chilean junta; he had had friendly conversations with several fellow-workers who had applied for visas to Israel; he had recited by heart A. K. Tolstoy's *Dream of Popov* and *Russian History from Gostomysl to the 19th Century*, and E. Evtushenko's *Italian tears*.



Orlovsky's letter begins: 'Having exhausted the very limited opportunities for legal complaint against the violation of my rights, and assuming that my "case" has not only personal but also social significance, I have decided to appeal to public opinion.'

In December 1974 Orlovsky was given the rank of senior engineer.

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In December 1974 **Anna Viktorovna Golumbievskaya,** a teacher of Russian language and literature at secondary school 130 in Odessa, was expelled from the party and dismissed from her job. (She was born in 1937; her mother is dead, her father was killed at the front; she lives with her 13-year-old daughter; she joined the party in 1967; she graduated from the University of Marxism-Leninism and obtained the preliminary qualifications for a postgraduate degree in philosophy.)

It all began when, in April 1973, during a lesson about Gogol's works, Golumbievskaya made a reference to a writer whose work had at first been nominated for the Lenin prize but was later called 'an ideological diversion in Soviet literature'. P. P. Grushevskaya, a teacher who was present during this lesson, wrote a denunciation to the headmaster. In May 1973 Golumbievskaya received a 'warning' from the party bureau about the 'apolitical' nature of her literature lesson and was transferred to teaching the younger classes.

On 15 March 1974 the party bureau condemned her for criticising, in staff-room conversation, the deportation of Solzhenitsyn from the USSR. In August Golumbievskaya was 'cautioned' for having 'lost her class-feeling'. At the start of the school year she was assigned to teach only the minimum number of lessons.

On 27 November two people from the district party committee came to the school to talk to Golumbievskaya. They suggested that she should 'repent of what she had done'. Golumbievskaya refused.

On 2 December a meeting was called to discuss 'the personal case of teacher Golumbievskaya'. There were two propositions: (1) that she should be expelled from the party and dismissed from her job; (2) that the party bureau resolution of 15 March should be approved.

The first proposition was supported only by the person who formulated it:

the second was supported by 11 people, with one abstention.

On 13 December the bureau of the district party committee expelled Golumbievskaya from the party and recommended to the district education department that she be dismissed from her job.

Golumbievskaya has recounted this story in an open letter dated 25 December 1974.

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See also the section 'Georgian Samizdat on the Situation in the Georgian Patriarchate', about **D. Koridze.**

## An Exhibition by Independent Artists

On 15 September a group of artists made an attempt to hold an open air exhibition of their works, on the open space between Profsoyuznaya Street and Ostrovityanova Street. This was preceded by a statement from the artists to the Moscow Soviet, announcing their intention of holding the exhibition, and by discussions with officials of the Moscow Soviet and the Moscow Section of the Artists' Union, which ended indecisively, with no refusal and no permission being given. At noon the 24 artists began to exhibit their works in the presence of a considerable number of spectators (including foreign journalists and diplomats), a few policemen in uniform, who were reasonably polite in telling those assembled to disperse, and a large group of men in civilian clothes who proceeded to break up the exhibition.

The pretext given for breaking up the exhibition was an announcement to the effect that a Sunday work-team was about to arrive to landscape the area. And indeed, some time after the dispersal had begun a lorry drew up carrying a small number of saplings, and the pictures taken from the artists were thrown onto the lorry. (The vacant lot was actually landscaped only two weeks later, after a fuss had been made about the exhibition in the foreign press and after a number of curious journalists had visited the scene.)

The exhibition was broken up by force, both 'manual' (people were beaten and had their arms twisted; pictures and cameras were confiscated), and 'mechanical' (bulldozers and vehicles spraying water were used). According to witnesses, six pictures were destroyed and about 20 damaged. Five of those who took part in the exhibition (Oscar Rabin, his son Alexander Rabin-Kropivnitsky, Evgeny Rukhin, Nadezhda Elskaya and the photographer Vladimir Sychev) were taken to a police station, where they were tried on the following day. O. Rabin and E. Rukhin were fined; the rest were sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment each. N. Elskaya was released on the same day as sentence was pronounced, A. Rabin and V. Sychev two days later, on 18 September.



On 18-19 September, on the initiative of the Moscow Soviet, fresh discussions took place about arranging an exhibition, in which N. Ya. Sychev, Secretary of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee, took part. As a result of these discussions, an exhibition took place on 29 September in Izmailovsky Park; about 200 pictures by 65 artists were exhibited. Among the artists who took part were several members of the Moscow section of the Artists' Union, although the union leadership had summoned them and warned them they would be expelled from the union if they participated.

The TASS news agency, in a statement for abroad, and N. Ya. Sychev, at a press conference in the House of Journalists, maintained that a Sunday work-project had been dispersed by hooligans and rejected the 'inventions' of the foreign press about the breaking up of an exhibition, the use of vehicles against some artists, the confiscation of their pictures, 'and other such fabrications'.

There are *samizdat* copies in existence of statements sent by the artists to the Moscow Soviet concerning the organization of the exhibition, and to the Council of Ministers and the Party Politbureau about the breaking-up of the exhibition; there is also Nikolai Bokov's article 'Two Days in September', devoted to the breaking-up of the first exhibition and to the exhibition which took place in Izmailovsky Park.

## Biographies

**Anatoly Pavlovich Kozlov** was born in 1936; he graduated from the Army School of Engineering in Kaliningrad in 1959, having obtained the qualification of building technician. From 1959 to 1963 he served in the army. During this period he took correspondence courses at the Institute of Electric Energy, and later at the Tomsk Polytechnic. He became bored with army service and applied for demobilization papers. In 1963 he was ruled to be unfit by a medical board and demobilized. He lived in Karaganda, worked as a project engineer, then as chief engineer at a factory, and then as a master mechanic in the mines. He was a member of the Communist Party. In 1968 he moved to the Urals. He lost his Party card when he wrote a statement about his unsuitability for the party. In 1969 he lived in the township of Strezhevoye in Tomsk region, working as a chief mechanic; he left this job because he did not want to have a leading position. He got a job as a carpenter in a Department of Repairs and Building.

He began to write poetry at the age of 15, and later turned to prose as well. He sent his manuscripts to publishing houses, but they were not published. In the winter of 1971 he gave some of his works to a friend to read. When he got them back, he lost the file containing them on the way home. Soon after, he was arrested on charges of having composed and disseminated slanderous fabri-

cations — article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. In September and October 1971 he underwent an in-patient psychiatric examination in Tomsk Psychiatric Hospital, and was pronounced responsible. The diagnosis was signed by M. Veselkova, K. Koshkareva and T. Vezhenkova, doctors at Tomsk Psychiatric Hospital.

Kozlov was sentenced to two years in a labour camp.

In 1972, while he was in the camp, charges were drawn up against him under articles 70, para 1, and 72 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. He was accused of founding an organization in the camp to struggle against the existing system. In May 1972 he was again subjected to an in-patient psychiatric examination at Tomsk Psychiatric Hospital. He was declared non-responsible. The diagnosis read: 'A. P. Kozlov suffers from a chronic mental illness in the form of paranoid schizophrenia.' The commission's conclusion was: 'He is non-responsible and requires compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital.' The report was signed by M. Veselkova, Z. Cheredovaya and E. Khokhlova, doctors at Tomsk Psychiatric Hospital.

It is not known where A. P. Kozlov is now.

Both psychiatric diagnoses are published in *Archive of the Chronicle*, number 2.

## News in Brief

An 'adoption group' of the international non-government organization **'Amnesty International'** has been set up in the Soviet Union. The aim of the organization 'Amnesty International' is to aid people whose freedom is restricted in contravention of articles 5, 9, 18 and 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to ease their circumstances and to seek their release.

The work of this adoption group is governed by the following principles: a group undertakes to help and seek the release of three prisoners — one from the 'Eastern', socialist bloc; one from the 'Western', capitalist bloc; and the third from the developing countries of Asia, Africa or South America; prisoners in the adoption group's own country are specifically excluded. This system ensures political impartiality in the work undertaken.

The first Soviet 'adoption group' was finally instituted in September 1974. The announcement of the group's inception was made by 11 people and was dated October 1973.

Those wishing to take part in the work of the Soviet adoption group can contact Valentin Turchin, the group's chairman (telephone: Moscow 129-25-30), or the group's secretary, Andrei Tverdokhlebov (telephone: Moscow 297-63-69).

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In September 1974 the photographer **Vladimir Vylegzhanin** (see *Chronicle* 32) was tried in Kiev. The judge at his trial was Dyshel. Vylegzhanin was sentenced to four years in a labour camp for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. The court made eight separate rulings. On the basis of two of these the court used Vylegzhanin's testimony to start separate proceedings against the Muscovites Sergei Bychkov and Nikolai Bokov (*Chronicle* 32).



During a visit from his wife after the verdict Vylegzhanin said that he would be celebrating his 30th birthday in freedom (he was born in 1945).

Judge Dyshel also presided at the trials of Zinovy Antonyuk (*Chronicle* 27; sentenced to seven years in labour camp plus three years' exile), Vasily Stus (*Chronicle* 27; sentenced to five plus three), Samuil Gluzman (*Chronicle* 28; sentence — seven plus three), Lyubov Serednyak (*Chronicle* 28), Leonid Plyushch (*Chronicle* 29; sent for compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital) and Evgeny Sverstyuk (*Chronicle* 29; sentenced to seven plus five).

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**P. I. Yakir** and **V. A. Krasin** were given a pardon by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, on 16 September 1974, and have been freed from serving the rest of their sentences [*Chronicle* 30].

* * *

In February 1973 **Petras Cidzikas** (born 1944), a student at Vilnius University, was arrested. In June 1973 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R heard the case of P. Cidzikas, who was charged with disseminating the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, anti-Soviet pamphlets and nationalist poetry. The court declared P. Cidzikas insane and sent him to a special psychiatric hospital for compulsory treatment. He was sent to the special psychiatric hospital at Chernyakhovsk. Earlier, in order to avoid being conscripted into the army, Cidzikas had pretended to be mentally ill and had been exempted from military service.

* * *

On 18 September 1974 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R sentenced **B. Kulikauskas** (arrested on 20 November 1973) to three and a half years in a strict-regime labour camp, and **J. Ivanauskas** to 2 years of ordinary regime for 'stealing state property'.

The facts of the case are: Ivanauskas had given some typing paper to Kulikauskas, who used it to print prayer-books. This was the second time Kulikauskas had been tried for printing prayer-books.

* * *

After their release from imprisonment, the brothers **Anatoly** and **Valery Rumyantsev** (*Chronicles* 19, 20) were not given residence permits to live with their blind mother, who lives alone in Sochi. Valery was put for a year under police surveillance in Tikhoretsk, Krasnodar territory. The police allowed

Valery to visit his mother twice, but refused to permit a visit at the New Year. His mother cannot go to live with Valery or even come to visit him, as he does not have accommodation of his own.

* * *

During a tourist excursion on the Danube in October-November 1972 **Anatoly Mikhailovich Zinchenko,** an engineer from Kharkov, paid a visit to the embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Vienna 'in order to examine the possibility of obtaining work and accommodation if he were to come officially with his family to Germany for a time'.

He missed his steamer and, at his own request, was taken by the consul to the Soviet Embassy and from there he was flown to Moscow. At Moscow airport he was arrested and, escorted by K G B officials, was sent to Kharkov at his own expense. He was held under arrest from 8 to 13 November 1972. A criminal case was prepared against Zinchenko for betrayal of the Motherland.

Procedural norms were violated during the investigation; witnesses were subjected to blackmail and threats. For example, Zinchenko's 73-year-old mother was questioned for 10 hours, during which time she was told he had given evidence against himself and that she must confirm this evidence in order to save her son. At this time Zinchenko and his wife lost their jobs through the influence of the K G B. Zinchenko himself was deprived of his security clearance and therefore could not continue in his former job; his wife was forced by blackmail to leave her place of work. Eleven months later, the charges were dropped, but Zinchenko was given no written confirmation of the closing of the case. Neither Zinchenko nor his wife regained their former jobs.

Zinchenko then began a law-suit against Lieutenant-Colonel Babusenko of the K G B, who was the chief investigator in his case. K G B Lieutenant-Colonel Fedosenko came from Kiev and on 24 December 1973 he 'cautioned' Zinchenko under the decree of 25 December 1972 (*Chronicles* 30, 32), and threatened to charge him with 'slander', 'making knowingly false accusations' and 'spreading fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet political and social system'. Zinchenko refused to sign the 'record of caution'.

Zinchenko sent a number of letters to Soviet party and state authorities and also to some foreign organizations. In these he makes complaints about the actions of the Kharkov K G B officials. The letters he sent abroad did not reach their destination. Because of this, Zinchenko is carrying on a lively correspondence with the U S S R Ministry of Communications.

His address is: Kharkov — 103; August 23 Street 41A, flat 9; telephone 302296.

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During the visit by U S A President R. Nixon to the U S S R (27 June to 3 July 1974) another **'Nixon round-up'** took place in Moscow (see *Chronicle* 26); in particular, a number of Jewish activists were put under preventive arrest. (*Chronicle* 32 has already reported that participants in the international academic seminar, scheduled for the beginning of July, were arrested.) Those arrested were not kept in Moscow itself but were put in prisons in the suburbs. Particular care was taken to avoid there being any written evidence of anyone having been put under preventive arrest; the authorities even went to the lengths of ensuring that at their places of work the arrested persons were recorded as having received their wages, and on the time charts their daily 'arrivals' and 'departures' were marked in.



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The physicist **Anatoly Shcharansky** was detained on 19 June by First Lieutenant A. D. Efremov of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department and was held in the Volokolamsk remand prison from 19 June to 5 July. Shcharansky received no explanation of his detention, but he was told his wages would be paid for the period of his absence. However, the department of personnel and accounts of the All-Union Oil and Gas Research Institute refused, despite an oral K G B directive, to pay Shcharansky any wages for the days of his 'preventive absence'. Shcharansky filed a statement of claim in court, demanding fulfilment of the law guaranteeing wages 'during a term of fulfilling state or social obligations' (*Archive of the Chronicle,* number 2).

On 7 July Shcharansky's wife left for Israel. He himself was refused an exit visa.

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In 1974 it became common practice to disconnect the telephones of people who made frequent telephone calls abroad of which the authorities disapproved. This was based on the now effectively legalised system of phone-tapping (see *Chronicle* 27). In Moscow G. Podyapolsky, Yu. Daniel, L. Bogoraz and L. Alekseyeva have all had their telephones disconnected; so have the following activists in the Jewish emigration movement: V. Slepak, V. Prestin, M. Agursky, A. Voronel, V. Polsky, V. Rubin and E. Smorodinskaya. Some of those 'disconnected' were informed that their telephones were being cut off for six months.

Since December 1974 all A. D. Sakharov's telephone calls to and from abroad have been cut off.

* * *

On 24 June 1973 **A. O. Smirnov,** nephew of the late writer A. E. Kosterin, was 'cautioned' under the 25 December 1972 decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet (*Chronicles* 30, 32). Smirnov is a worker at the ZIL (Likhachev motor-works) factory and is a third year student at the ZIL factory's higher education and training school. He did not sign the 'record of caution'.

* * *

On 25 June 1974 eight people were taken to K G B headquarters in Tbilisi: **Maia Diasamidze,** the assistant producer of the Youth Theatre; **Pikria Makalatia,** a laboratory worker at the Tbilisi University toponomic laboratory; **Liya Kazakhashvili,** an employee of the Micro-Electronics Institute; the philologist **Zeinab Lomdzharia; Eteri Goksadze,** proof-reader on the journal *Tsiskari;* **Marine Machavariani,** a laboratory assistant at the Tbilisi University faculty of philosophy; **Marina Gogoladze,** a guide at the 'Iveriya' hotel; and the surgeon **Vakhtang Khutsidze.**

Colonel Zardalishvili, deputy chairman of the Georgian K G B, interviewed them. Duplicated copies of the book *Snakeskin,* by the Georgian writer Robakidze, which had been reproduced on an 'Era' duplicating machine, were confiscated from the detainees. (Robakidze is a well-known Georgian emigré writer. He has written in three languages — Georgian, Russian and German. The action of the novel *Snakeskin* takes place before the revolution. Not long ago, in the newspaper *Kommunisti,* Robakidze was called a 'fascist'.) They were made to promise in writing that this would never happen again. The detainees were asked whether they also read Solzhenitsyn.

In connection with this case, **Givi Nebieridze,** the head of the Cybernetics Institute photography laboratory, and two laboratory workers, **Mikiashvili** and **Nadtsvilishvili,** were suspended from their jobs.

* * *

On 27 September 1974 the secretary of the Moscow University Komsomol committee stated at a meeting of Komsomol activists from various laboratories that the university party committee had decided to dismiss anybody who told political jokes.

In addition he said that the party organization knew that the book *Gulag Archipelago* was being passed round among the staff at the university; he expressed the opinion that anybody, and especially a Komsomol activist, who discovered a copy of this book should immediately hand it to the party authorities. 'Put it on this table five minutes after you see it,' he said.

* * *

After his release from a camp in 1972 **Lev Kvachevsky** (*Chronicle* 27) was forced to live far away from his wife and children: he was not given a residence permit in Leningrad, where his family lived. In May 1974 he declared that he refused to accept the restrictions on his passport and moved to live with his family. In September 1974 he was summoned to the headquarters of the K G B administration for Leningrad city and region, where he was told that they were aware of his difficult position with regard to work and residence permits, and that they were ready to help him, if he agreed to become their 'consultant'. He was told that the K G B's aim was prophylaxis, not arrests: 'Every person convicted is a failure on our part.' Kvachevsky firmly refused. He was then 'cautioned' under the 25 December 1972 decree (*Chronicles* 30, 32).



The text of this 'warning' did not contain any concrete charges: it was, in fact, a reformulated version of article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

On 27 December 1974 L. Kvachevsky left the U S S R.

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In November 1974, **Efim Grigorevich Etkind** left the U S S R (see *Chronicle* 32).

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In December 1974 **Viktor Polsky,** who was active in the Jewish emigration movement and had long been a 'refusenik', was finally allowed to leave the U S S R.

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*Chronicle* 33 has already reported the sudden pardoning of **Simas Kudirka** and his emigration to the U S A. Additional details have become known about how Kudirka was handed over by the American captain (see *Chronicle* 20). It turns out that the captain of the Soviet ship sent the American captain a 'naval protest' stating that Simas Kudirka had broken into his ship's safe and stolen 2,000 roubles. Later, during the pre-trial investigation and trial, this charge and the 'naval protest' were never mentioned. With the permission of the American captain a group of Soviet sailors dragged Simas Kudirka off the American ship by force; the American sailors turned their backs on Kudirka's desperate resistance, and watched television.

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On 20 December **Vladimir Dremlyuga** (*Chronicles* 3, 32), who took part in the Red Square demonstration of 25 August 1968, left the U S S R.

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In September-October 1974 **Natalya Gorbanevskaya,** who took part in the Red Square demonstration of 25 August 1968 (*Chronicles* 3, 15, 24), received an invitation from a French friend to visit her for a year, and applied to O V I R for permission to do so. Some time later, she received a telephone call from O V I R, who asked her to change her application to a request for a permanent emigration visa. Gorbanevskaya did this. On 19 December 1974 she was refused an exit visa, by telephone, with no reasons being given.

* * *

On 20 December 1974, Academician **A. D. Sakharov** received a letter threatening reprisals against his son-in-law Efrem Yankelevich and his one year old grandson if Sakharov continued his 'unpatriotic' behaviour. The letter was signed 'The Central Committee of the Russian Christian Party'; in addition to the letter the envelope contained a cutting from a 19 December newspaper

featuring the well-known Tass statement and Gromyko's letter to Kissinger.

On the preceding day, 19 December, **Efrem Yankelevich** and his wife **Tatyana Semyonova** were refused exit visas to the U S A for a year's residence there (on the invitation of the President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology); they had submitted their application in the spring of 1973. They were also told: 'Our superiors have instructed us to inform you that you may submit an application for permanent emigration to Israel.'

Sakharov reported the threatening letter to the police, but so far the police have not reacted in any way — no one has even come to examine the original letter.

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The February 1974 issue of the journal *Young Communist* was removed from circulation in connection with the publication in it of an article about Herzen, 'The Alternative' by **A. L. Yanov.** The editor and the author were summoned for 'a talk'.

* * *

In August 1974 the name of **Yu. Mikhailov** disappeared from the list of song writers on the posters and programs of the Moscow Komsomol theatre 'Til'.

Now Yu. Mikhailov's name has reappeared on the theatre's posters.

* * *

As revealed in a 'secret letter' which was read at closed party meetings in Georgia, over the last two years more than 25,000 people have been arrested in Georgia in the course of the anti-corruption campaign. Among these there were 9,500 members of the Communist Party, about 7,000 Komsomol members and about 70 officials of the police and security organs.

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In Lithuania the latest issues (numbers 11-13) of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* have appeared.

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The publishing-house 'Khronika Press' has published issues 9 and 10 of *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R,* number 28 of *A Chronicle of Current Events*; numbers 28-31 of *A Chronicle of Current Events* in one volume, A. Sakharov's essay 'On Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "Letter to Soviet Leaders"' and V. Chalidze's book *Human Rights and the Soviet Union.*

* * *

On 27 July 1974 **Ekaterina Lvovna Olitskaya** died. In the 1920s, before her first arrest and between her first and second arrests, E. L. Olitskaya was an



active member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (the S R's). She spent the 1930s and 1940s in prison and exile. Her book *My Memoirs* has been published in *samizdat* and abroad. There is an obituary of her in *A Chronicle of Human Rights,* number 10.

### Made in U S A

On 26 May 1974 the electricity meter was replaced in the home of **Gennady Konstantinovich Kryuchkov,**[19] chairman of the Council of Churches of the Evangelical-Christian Baptists (in Tula, Ageyeva street 32).

On 8 June Yury Konstantinovich Kryuchkov, G. K. Kryuchkov's brother, opened the meter at the request of Gennady's wife Lidiya Vasilievna and examined it. At first he found nothing. Then he tried to unscrew two screws by which the meter's mechanism was attached to the outer casing, but the screws turned out to have two heads, so that although the outer casing came off, the screw remained in place. Then Y. K. Kryuchkov took the meter off the wall and, by carefully examining it, noticed some barely visible slits in the screws. Inserting a needle into these slits, he managed to unscrew the casing and take out the meter's mechanism. Behind the mechanism, instead of the back part of the casing, he found a black steel plate concealing a microphone. The microphone was directly connected to the circuit in the meter itself, and a miniature microphone monitor was taped to the back part of the casing. On the monitor was written in English 'Made in U S A'. The other equipment had Soviet markings.

The meter was taken down and opened between 12.0 and 1.0 p.m. on Saturday 8 June. Immediately the house was surrounded by 'people in plain clothes'. Soon two men calling themselves electricians entered the house. Seeing the opened meter, they made a written report and turned off the lighting.

From the moment the meter was opened, everyone coming out of the house had been detained, searched and interrogated. In addition S. F. Selivanov, an investigator from the Administration of Internal Affairs, kept demanding of L. V. Kryuchkova, 'Return to us what you found'. Sometimes he even resorted to threats: 'Watch out! The case isn't closed! After all, that equipment was expensive — you'll answer for theft.'

L. V. Kryuchkova has written an open letter 'To all Christians of the Evangelical-Baptist faith', giving an account of these events and including a photograph of the open meter and the microphone.

## Letters and Statements

On 9 July 1974 Academician A. D. Sakharov made an appeal to the scientists of the world. He called on them to come to the defence of **Valentin Fyodorovich Turchin,** Doctor of Physics and Mathematics, 'who has now had all possibility

of scientific and pedagogical work barred to him; he has been condemned to unemployment and privations . . . because in a statement published in the west in September 1973 he defended and explained my views on international problems'.

* * *

On 17 July 1974 Academician A. D. Sakharov and I. R. Shafarevich, Corresponding Member of the U S S R Academy of Sciences, appealed to 'the world scientific community' in a similar letter in defence of **Yury Fyodorovich Orlov,** Corresponding Member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

* * *

On 2 August 1974 Academician Sakharov appealed to the participants in the World Mathematical Congress of 1974 (in Canada), calling on them to adopt a resolution in support of **Leonid Plyushch** and to make every possible effort to save him.

* * *

On 2 August 1974 A. D. Sakharov issued a 'Statement for the Press' in which he called the attention of world public opinion to the fact that yet another foreign journalist, **Julian Nundy,** a Reuter correspondent, had been effectively expelled from Moscow. In his statement Sakharov said: 'I knew Nundy personally. I wish to attest that . . . he always fulfilled his duties as a journalist accurately and honestly. This person could be relied on. It was precisely because of this that Nundy turned out to be *persona non grata* for the Soviet authorities.'

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In connection with the publication of the book *Sakharov Speaks* in the West **A. D. Sakharov** gave an interview by telephone to the Russian section of the B B C on 22 August 1974. During the interview he said:

> In the course of these years (1968-74) my views have, I believe, acquired more depth, in the sense of a clearer understanding of the spiritual, social and economic crisis of the socialist system . . . I believe that there can be no question of disarmament, of reducing the dangers of armed conflict, of aid to underdeveloped countries or of preservation of the world's food supply, if at the same time the problem of trust between different countries is not resolved. But this trust is inseparable from a free exchange of information, free speech and the defence of individual rights. I attach particular significance to the question of free choice of one's country of residence. I am not calling for an overloading of the ship of détente, as some have accused me of doing. But I am convinvced that if this ship does not have a solid cargo of universal human values on board, it will be in danger of overturning.



In reply to the question 'Are you an optimist?' A. D. Sakharov said: 'I am an optimist in the philosophical sense; I believe in the power of the human spirit over even the most tragic of circumstances, in the power of good. As to more concrete views of the future — I avoid such prophecies; about this I am an agnostic.'

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On 16 April 1974 O. Ya. Meshko, the mother of **Alexander Sergienko** (*Chronicle* 30), sent an appeal to the authorities in which she outlined in detail the lack of evidence on which her son was convicted and referred to her son's serious health condition. She asked the authorities to 'help obtain a review of A. F. Sergienko's case and the redefinition of his crime under article 187-9 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (=article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code) on the basis outlined by his defence lawyer,' and to 'annul his three-year period of prison regime'.

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On 2 December 1974 **Malva Landa** appealed in an open letter: 'Defend Soviet prisoners of conscience!'

* * *

On 14 November **M. Agursky** made a statement at a Moscow press conference in connection with the publication of the collection of essays *From Under the Rubble.* He said that, in spite of the ostensible incompatibility between the aims of the Russian and Jewish national movements, 'we are united by many common ideals of humanity, by the grave national crises we are both experiencing, by the task of choosing national aims.' These aims were not antagonistic to each other. 'On the contrary, in our concern for the future we are both also trying to define and solve many cultural, social and economic problems, while at the same time we believe that the basic problem is one of spiritual renaissance.'

## Samizdat News

**A. Solzhenitsyn, 'Letter to Soviet Leaders'** (27 pages)

The 'Letter' is dated 5 September 1973. In March 1974, after he had been sent into exile, Solzhenitsyn had the letter published. In the foreword to the March edition of the 'Letter', he writes:

> I wrote this letter, with all its suggestions, before the confiscation of the *Gulag Archipelago* by the K G B, and sent it to those to whom it is addressed six months ago. Since then I have received no response or reply, nor any

sign of a move towards one . . . I have no choice now but to make the letter public . . . The letter came into being and developed from a single thought: how can the national catastrophe which threatens us be avoided?

In the opening section of the 'Letter' Solzhenitsyn writes:

I try here to express briefly what I consider most important: what I consider will benefit and save the people to which you — and I — all belong by birth.

I wish all nations well . . . But I am primarily concerned with the fate precisely of the Russian and Ukrainian nations . . .

And I write this letter on the *assumption* that you also feel this particular concern . . . If I am wrong about this, then it will be a waste of time for you to read any further.

Solzhenitsyn points to two dangers which threaten our country 'over the next 10 to 30 years': 'war with China and the mutual destruction of Western civilization and us in the thick smoke of a burnt-out Earth'.

In Solzhenitsyn's opinion, two factors 'point to' war with China: the '*ideological*' ('who understands, expounds and continues the work of the Fathers of the Progressive World View more truly?') and the 'dynamic pressure of the Chinese millions on our Siberian lands we have not yet properly mastered'. The author proposes one way of avoiding war with China, or at least of postponing it for a long while: 'surrender this ideology to them'.

Solzhenitsyn lists the following reasons for the second 'danger': the shortage of land resources; the unchecked striving for 'economic growth'; 'the modern technology of gigantism — in industry, and in agriculture, and in population growth'; and the irremediable pollution of the environment. As a way out of this he suggests 'the transfer of the centre of attention and the focus of efforts . . . *from outer tasks to inner ones*', the utilization ('within the basic principles of a stable, non-dynamic economy) of the Russian north-east — the north-east of our European area, the north of the Asian and main massif of Siberia'; and, again, the renunciation of Marxist ideology.

Solzhenitsyn writes that

This ideology, even in its best ten years, was wrong in all its predictions. Nowadays in this country *nothing constructive is based on that ideology* . . . Everything in this country has long since been based on material calculations and the obedience of its subjects, and not on any constructive inspiration. Today this ideology only weakens and enchains you. It cripples social life, the mind, speech, radio, the press — by lies, lies, lies . . . This all-pervading obligatory and compulsory resort to lying has become the most tormenting aspect of people's existence in our country.

The author does not suggest that 'Marxism should be persecuted or forbidden', but '*only this*: Marxism should be deprived of its powerful government support; let anyone who wishes propagandise, defend and inculcate it unhindered — but not during their working hours and not on state pay'.



The latter part of the 'Letter' is more reflective. Discussing the advantages and drawbacks of democracy and authoritarian systems, Solzhenitsyn writes:

Yes, of course, freedom is moral. But only up to a certain point, until it spills over into licence and selfishness. Likewise there is nothing immoral in *order*, in a stable and peaceful system. Again — up to a certain point, until it slides into oppression and tyranny . . . So, maybe we should admit that in Russia this road (i.e. the road of democracy, which 'lasted eight months altogether — from February to October 1917' — *Chronicle*) was not right and came before its time? Perhaps for the foreseeable future, whether we wish it or not, regardless of our own plans, Russia is bound to have an authoritarian system? Perhaps Russia is only sufficiently mature for such a system? Everything depends on what kind of authoritarian system awaits us in the future. It is not authoritarianism itself that is unbearable, but the wretched everyday ideological lie. It is not so much authoritarianism that is unbearable as tyranny and lawlessness.

The writer suggests: 'So that our country and people may not suffocate, so that they may be able to develop and enrich even you with their ideas, allow us the freedom to compete — not for power, but for *truth*! Allow freedom for all ideological and ethical currents, and in particular for all *religions*.'

Solzhenitsyn writes in conclusion: 'By writing this letter I also assume a heavy responsibility before Russian history, but not to take upon myself the search for a way out, to do nothing, would be an even greater responsibility.'

**What Awaits the Soviet Union?**

(A collection of articles on the theme of A. Solzhenitsyn's 'Letter to Soviet Leaders'. Moscow, 1974)

The collection consists of 14 articles and an appendix giving some information about 11 of the authors.

M. Agursky, the compiler, tells us in his foreword, dated 17 June, that 'the aim in compiling this volume was to reflect a wide range of existing contemporary views and avoid any tendency to look for common factors . . . The authors of these essays include Marxists, liberal democrats and nationalists of various kinds . . .'

The compiler believes that 'the weight of any particular opinions as quantitatively represented in this collection, may not correspond at all to their real weight in Soviet society as a whole.'

A short survey of all 14 articles in the collection follows.

*A. Sakharov*: 'On Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "Letter to Soviet Leaders"' (3 April 1974, 9 pages)

A. Sakharov notes that the 'Letter to Soviet Leaders' includes an implicit argument with some of his own 'earlier public statements'. He speaks of his own conception of the role of ideology in Soviet society — a conception that differs from that of Solzhenitsyn; he does not agree with Solzhenitsyn's assessment of Marxism 'as an allegedly "Western", anti-religious ideology, which distorted the healthy Russian line of development'. In Sakharov's opinion Solzhenitsyn exaggerates the role of the ideological factor in Sino-Soviet relations.

Sakharov sets out 'Solzhenitsyn's positive programme' in the form of 10 points. Three of them are:

- the development of the north east of the country as a buttress against China and a heartland or 'reservoir' for the Russian nation;
- economic isolationism;
- the preservation of the party and basic authoritarian aspects of the system, together with a strengthening of the role of the Soviets, of legality and the rule of law under conditions of freedom of conscience.

Sakharov criticises as follows:

> 'Solzhenitsyn's programme for the future is more of a myth-creation than a real project. But the creation of myths is not always harmless, especially in the 20th century, which longs for them. The myth of a "reservoir" for the Russian nation could be transformed into a tragedy.' And further on: 'A significant proportion of the Russian people and of the country's leaders are inclined to Great Russian nationalism, which is bound up with a fear of becoming dependent on the West and of democratic reconstruction. By falling on such fertile ground Solzhenitsyn's errors could become dangerous.'

Sakharov concludes his article thus: 'In spite of the fact that some aspects of Solzhenitsyn's view of the world seem mistaken to me, he is a giant in the struggle for human rights in today's tragic world.'

*R. Medvedev*: 'What awaits us in the Future?' (20 May, 17 pages)
Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev (born 1925), a Marxist, a historian, and holder of a doctorate in education; author of *Let History Judge, On Socialist Democracy* and other works published in *samizdat* and abroad. He was expelled from the party for writing *Let History Judge*.

In his article R. Medvedev criticises 'Solzhenitsyn's nationalism and isolationism', and finds unacceptable 'the preservation and development of the Russian nation's distinctive nature' by means of transferring the centre of national activity to the north-east of the country, but he shares Solzhenitsyn's concern 'regarding the Church's position in the U S S R'.

In the opinion of R. Medvedev, A. Solzhenitsyn exaggerates the threat of war with China, 'especially war . . . resulting from any ideological differences'.

The author considers that 'Solzhenitsyn rejects any democracy at all as unsuited to the U S S R'; in disagreeing with him, he puts forward the concept of



'socialism with a human face'. The author writes: 'Socialist democracy is the only reasonable alternative and the only possible path to a positive framework of life for all the nations of our country'.

R. Medvedev insists that Solzhenitsyn 'understands Marxism badly' and 'tries to blame all shortcomings and defects in the Soviet Union on Marxism-Leninism'.

In conclusion Medvedev expresses the hope that 'democratic movements of different hues' will be strengthened, and envisages the possibility of 'the emergence of a party' which 'would form a loyal and legal opposition to the existing leadership and by this would indirectly contribute to a renewal and revival of the C P S U'.

*M. Agursky*: 'The International Significance of the "Letter to Soviet Leaders"' (9 June, 8 pages)
Mikhail Samuilovich Agursky (born 1933), a Doctor of Technological Science in the field of technical cybernetics, has published in *samizdat* and abroad as a historian and journalist. He is an activist in the Jewish emigration movement. Since 1972, he has been refused an exit visa to Israel.

In his article, he writes:

> The credo of the majority of modern intellectuals includes the following 'self-evident' dogmas:
> (1) It is essential to work untiringly towards the removal of state and national boundaries, and to counter any forms of isolationism.
> (2) The growth of per capita production and consumption is an indisputable blessing.
> (3) The modern parliamentary systems which have developed in the Western countries are an ideal towards which all nations should strive.

The author welcomes Solzhenitsyn's criticism of these 'dogmas'. He also supports the criticism of Marxism in the 'Letter to Soviet Leaders': 'In demanding that the authorities should renounce their totalitarian Marxist ideology Solzhenitsyn is totally correct, for it is precisely this worn-out Marxism that has developed into the real barrier to any true progress.'

The article states that the 'purified Marxist ideology' of R. Medvedev is also a 'theoretical justification of totalitarianism'.

Disagreeing with A. Sakharov, the author again recalls the danger of introducing unlimited democratic freedoms 'without any preparation'.

A great deal of attention is devoted to the problem of 'national and state isolationism'.

In conclusion M. Agursky writes: 'If the programme outlined by Solzhenitsyn were to be carried out, it would be a victory not only for the peoples inhabiting the U S S R but for all the peoples of the world'.

*V. Osipov*: 'Five Disagreements with Sakharov' (April, 5 pages)
Vladimir Nikolayevich Osipov (born 1933) graduated from a teachers' training

institute. In 1961 he was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. In 1971 he founded the journal *Veche* and openly edited it. In 1974 he left the editorial board (*Chronicle* 32). On 27 November 1974 he was arrested (see above in this issue).

The author accepts 'Solzhenitsyn's programme' unconditionally and defends it against the criticism of Sakharov, whose article he heard on the radio.

He does not agree that Solzhenitsyn has greatly exaggerated the risk of war with China. 'The Chinese People's Republic is the quintessence of arrogant, aggressive godlessness and Marxism.'

His second disagreement concerns Sakharov's assessment of technical progress. Here Osipov accuses Sakharov of making science into a cult.

Osipov disagrees with Sakharov on the question of 'democracy as opposed to authoritarianism':

> To a Russian, the *distrust* which lies at the base of the election system is agonizing; so is the *calculation* and rationalism of democracy. A Russian feels the need for a whole truth and he cannot conceive of truth as being made up of Social-Christian, Social-Democratic, Liberal, Communist and other 'truths' stuck together.
>
> My fourth objection is to the world view expressed by Sakharov. However sad it may be, Academician Sakharov loses all impartiality when discussing Slavophile philosophy.
>
> It is awkward to speak about my last disagreement with Sakharov. Is Solzhenitsyn right in emphasizing the particular sufferings and victims of the Russian nation?

*A. Skuratov*: 'On the Polemic between Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn' (from the journal *Veche*, number 10, dated 19 April, 10 pages)

A. Skuratov (born 1935) is a historian. He has been arrested twice—in 1959 and in 1961.

The author's position is stated at the very beginning of the article: 'In this argument we wholly share and support most of A. I. Solzhenitsyn's conclusions and we express, at the least, surprise at the arguments put forward by Academician A. D. Sakharov'. The tone of the article is very sharp.

The article concludes with these words: 'Solzhenitsyn, even when forcibly torn from his native soil, has preserved the faculty of thinking as a Russian. Academician Sakharov, on the other hand, does not think as a Russian. Sakharov's views are mistaken because, while he claims universal significance for them, they do not take into account the national characteristics of the Russian people or of other peoples. His views will not be popular in Russia (thank God!), but might be in the U S A, where, in Solzhenitsyn's words, there exists "a very weak, unexpressed, national consciousness" which will inevitably bring defeat to that country and any imitators in an era when, as Solzhenitsyn has rightly remarked, there is no force stronger than nationalism.'



*A. Krasnov*: Extract from his book *The World Upside Down* (6 pages)

Anatoly Emmanuilovich Krasnov-Levitin (born 1915) is a religious writer. He is a graduate of a teachers' training institute and has taught literature. From his youth he has participated in church life. He was secretary to the Metropolitan A. Vvedensky of the 'Living Church'. He has been arrested four times and has spent a total of 10 years in imprisonment (the last time from 1971 to 1973). In September 1974 he emigrated. Until his departure he was a member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the U S S R.

After hearing on the radio 'last week' the text of the 'Letter to Soviet leaders', A. Krasnov criticizes Solzhenitsyn's positive programme. He writes: 'Your programme for the future can (alas!) arouse only laughter.' The author states in particular that one of Solzhenitsyn's main propositions — the conquest of the north east — can be accomplished only by 'Stalinist' methods.

Krasnov writes about Marxism: 'Of course it is true that Marxism has a very primitive view of man and that its anthropology is simply absurd. It is also true that history has not confirmed many of the prophecies of Marx and Engels . . . But all this cannot conceal the great truths of Marxism.'

Disagreeing with Solzhenitsyn, Krasnov writes of democracy: 'Only this system is a guarantee against illegality and repression . . . Only this system is natural and corresponds to human nature . . . So there can be no people which is not mature enough for democracy.'

Krasnov agrees with Solzhenitsyn that 'Christianity is Russia's only salvation'.

*G. Shimanov*: 'How Can We Understand Our History and What in It Should We Strive for?' (2 June, 15 pages)

Gennady Mikhailovich Shimanov (born 1937) is a worker. Since the early 1960s he has been active in religious life and in the democratic movement. In 1969 he was forcibly incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital but was released after 20 days. He described his impressions in the article 'Notes from the Red House'.

G. Shimanov poses the question: 'Has Solzhenitsyn been able in his vision of history to rise to those heights from which great spiritual horizons are visible?'

The author's negative answer can be discerned through his view of Russia's history as the evolution of Christianity, and shows in a number of reproaches to Solzhenitsyn. Among these are reproaches about Solzhenitsyn's 'democratic frame of mind', his call for a 'free flow of thought', his recognition of border nations' right to secession, and the tone of an ultimatum in the 'Letter'.

The author bestows on the Soviet government the mission '*to begin the great transformation of the world*' into 'an ascetic and spiritual civilization'. In a post-script he calls for 'the recognition of the spiritual legitimacy of

Soviet authority, a loyal attitude to it . . . and hard work to achieve a renewed Russian Orthodox World'.

*F. Petrov and Y. Gurevich*: 'By What Should we Live? (38 pages)
The main part of this article is dated 5 March. It is written in the form of a personal appeal by the authors to A. Solzhenitsyn.

The nature of the authors' detailed criticism of the 'Letter' is defined in the following theses postulated by them: *'Genuine democracy in Russia as the basis of real socialism*—this is the only solution to all global and local problems, the panacea for the catastrophe threatening mankind'.

*'The absence of socialism in Russia is a threat to the democratic world,* to European civilization.'

The authors suggest that the pride and distinctive character of the Russian people lies 'not in outworn Orthodox Christianity but in the idea of socialism', which is essential to 'its humanistic spirit'; they reproach A. Solzhenitsyn for following in the footsteps of 'Western technophobes'.

The authors insistently call on Solzhenitsyn to found a new *Kolokol,* in order to conduct at once an unremitting campaign for 'genuine' socialism.

In a post-script, written after the appearance of A. Sakharov's article, the authors explain more precisely their position. They demand recognition of 'Russia's distinctive path', oppose the 'concept of convergence', the concept of ascent 'to socialism', and note that 'the West must use its achievements not for capitalism but to further the democracy which has developed there'.

The post-script ends with an analysis of the positions of 'liberals' and 'radicals' and a call for them to unite in the struggle for the victory of democracy.

*V. Mashkova*: *'Who is to Judge?'* (17 June, 13 pages)
Valentina Efimovna Mashkova (born 1938) was sentenced to six years in labour camps for her participation in a small oppositionist student group. Soon after her release she was again sentenced for political reasons. She is a supporter of 'the Russian national movement' and is the wife of V. Osipov.

The article is a discussion on the subject of 'violence and non-violence'. The author considers that 'repulsion for violence', a great and splendid impulse, but negative and unproductive, is the motive force of today's 'dissent' and unites both Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. In forecasting the appearance of 'a new ideology' based on the creative principle of 'love for Non-violence', the author does not consider the disagreement between Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn very important, and sees its solution in the 'solution suggested long ago by the early Slavophiles', the spirit of 'Orthodox community'.

*V. Sinitsky*: 'On A. I. Solzhenitsyn's "Letter" (Thoughts of a Communist of the Leninist Type)' (27 pages)
In the Soviet press the 'Letter to Soviet Leaders' is veiled in silence — 'Stalinists cannot answer it in any way.' But 'Leninists . . . are obliged to reply'.



While expressing great respect for A. I. Solzhenitsyn and the 'factual criticism' in this message. the author also describes the contents of the 'Letter' as 'a mixture of reason and prejudice' and sees in it a reflection of 'the very deep contradictions of our country, always ending in an impasse (after being led into it!)'

The 'reasons for the facts' described by Solzhenitsyn lie not in 'the slavish subservience of Soviet leaders to Marxist ideology' but in their repudiation of it. Solzhenitsyn's suggestions for the future are a reactionary political programme aimed at restoration of the 'undeveloped' Russian capitalism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Solzhenitsyn 'is a mirror of the degeneration of the Russian revolution', his political programme reflects the aspirations of 'the average Soviet man', who no longer sees any 'reality or idealism' in Marxism, replaced as it has been by Stalinism. But in this way his programme 'skims over Stalinism and aims a direct blow at the October revolution'.

'Marxist-Leninists' should put forward their own alternative to both Stalinism and Solzhenitsyn's programme — the renewal of the movement of the Soviet Union towards socialism.

Solzhenitsyn's 'anti-Marxism' is explained by the fact that the writer is a 'product of the Stalinist epoch and Stalinist education' who 'uncritically accepts the official lie' that the ruling ideology in the Soviet Union 'really is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism'. But it cannot be ruled out that this 'great man' may still 'turn to Marxism', the 'only ideology that really shows a love of humanity and truth', from which turn the Russian people, whose happiness he truly desires, would only gain.

*L. Borodin*: 'Against Reality in the Name of Truth' (4 pages)
Leonid Ivanovich Borodin (born 1938) is a historian. He used to be the headmaster of a village school. In 1967 he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for his membership of the All-Russian Social-Christian Union (see *Chronicle* 1). Since his release he has worked as a labourer. He took part in *Veche.* He lives in Kaluga region.

> His extremely deep conviction that the revolution was senseless and destructive and a natural filial love for Russia — these were the reasons which impelled Solzhenitsyn to write to 'the leaders'. Belief in the possibility of a positive reply and confidence in the practicability of the suggestions he made were of secondary importance.
>
> Repudiation of the 'progressive world-view' — but in the name of what? There is only one equally eminent and powerful alternative to Marxism — Christianity.

The author is convinced that the Soviet government will not agree with Solzhenitsyn's programme.

However, all this in no way means that his appeal has been useless or in vain. To invite your enemy to lay down his arms is not only always legally and morally right but also sensible in its aim . . . Man should serve not historical necessity and reality but the truth, even when it is impracticable. This is why Solzhenitsyn's 'Letter to Soviet Leaders' will always live in history as testimony to a moral feat. A feat directed against reality in the name of truth.

*M. Chernyshev*: 'Notes on the "Letter to Soviet Leaders"' (6 pages)
In the author's opinion A. Solzhenitsyn is being disrespectful to 'the leaders of the (Russian) people' and, as he does not consider the Russian people sufficiently mature for democracy, he also does not respect the Russian people.

On the other hand Chernyshev agrees with Solzhenitsyn in repudiating the idea of Western democracy for Russia.

M. Chernyshev believes in the 'general development of the country for the better' and advocates 'positive conservatism' in thinking and caution in publicizing 'paradoxical and bold ideas'.

*R. Lert*: 'Do We Want to Return to the 16th Century?' (14 pages)
Raisa Borisovna Lert (born 1905) is a journalist and pensioner; she has been a member of the party since 1926.

The author admits 'with sorrow — while Solzhenitsyn seems to derive satisfaction from the fact — that at the present stage of history internationalism has suffered a serious setback; Solzhenitsyn regards this as one of the symptoms of "the crisis in modern society"'.

'Solzhenitsyn's Russian nationalism . . . like the utopian nationalism of some imaginary Moravian kingdom', could be transformed into a more aggressive form. In this sense, his programme is 'ideologically close to Stalinism'.

Similarly, she criticizes the practical and moral aspects of 'a policy of national egoism'. A. Solzhenitsyn's point of view is contrasted to those of A. Sakharov and P. Grigorenko.

R. Lert considers that the 'Letter' contains 'a call for the revival of former values . . ., an apologia for the old Tsarist Russia'. This provokes a sharp protest from her.

R. Lert advocates democratic socialism and free elections, in which 'they (the individuals of whom the people is composed) would not choose either capitalism or bureaucratic quasi-socialism or Orthodox monarchy'.

'Let us go on reading Solzhenitsyn's books. Let us imbibe from the life-giving fountain of his art "the deepest feeling of responsibility for social injustice" (R. Luxemburg). And let us not follow his socio-political recommendations.'

*O. Merts*: 'Farewell to Russia' (17 pages)
In the opinion of the compiler, 'This pamphlet reflects the attitudes of certain groups of intellectuals who are seeking to emigrate from the country.' In contrast to the other articles in the volume, the author of this one is indifferent to the country's fate. He writes in a scathing, journalistic style. The author attacks everyone: the Soviet authorities, Solzhenitsyn, and 'the dissidents'.



*A. L. Yanov*: 'The Third Way' (45 pages)
Aleksandr Lvovich Yanov (born 1930) is a historian and sociologist, a Candidate of Philosophical Science. He is the author of numerous articles in various Soviet newspapers and journals. In October 1974 Yanov emigrated (see also 'News in Brief').

Working from his own theoretical constructions and from historical analogy, the author criticizes two tendencies among the Soviet opposition of today: that of Solzhenitsyn, which calls on the authorities to renounce the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and that of Sakharov, which proposes an immediate democratization of the internal life of the country. Yanov asserts that both are unrealistic and impossible to achieve by peaceful means, since they have no support either from society as a whole or from the ruling elite, Moreover the low level of the people's spiritual and political culture means that one set of fetishes can be replaced only by another, one authoritarian system by another authoritarian system. And this will inevitably be accompanied by a new blood-soaked terror, by new Archipelagos of death.

Yanov considers that a third way is possible — the way of the gradual democratization of absolutism. The authorities — at least 'the positive faction of the ruling elite' — must place limitations on themselves in matters of the economy, awareness that otherwise they are doomed to physical extinction. A large part of society — the 'latent opposition' — would willingly follow this third way. The function of an active opposition is to consolidate all progressive forces in society and to confront its own isolationist and extremist elements. Yarov presents a 'sketch of a constructive mechanism' which would ensure the country's development along the third way.

*Andrei Grigorenko*: 'Today for Today' (11 pages)
In connection with the 'Letter to Soviet Leaders' A. Grigorenko analyzes the contemporary social situation in our country. He is critical of the authoritarian trend of social thinking, in particular the 'messianic' variation which hopes for a Russian Orthodox state. He also rejects 'true socialism', although he concerns himself not with the essence of this ideology but with its secondary aspects.

The author considers the democratic tendency to be the most fruitful. Its main defect is its unfounded faith in the possibility of rapid democratization of the country, whereas it is necessary first to educate society in democratic views, to develop legal consciousness and respect for the law and for humanist values. Any other road would lead to violence, to the replacement of one authoritarian system by another.

A. Grigorenko warns the activists of the democratic movement against extremism and actions outside the limits laid down by the law. At the same time, socially-active groups should make fuller use of their legal democratic rights. The opposition must convince the authorities that democratization of the country is necessary, if only for the stability of the system. The evolutionary progress of society 'will be all the more rapid as the opposition grows more active and the authorities more realistic'.

*Georgy Dudarev*: 'Let Us Be Realistic!' (5 pages)
The polemic surrounding the 'Letter to Soviet Leaders' is assessed by the author as symptomatic of important changes occurring in the USSR.

G. Dudarev calls on 'the entire opposition' to unite around the 'Marxist revisionists', as the path they suggest is 'the most realistic for us today'.

**'From Under the Rubble'** (A collection of articles. Moscow, Samizdat; Paris, YMCA Press, 1974)[20]

The introduction to this volume, dated 14 November 1974, is written by I. R. Shafarevich. He states that the original idea for it was Solzhenitsyn's. His enforced exile held up the last stage of the work.

I. R. Shafarevich explains thus the aim of the volume: 'To formulate those spiritual questions, the answers to which would give us a firm foundation in life; to take the first steps towards discussing these questions, and to investigate their links with social and economic problems — this is what the authors were trying to do.' Taking as examples four problem-areas — the rural village, religion, the labour camps, emigration — Shafarevich shows that 'the problem of any concrete aspect of human freedom is bound up with the question of spiritual life'.

There are 11 articles in the collection. Some notes on these follow:

*A. Solzhenitsyn*: 'As Breathing and Consciousness Return'
An article polemicizing with Sakharov's treatise *Reflections on Progress, Peaceful Co-Existence and Intellectual Freedom*.

*I. Shafarevich*: 'Socialism'
The author argues on the basis of wide historical research that socialism is not a product of the last few centuries. The socialist ideology has been a powerful moving force throughout the history of mankind. It has inspired influential social movements and has been applied in a number of governmental systems.

The basic characteristics of the socialist ideal which are common to the various schools of socialist thought are: (1) equality, the destruction of hierarchy; (2) the abolition of private property; (3) the destruction of religion; (4) the destruction of the family. All these can be reduced to a basic goal — the destruction of individuality, which is equivalent to the death of Man. 'The organic bond between socialism and death is subconsciously or consciously perceived by its adherents, but they are not repelled by this: on the contrary, it is precisely this that creates the attraction of socialist movements and constitutes their motive force.'



*M. Agursky*: 'Contemporary Socio-Economic Systems and Their Future Prospects'
He lists the shortcomings of the modern capitalist and communist systems and outlines an optimistic picture of a future society based on the premise that man will in future be governed by spiritual and moral values.

*I. Shafarevich*: 'Individualization or Standardization? (The Nationalities Question in the USSR)'
The intensification of nationalism which has taken place everywhere in the 20th century is linked with the concrete realization of socialist ideas in the form of socialist states. In order to seize power the proponents of socialist-Marxist ideology encourage patriotic feelings among small and dependent nations: having established themselves in power, they oppose the tendency to national individualization by their hostility to the very idea of a nation.

The truly worthy aim is not the partitioning of humanity into national atoms, but the spiritual development of all nations and their determination to learn to live together without oppressing each other.

*V. Borisov*: 'Personality and National Self-Awareness'
The Christian conception of national self-awareness as a recognition of the unique identity of each nation is here seen in opposition to the ideologies of both universalism and nationalism, which are born of atheistic and rationalist doctrines.

*A. Solzhenitsyn*: 'Repentance and Self-Limitation in the Life of Nations'
Social groups such as nations and states can and must be subjected to ordinary moral assessment and classification. The formation and establishment of a moral ideal is the basis of every nation's life, its spiritual health and self-awareness.

In order for Russia to experience a renaissance, the most important conditions are repentance and the transition from outward expansion and endless quantitative progress to a new national aim of self-limitation and inner spiritual development. This could be the basis both for resolution of the country's most difficult inner problems and for the normalization of its international relations.

*F. Korsakov*: 'Russian Destinies'
To the memory of Father Pavel Florensky. Concerns each man's unique path in life.

*E. Barabanov*: 'The Church and the World'
On developing trends in the Russian church and Christian consciousness.

*A.B.*: 'The Direction of Change'
The author observes a gradual return to Christianity and 'a rejection of positivist philosophy'. Now is the moment of choice, the breaking point. The only road that leads to liberation for man and society is the road of inner spiritual renewal.

*A. Solzhenitsyn*: 'The Smatterers'
The author compares the Russian intelligentsia of today with that of the pre-revolutionary era, as evaluated in the collection *Vekhi* [1908]. The historical stages by which the intelligentsia was diluted and lost its identity among the educated classes in general, among the 'smatterers', is investigated.

Solzhenitsyn polemicizes with Altayev, S. Telegin, G. Pomerants and Gorsky (in their *samizdat* works and those published abroad). 'The habit of thinking' and 'spiritual self-consciousness' are not yet signs of belonging to the intelligentsia.

Spiritual purity, self-sacrifice and non-complicity in mendacity are the only qualities which denote the core of the intelligentsia, around which the spiritually amorphous masses will crystallize. Such people should perhaps be named 'the duty-conscious élite' or 'the just men'. Their appearance cannot be described as a phenomenon in terms of class or social origin.

*I. Shafarevich*: 'Does Russia Have a Future?'
The article opens with the statement that for a great country life means having a mission in the world. Disagreeing with Amalrik, who prophesied only death and disintegration for Russia, the author points to a way out — the spiritual rebirth of the country. This can only come about through the efforts of individuals.

The experience of history does not contradict such a possibility. Its realization will begin with rejection of pseudo-values, by which the majority of people in our society now live, in favour of freedom and spiritual purity. This is the path of sacrifice, but only seeming sacrifice. Russia's advantage is that our historical experience makes clearer the unique necessity of this path.

* * *

**Nikolai Bokov:** 'Contact with the K G B as a Psycho-Sociological Phenomenon' (8 pages)
Normal behaviour allows one to avoid contact with the K G B as a defendant or a suspect. This normal behaviour is conditioned by fear and is a product of the ethical climate of Soviet society. The chief characteristic of education for normal behaviour is prohibition of free expression of one's opinions or wishes.

The author emphasizes the contradiction between the common morality of humanity, which emphasizes the importance of conscience and individual freedom, and Soviet morality, where the most important thing is individual survival. 'Physical existence is perceived as the supreme value and drives from the consciousness the purpose of existence.'



The particular position of the K G B in Soviet society gives its officials an elevated sense of their own importance and allows them to identify themselves with the state: a self-centred view of the state emerges, which psychologically excludes the possibility of an independent court or an independent interpretation of the law.

The author hypothesizes that the spreading of education and a raising of the importance attached to human intellect will lead to a change in the ethical climate and the disappearance of this self-centred view of the State. In the field of legislation this will be expressed in a greater concern for detail and formalism in legal concepts.

* * *

**A. Solzhenitsyn:** 'To the Third Assembly of the Russian Church Abroad'

On the suggestion of Metropolitan Filaret A. I. Solzhenitsyn has spoken out on the theme 'How the non-persecuted part of the Russian Orthodox Church can help her persecuted, captive part'. Describing the Church's situation in a state which, in spite of the concessions and promises made in 1943, continues to repress it and tolerates it only to the extent that 'it is needed as political decoration', Solzhenitsyn notes that because of an unforeseen spiritual movement, 'the Church has begun to gain in power — not as an organization, but as a spiritual body — a power not sanctioned by the authorities but no longer fully controllable by them'. The contemporary Russian Church, having endured cruel persecution, and restricted in regard to all civil rights, is alive and strong in the spirit of the believers and new converts.

Turning to the situation of the Russian Church abroad, Solzhenitsyn says that 'here one is once again amazed at the depth of dissention in our Orthodox Church'. It is hard to justify the mutual antagonisms of the free Russian Orthodox churches abroad.

Solzhenitsyn's main appeal to the Russian Orthodox Church, both free and captive, abroad or in the homeland, is 'to admit its own sins and mistakes, not those of others', to repent of them and to develop 'through self-discipline and self-limitation'.

* * *

**Letter of Father Gleb Yakunin** to the Rt. Rev. Pitirim, Chief Editor of the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 20 November 1974

The author writes on the subject of an interview given by Pitirim which was broadcast in a B B C religious programme on 3 November 1974. He regards as a deviation from Orthodoxy Pitirim's answers to questions about the religious education of children and about whether the Church should organize charitable work.

* * *

**E G O**: 'On the Problems of a Social Movement' (30 pages)

This work is dated 1972. It contains an analysis of the democratic movement from 1966 to 1972, at least of one part of this movement. References are made to the declaratory nature of the democrats' demands and to the fact that these are known to be impractical, both on account of the opposition of the authorities and the unpreparedness of society and also because of the lack of capacity for practical action shown by members of the movement. They have limited themselves to the fight for liberties, but have not been able, and have not tried, to make use of them, and have had little influence on the growth of an inner spiritual culture. These circumstances, and also the uncompromisingly legal nature of the opposition, have led to the destruction of the movement itself.

The positive role of the democratic movement lay in the fact that it united the forces of opposition. But the time for intuitive actions and for defining moral positions has gone; it is now time for planned activity. The author speaks of the necessity for dissenters to co-exist with the existing state system — while retaining their independence of thought and trying gradually to re-educate society. At the same time it is essential for them to form a new spiritual culture of their own — not opposed to the state but existing independently of it. Thus a threefold oppositional structure will emerge: a cultural opposition, within that a social opposition, and at the very centre a political opposition. Such a structure will make the opposition less vulnerable, while raising its general spiritual level and thereby preserving it from dangerous extremes.

In a supplement, the author suggests a few practical measures for storing and distributing *samizdat*.

## Official Documents

**Decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet**
Not for publication

*On the abolition of restrictions on choice of place of residence, formerly stipulated for certain categories of citizens*

The Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet decrees:

(1) That the restrictions on choice of place of residence stipulated by the decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet (13 December 1955) in regard to Germans and members of their families, and by the decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet (22 December 1956) in regard to former Greek and Turkish citizens and Iranian subjects, all stateless persons — are to be lifted.

(2) That the persons affected by the above restrictions, and members of their families who are citizens of the U S S R, are to enjoy the right of all citizens to choose their place of residence within the whole territory of the U S S R, in accordance with the existing laws on employment and the passport system; foreign citizens and stateless persons are to be treated in accordance with the law on the residence of foreigners and stateless persons in the U S S R.

(3) That the U S S R Ministry of Justice, the U S S R Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Committee of State Security of the U S S R Council of Ministers are to be instructed to submit notification of acknowledgement of the loss of force of the legislative acts stipulating restrictions on specific nationalities who were resettled in the past from their places of habitation to other regions in the U S S R.

N. Podgorny,
Chairman of the Presidium of the
U S S R Supreme Soviet
M. Georgadze,
Secretary of the Presidium of the
U S S R Supreme Soviet

Moscow, Kremlin, 3 November 1972. Number 3521-3.

* * *

For Official Use.

**Order Number 10-dck of the Head of the Main Administration for the Prevention of State Secrets Appearing in the Press, of the U S S R Council of Ministers.**

Moscow 14 February 1974

Concerning: the removal of the works of **Solzhenitsyn, A. I.,** from libraries and bookstores.

The following separately published works of Solzhenitsyn, A. I., and also journals in which they were printed, are to be removed from all public libraries and bookstores:

*One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, in the journal *Novy Mir*, number 11, 1962.

The same. A novel. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1963. (*Roman-gazeta* number 1, 700,000 copies.)

The same. A novel. Moscow, Sovetsky Pisatel, 1963. 100,000 copies.

The same. A novel, in two volumes. Moscow, Uchpedgiz, 1963. Volume 1, 75 pages, 250 copies. For the blind.

The same. Volume 2, 80 pages, 250 copies. For the blind.

Two short stories: 'An Incident at Krechetovka Station' and 'Matryona's House', in the journal *Novy Mir*, number 1, 1963.

'For the Good of the Cause', in the journal *Novy Mir*, number 7, 1963.

'Zakhar-Kalita', in the journal *Novy Mir*, number 1, 1966.

Foreign publications (including journals and newspapers) containing works by the said author are also to be removed.

**P. Romanov.**

The *Chronicle* here reminds readers that A. I. Solzhenitsyn was forcibly deported from the country on 13 February 1974.

* * *

The following document, dating from the time of **the last elections** (June 1974), has come into the possession of the *Chronicle*.

To the Secretary of the Party Organization,
To the Enterprise Head
The Agitation Collective of electoral district number . . . for the elections to the U S S R Supreme Soviet informs you that on . . . 1974 Comrade . . ., who works at your place of employment, was given authorization number . . . to vote.

You are asked to investigate the question of whether his absence from the electoral district on the day of the elections was genuinely necessary.

Please send your report on the measures taken to the Electoral Commission, at the following address: . . .
Leader of the Agitation Collective
Chairman of the District Electoral Commission

Cases are known of people reporting to the administration of their workplace that they have been given tickets by their superiors to record their unavoidable absence.

* * *

By edict number 677 of 28 August 1974 the U S S R Council of Ministers established new **'Regulations on the Passport System in the U S S R'.** This edict and the text of the 'Regulations' are published in full in the official publication *Collection of Decrees Issued by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,* number 19, 1974, and in the journal *Socialist Legality,* number 12, 1974. Open publication of the full text of the 'Regulations' is something new: the 'Regulations on Passports' which are still operative [but will be superseded by the new 'Regulations'] were accessible only in part.

On the same day, 28 August, the U S S R Council of Ministers adopted edict number 678, 'On Several Rules Concerning the Registration of Citizens'. This edict consists of ten points; however, only the first four points are published (in the same places as edict number 677), without it being indicated that they are only part of the text. The other six points are marked 'not for publication'. The *Chronicle* publishes below a synopsis of these points (their full text is published in the *Archive of the Chronicle,* number 2).

According to point 5, those who have undergone punishment in the form of imprisonment or exile for actions which come under certain articles of the criminal code cannot be registered in the towns, districts or areas given in a special list ('forbidden areas') until the expiry of their record of conviction or until their conviction is lifted by the method established by law. These



particular articles of the Criminal Code (listed in point 5) include, of course, articles 64-73 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (the so-called 'especially dangerous crimes against the state'). In addition they include one article formerly excluded — article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

According to point 6, the restrictions established in point 5 do not apply to persons released from imprisonment by amnesty or pardon; or to persons to whom a court has applied article 37 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation ('Assignment of Punishment Lighter than that Provided by Law'); or to persons serving terms of imprisonment for offences committed before they reached the age of 18 years; or to invalids of the first category; to men over 60; to women over 55; or to women who have children who are still minors.

According to point 8, persons who are not permitted to register for residence in the 'forbidden areas', cannot be accepted for employment in those areas.

Point 9 states that the edict does not apply to Moscow, or to population centres located in the wooded parkland 'defence ring' around Moscow, or to population centres which are administratively and economically subordinate to the Moscow Regional Soviet Executive Committee. Moscow and the abovementioned population centres are dealt with, as before, in edict number 585 of the U S S R Council of Ministers (25 July 1964) and in points 8-10, 18, 23, 27 (apart from its last paragraph) and 28 of the 'Regulations on Registration' confirmed by that edict.

In addition, the currently applicable rules of registration for border zones and areas designated by the U S S R government to be under special regimes are also preserved unchanged.

## Trials of Recent Years

In the section 'News in Brief' in *Chronicle* 22 it was reported that **Anvar (Enver) Odabashev,** chairman of the Main Organizational Committee of Liberation (G O K O) of the Meskhetian Turks, had been sentenced in August 1971 to 2 years in a labour camp under article 162 of the Azerbaidzhan Criminal Code ('wilful seizure of land and unwarranted erection of buildings'). It was also reported that in September 1971 **Mukhlis Niyazov,** the deputy chairman of G O K O, had been arrested.

The *Chronicle* now knows that Odabashev was released only in April 1974, as he received an additional sentence under an article equivalent to article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

It has also become known that Niyazov was arrested on 3 October 1971. On 29 November 1971 the people's court of the Nasimin district of Baku (presiding judge — I. A. Aliev, people's assessors — Safarov and Alieva, state prosecutor — Eminov) sentenced him on charges of 'hooliganism' (article 207, paragraph 2 of the Azerbaidzhan Criminal Code), 'criminal negligence' and

'giving exaggerated figures and other distortions of plan-fulfilment', to three and a half years in an intensified-regime labour camp.

According to the verdict, Niyazov committed 'hooliganism' when on 9 August 1971 he 'insulted the participants of a front-rank workers' meeting with cynical and indecent expressions, using bad language about the Azerbaidzhani people', and shouted and rudely interrupted speakers at the meeting, not allowing them to speak, with the consequence that the meeting had to be abandoned. According to the verdict Niyazov committed the acts of criminal malfeasance in office while working as an economist on a collective farm. At the trial Niyazov pleaded not guilty to the charge of hooliganism. He testified that he had indeed taken part in the meeting on 9 August and had spoken without permission, but that he had not insulted or cursed anyone, had not used bad language and had not broken up the meeting.

The *Chronicle* has in its possession three statements signed by 65 Meskhetians from three collective farms, who were present at the meeting on 9 August 1971, which give the following account: 'At the meeting there were about 2,500 Turks and 250 of the local inhabitants. After Mrs Bilor, Mrs Salim, Osman and Rakhman had all made speeches the people asked Mukhlis Niyazov to speak. In his speech he used no insulting or obscene words, nor did he break up the meeting, which continued afterwards with speeches by Ellez, Resheddin, Sakhaddin, Movlud and others . . . After he was sentenced we saw copies of the verdict and we learned that the following perjured witnesses gave fabricated evidence: Einullayev, G. Mamedov, S. Mamedov, R. Mamedov, Agayev, Mardanov, O. Mamedov and Badirov . . . There was not one witness from among the 2,500 Turks who were present at the meeting, and who included party and Komsomol members and workers; but out of the 250 local people eight witnesses were found.'

On 8 May 1974 Niyazov was released. The reasons for his early release are not known to the *Chronicle*.

## Corrigenda and Addenda

**Yu. Yukhnovets** was arrested on 27 September 1972, not on 27 August as was reported in *Chronicle* 27.

* * *

'The Russian Patriotic Front' is not the title of a journal, as reported in *Chronicle* 30, but the name of an organization founded in Oryol.

* * *

The report in *Chronicle* 30 that **O. Iofe** was summoned and questioned on 3 March 1973 was mistaken.

* * *



**M. I. Raigorodetsky** was mistakenly called Raigorodsky in *Chronicle* 32 ('News in Brief'). It has become known that at his trial the prosecutor, in asking for a two-year sentence, said that otherwise the defendant and the witnesses would not comprehend the criminality of Raigorodetsky's actions.

* * *

**S. Pirogov** sent a letter on 24 May 1974 to L. N. Smirnov, not to N. Smirnov as was reported in *Chronicle* 32.

* * *

In the publication of *Chronicle* 33 [in New York] an error was made in the report on **B. Shakhverdyan,** on page 44. For 'articles 70, 12' read 'articles 70, 72'.

**Activities in Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continue**

# 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 35** **31 March 1975**

**Contents**

The situation of Leonid Plyushch. The case of Marchenko. The trial of Vins. The trial of Maramzin. The investigation of case number 345. From the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*. In the prisons and camps. Bukovsky day. Letters and statements. News in brief. Threats to Sakharov. Samizdat news. Final speech of Ilya Gabai. Biographies. Official documents. Corrections to a list of prisoners.

**Eighth Year of Publication**

# The Situation of Leonid Plyushch

'On 27 December Leonid Plyushch's injections were stopped. As a result of the suspension of treatment Plyushch's health at once improved somewhat. However, he was not transferred from the surveillance ward.' With these words ended the report on Plyushch in *Chronicle* 34.

In January they again prescribed a neuroleptic drug for Plyushch. Again the consequences were apathy, indifference, fatigue. At present he writes one letter of five to 10 lines each month. He cannot read, he does not take exercise.

His wife Tatyana Zhitnikova was refused her second January visit on the grounds of a quarantine, but they promised to give her, as an exception, a short meeting within several days.

On 4 February the promised visit did not take place. Pruss, the director of the hospital, said that Plyushch had boils on his face, inflammation had set in, and it was impossible to bring him through the courtyard: 'He might catch cold.'

The following dialogue took place between Pruss and T. Zhitnikova:

—Why has Leonid Plyushch been transferred to the surveillance ward?
—In connection with the deterioration of his mental condition.
—How has this manifested itself?
—You yourself have complained that he does not write letters. That is a symptom.
—But why exactly is he in a ward with violent inmates?
—We are not obliged to give you an account of why and where he is being kept.
—Was there a commission in January?
—No. At your request an extraordinary commission sat in November, and it says in the directives that a commission is called once every six months. Therefore now it will be in May.

About a week later the visit took place, in spite of the continuing quarantine. Plyushch was in very bad condition: oedema was evident, his sluggishness had increased, he had lost interest even in his children. He himself did not recount anything, he answered questions only in monosyllables. There were red blotches on his face (on account of erysipelas, the treating doctor had told Plyushch).

At a visit on 3 March Plyushch looked even worse. To his drowsiness and apathy was added severe oedema. He was still being kept in the surveillance ward and was still taking the same tablets. In the ward he tries to close himself off, to withdraw into himself. The withdrawal, now habitual for him, takes place even during visiting time. His wife noted that sometimes his gaze grew dim or was directed somewhere past her. At these times he neither saw nor heard anything. It was necessary to call him, and then he would 'return'. To questions about his health he replied 'Everything is all right'. The doctor had



instructed that he could not receive books (since 'he already has far too many of them') or tinned meat.

A visit on 21 March: Leonid Plyushch was in the same condition as before, and in the same ward, and as before he was being subjected to 'treatment'.

The treating doctor, L. A. Lyubarskaya,[21] conducts 'health-restoring' conversations with L. Plyushch. She asks L. I. to re-tell the articles written by him, which served as material for the charge of 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'; she expresses interest in why he wrote them. The doctor tries to convince her patient that these articles are evidence of his illness; she asks whether he understands this.

During the visit L. Plyushch's wife cautiously hinted to him that perhaps he could write a statement from which it could be concluded that he regards his articles as 'a deviation from the norm'. Plyushch, who until this moment had been indifferent, suddenly pulled himself together and said firmly: 'I won't write anything for them.'

* * *

At the end of February T. Zhitnikova sent to the Procurator of the Ukrainian S S R a complaint about the fact that for two months the regional procurator had not replied to her demand to bring the doctors of the special psychiatric hospital to criminal responsibility for deliberately incorrect treatment (*Chronicle* 34). At the beginning of March she was informed that the Dnepropetrovsk procurator's office had been instructed to study her complaint and give an answer.

On 21 March T. Zhitnikova and T. Khodorovich were received by Bedrik, the procurator of Dnepropetrovsk region. He stated that the Plyushch case was complicated; it was necessary that 'professors should examine' Plyushch; for his own part, he 'promises categorically to give an answer within three or four days'. All the same, no answer followed in the course of March.

* * *

The English psychiatrist Gery Low-Beer has agreed to go to the Soviet Union as an expert if the court case instigated by T. Zhitnikova against the doctors of the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital takes place. He has informed F. K. Pruss, the director of the hospital, and the procurator of Dnepropetrovsk region about this. Dr Low-Beer has also sent a letter to Snezhnevsky.

The French barrister de Félice has applied for a visa to go to the U S S R to take part in the same trial.

* * *

On 31 March a demonstration took place in America in defence of L. Plyushch.

In March T. S. Khodorovich and Yu. F. Orlov published an article entitled 'They Have Turned Leonid Plyushch into a Madman. Why?'

# The Case of Anatoly Marchenko

*1958:* Anatoly Marchenko, a 20-year-old master driller, was found guilty of participating in a brawl. He was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. (Later the case was reviewed and the sentence was changed to two years' imprisonment.)
*1959:* He escaped from a Karaganda labour camp.
*1960:* For trying to cross the border Marchenko was found guilty of treason and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.
*1960-66:* He was in the Mordovian camps and Vladimir prison.
*1967:* He wrote the book *My Testimony*.[22] In *December* Marchenko was for the first time advised to emigrate from the U S S R. A K G B official called Medvedev told him: 'We'll let you go to any country you like.' He also said: 'Otherwise we'll bring you to trial, but not for your book.'
*1968:* He wrote an open letter to A. Chakovsky about the situation in political labour camps. He wrote open letters on the same subject to the Soviet Red Cross and to certain writers.
*26 July:* He wrote a letter about the threat of military intervention in Czechoslovakia.
*29 July:* He was arrested and charged with infringement of the passport regulations. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment (see *Chronicle* 3).
*1969:* Two months before his sentence was due to expire a case was opened against Marchenko under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment (see *Chronicle* 10).
*July 1970:* He was released and sent to live under police surveillance in the settlement of Chuna in Irkutsk region.
*1973, August:* He wrote an open letter to the U N about Amalrik's detention in a labour camp (see *Chronicle* 30). Open letter to Willy Brandt on détente.
*November:* Marchenko's home in Tarusa was searched in connection with 'case number 24'. Marchenko's hand-written notes for his diary were confiscated (*Chronicle* 30).
*December:* Marchenko received a recommendation emanating from the K G B: 'He should emigrate, or it will be the worse for him.'
*1974, January:* Anatoly Marchenko received an official warning at K G B headquarters in Moscow (see *Chronicle* 30).
*February:* Marchenko signed the 'Moscow Appeal' (Chronicle 32).
*May:* The police in Tarusa placed Marchenko under administrative surveillance for a year (*Chronicle* 32).
*2-7 July:* Marchenko joins Academician A. Sakharov on hunger-strike (see *Chronicle* 32). From the end of *August* the surveillance became stricter and turned into a form of harassment.
*11 October:* After a routine refusal by the police to allow him to visit Moscow (to take his sick child there), Marchenko declared that in future he would consider himself free from surveillance.



*November-December:* Marchenko was fined by a judge on two occasions for breaking the rules of surveillance. (One of these fines was based on false evidence from the police.)
*10 December:* He sent a statement to Podgorny renouncing his Soviet citizenship and announcing his intention of emigrating to the U S A (*Chronicle* 34). At the end of December Marchenko was invited to the Ministry of the Interior's O V I R department in Kaluga region and advised to arrange his emigration by means of an invitation from Israel. 'If you insist on emigrating to the U S A you'll end up getting sentenced for breaking the rules of surveillance.'
*1975, 4 January:* In Moscow, a local policeman, Trubitsyn, discovered Marchenko in the flat of his wife, L. Bogoraz, fined her for infringing the passport regulations and threatened her with expulsion from Moscow.
*13 January:* Volodin, Chief of Police in Tarusa, informed Marchenko that a criminal case was being brought against him (for breaking the rules of surveillance, article 198-2 of the R S F S R Criminal Code). A restriction order was imposed on him — he was not to leave his place of residence. While questioning Larissa Bogoraz Volodin expressed doubts about Marchenko's mental condition and informed her that he had been recommended for a medical examination. (This subject was not raised again.) He also advised her to make use of an invitation from Israel. 'Your husband will be found guilty. Everything depends on you . . .'
*In February* the Kaluga O V I R administration began to hurry Marchenko about handing in his emigration documents.
*25 February:* Anatoly Marchenko handed in incomplete documents.
*26 February:* A search took place at Marchenko's house in Tarusa in connection with infringement of the surveillance regulations. Manuscripts and other notes by Marchenko, and manuscripts belonging to L. Bogoraz, were again confiscated. The investigator, Dezhurnaya, did not leave any protocol listing the objects confiscated. Later she said that all the papers had been sent to the K G B and that not one was to be used in the case concerning surveillance.

On the same evening Marchenko was arrested and sent to the Kaluga investigation prison.

On being arrested Anatoly Marchenko declared an indefinite hunger-strike.

He refused to participate in the investigation. His reasons: 'I shall be tried under article 198-2, not for breaking the surveillance regulations but for my civil rights activities and my desire to emigrate to the U S A.'

*31 March — Kaluga. City People's Court*

Presiding judge — Levteyev, Chairman of the Kaluga City people's court. The trial was held in open court. About 20 of Marchenko's relatives and friends from Moscow and Tarusa were present, together with a few chance onlookers. The officer in charge stipulated only that bags and briefcases not be brought

into the courtroom.

The guard brought in Anatoly Marchenko. He looked bad; his face was worn and strained, his lips were dry and inflamed. His hands were handcuffed behind his back. As he reached the dock he swayed and the guard caught hold of him to support him. This was the fifth week of his hunger-strike. In the dock, the handcuffs were removed. Smiling wryly, Marchenko said: 'See how they're handling me now.'

He was wearing a thick sweater and was obviously suffering from the heat.

The Kaluga lawyer Gribkov was present: he had evidently been summoned by the court. The court refused the request made by Marchenko and his wife that the latter should be allowed to take part in the trial as his defence lawyer: 'The lawyer Gribkov is present in court, and the defendant can make use of his services.' Marchenko categorically refused to be represented by Gribkov, but the court assigned him to take the case for the defence. Marchenko refused to take any part in the proceedings as the court had crudely infringed his right to defence. A state lawyer had been forced on him, and he himself had been deprived of the right to conduct his own defence, as all the case materials had been taken away from him: 'They have even taken from me my copy of the indictment.'

Judge: There is a note in the file saying that you have been given a copy of the indictment.
M: But it was taken away from me before I was brought into court. You can see I have nothing with me!
Judge: That's your own affair.
M: I reserve my right to make a concluding statement.

The judge continued to address Marchenko on procedural matters in a contemptuous and disdainful tone. On each such occasion Marchenko repeated that he had been deprived of the possibility of defending himself. The court gave no attention to this.

During the interval Larissa Bogoraz and Natalya Kravchenko asked Gribkov to call them as witnesses. They wanted to inform the court that Marchenko had been at home on 7 November. I. A. Bogoraz made a similar request. The lawyer would not accept their statements.

—The defendant refuses my help.
—But you have been assigned to defend him by the court, you have accepted the case.
—The defendant himself will have to ask me to call you as witnesses.
—But you are bound to use any evidence in favour of the defendant.
—Let him ask me himself.

Later, however, Gribkov agreed to accept their statements.

The indictment was read out: Marchenko had been convicted previously on a number of occasions, but has not reformed, has not found permanent employment and has led an anti-social way of life. He was warned about this repeatedly. In May 1974 the police told him to find work within a month.



In May he was also placed under surveillance for a year. He deliberately disregarded the surveillance restrictions — in October and November 1974 alone he broke the regulations nine times with the intention of avoiding surveillance. During this period he was fined twice by judges for breaking the surveillance regulations: on 7 November he was away from home after 8 o'clock in the evening; on 25 November he failed to turn up for registration. On 9 December he again failed to register. These three infringements of the regulations formed the basis for this case. He refused to give evidence during the pre-trial investigation, but his guilt is attested by the evidence of witnesses.

The court proceeded to question the witnesses. The Tarusa policeman Kuzikov stated that at 5 o'clock on 7 November he had seen Marchenko getting on the bus from Tarusa to Serpukhov. In order to check on this infringement of the regulations, Kuzikov went to Marchenko's home with two colleagues. When they rang the bell, a man's voice replied from behind the door: 'The police have no business here.' The policemen then went away.

Judge: Do you know Marchenko's voice? Was it his voice?
Kuzikov: I know his voice. It wasn't him.

The policeman Fomenkov, who had accompanied Kuzikov, corroborated his evidence. The policeman Arkhipov stated that Marchenko had not come to register at the police station on 25 November.

L. N. Starukhina, head of the city's gas board (Marchenko's last place of employment), gave the defendant a favourable character reference: he had never refused any work and worked well. She was asked about her conversation with Marchenko on the day before 7 November. Starukhina replied that she intended to ask Marchenko to be on duty the next day and had asked him about his plans. He answered undecidedly ('Perhaps I might go to Moscow, or some guests might come to see us.'). He did not complain about being assigned work: 'If you have to be on duty, then duty it is.'

Trubitsyn, the district policeman from Moscow, stated that he had seen Marchenko in Moscow on the 7th, 8th and 9th — by himself, and with his wife, and with a child. Trubitsyn embroidered his testimony with imaginary details.

Dmitry Cheremninov, Anatoly Marchenko's neighbour, testified that at 7 o'clock on the 11th he had invited Marchenko to his home, but the latter had excused himself as he had guests at his own home — his wife's parents. They did not meet again that day, or the next.

Conversations in the corridor during the interval:

—It's impossible to watch. They're beating a defenceless man . . .
—This is not a trial but a deliberate act of revenge.
—Perhaps we should all get up and leave, what do you think? As a protest,

I mean . . .
—But what about Tolya?[23]

* * *

An unknown citizen of Kaluga:
'What are they trying him for? Downstairs there are two cars, one full of cops. We've never seen anything like it here.'

* * *

Some men in civilian clothes try to lead away a member of the public, without showing any identification, and demand to see the contents of his pockets.

* * *

Witness Kuzikov to witness Trubitsyn:
'We should each have taken 150 roubles — then we could have made our conversations sound even better.'

* * *

Sakharov and Vera Lashkova tried to pass Marchenko some water. The guard and the officer in charge of the court refused to allow this: 'Let him ask us— we'll give him some.'

Sakharov explained to the officer in charge that, during a hunger-strike, a person's mouth tends to dry up constantly.

'It's not allowed.'

After the interval the officer in charge gave Marchenko back the papers that were taken away from him in the prison.

The judge proposed to Marchenko that he make a statement. (Evidently Marchenko thought he was being invited to make his closing statement.)

### Anatoly Marchenko's Speech

*M*: This indictment speaks of my anti-social activity, the case file includes matters which have nothing to do with surveillance. The case evidence includes the texts of foreign radio-broadcasts. Other papers confiscated from me during searches carried out by the K G B were my draft manuscripts, which the K G B's 'journalism experts' feel I could use for writing anti-Soviet works. After a search back in January 1974 I was summoned to K G B headquarters and there a so-called 'warning' was read to me, which must figure in the case-evidence as an aggravating circumstance . . .

*Judge*: Please keep within the framework of the indictment . . .

*M*: I am keeping to the point, all this is included in the case file and in the indictment. My anti-social activity, about which I was warned by the K G B, consists of *My Testimony* and my other works published in the West concerning the situation of Soviet political prisoners, who are here brazenly called common criminals. I have spent not just one year in the company of political prisoners, I have seen how artists, writers and scientists are forced to do unskilled labour . . .



*Judge*: The court warns you for the second time. Do not use your position to insult Soviet authority.

*M*: I appealed not only to the West, but also to public opinion in our own country: I appealed to the Soviet Red Cross. I received the answers: 'It has always been like this and will remain so in future.' This was what our public officials said. But it is my activity that is called anti-social. I spoke out on behalf of people who were living in inhuman conditions, who do not have the opportunity to speak out for themselves.

Further, after 1971 my anti-social activity consisted of my signature on letters written on behalf of V. Bukovsky and L. Plyushch, and my own letter on behalf of Amalrik. This is what is meant by my anti-social activity — nothing more.

I shall now concentrate on the surveillance I was subjected to. The indictment alleges that the surveillance was imposed on the basis of a character reference supplied by a corrective institution: 'He has not yet reformed.' According to the law, surveillance can be imposed only if a prisoner has broken the regulations for prisoners many times. I did not infringe the regulations in camp, or rather I infringed them only once, and even that was taken off the record when I was released. Two weeks before my term of imprisonment was due to end, the camp regime supervisor told me that no infringement of the regulations would be put on my record and that no surveillance would be ordered for me. However, a couple of days later I was taken out of the camp and imprisoned, and then, on the day of my release, I was taken into a room where some types in civilian clothes told me I was to be released — and put under surveillance. I was taken under guard to Chuna and placed under surveillance. I then wrote to the Irkutsk regional Prosecutor's Office, but all my appeals remained unanswered.

When two years later in Tarusa I was told I would be put under surveillance, it was again with reference to infringements of the regulations in camp. The case evidence includes no character reference from the camp, so at the end of the pre-trial investigation I made a request that a reference should be obtained from the camp. My request was refused. This surveillance was not imposed by the Tarusa police but by the K G B: it came after the November 1973 search (the search warrant was signed by K G B General Volkov, the search concerned clase No. 24 — about *A Chronicle of Current Events*), and after the official Warning given to me by the K G B in Moscow.

When the surveillance order was imposed on me they told me that I had not been working for a long time. Up to that time I had been out of work for one month and 23 days; I had not been dismissed from work, but had lost my job because the fuel consumption season was coming to an end. (I was a stoker.) Nevertheless I was warned that I must obtain employment,

not before the surveillance order was imposed, but a few days after; so the surveillance was not the result of my unemployment but rather the other way around.

I then wrote a statement about the illegality of the surveillance and sent it to the West; I did not bother to complain to our Prosecutor's Office as I no longer hoped for any reaction from the Soviet authorities.

Although I considered the surveillance order unlawful I tried to observe it. I did not wish to come into conflict with the Criminal Code, nor did I wish to give anyone an excuse to put me inside again; I was thinking of my family. So I submitted to the surveillance order and observed its rules. Neither the pre-trial investigation nor this court has paid any attention to the fact that I observed the surveillance rules until 11 October and ceased to do so only when I became convinced of their deliberately harassing nature. Since the end of summer all of my requests connected with my family concerns have been refused. I asked to be allowed to meet my aged and also illiterate mother on the station platform in Moscow — this was refused. My request to visit my sick child in Moscow was also refused. I was not allowed to see my old mother off at the station. When my son became ill and there was some fear that he had scarlet fever I asked to be allowed to take him to Moscow, as there was no children's doctor in Tarusa at that time. For four days Police Chief Volodin kept putting me off: 'Come tomorrow, come after lunch'; but on the fourth day he openly said that he had not received any answer to my request. It is interesting to ask who exactly it is who must answer such a request? After all, the law states that the police are in charge of surveillance. I went there again. The deputy police chief informed me my request had been refused. It was then that I told him I refused to observe the rules of surveillance any longer, and I took my wife and sick child to Moscow. After this stupid episode, I considered myself free of the surveillance order. I made a statement that I had been placed outside the law in my own country. This statement was addressed to world public opinion. One man, alone, finds it difficult to stand up against a gang of thugs, but it is even harder to defend oneself against gangsters who call themselves the state. I do not repent of my action. I love freedom, but if I live in a state where my concern for my family and my parents, and my love and concern for my child are considered criminal, then I prefer a prison cell. Where else would I be put on trial for such actions? I was given the choice of renouncing my family or becoming a lawbreaker!

The judge interrupts Marchenko.

*M*: The so-called disciplined Soviet man would, in my position, have gone home after receiving the refusal of his request, would probably have got drunk and cursed Soviet power, but he would have obeyed the order. It seems that they want to transform me into that kind of Soviet man (at this point he pointed to witness Trubitsyn), a wet rag that can be made to do anything. But I have already renounced such a doubtful vocation. On 10 December I sent a statement to Podgorny renouncing my Soviet citizenship.

Of course, this decision is . . . well . . . a capitulation to the all powerful K G B. Over a year ago I was given a message from the K G B, warning me to leave the country or it would be the worse for me.



The judge interrupts him again.

*M*: And so I decided to emigrate to the U S A. I was informed that if I insisted on emigration to the U S A, I would be locked up, and that I should travel there via Israel. This trial is merely a fulfilment of that threat.

I don't want to dwell on the 7 November episode. After I announced in October that I did not intend to comply with the surveillance, I took no notice of its regulations. I am referring to this episode only to show how this case has been fabricated by the police.

So on 7 November I was at home. We had guests from Moscow with us, in particular my wife's parents and Natalya Kravchenko. At about nine o'clock Kuzikov rang the doorbell. I opened the door on the chain and asked: 'Who is it?' Kuzikov said: 'Anatoly Tikhonovich, don't be afraid, it's the police.' I replied: 'The police have no business here', and slammed the door. Kuzikov now states he saw me leaving for Tarusa. Why then did he not even come up to me and make sure it was me? In October, when I was taking my family back, he thought nothing of chasing after the bus in a motor-car as far as Serpukhov! But on a holiday, when I am totally forbidden to leave my place of residence, he was somehow quite contented with what he saw and, supposedly, let me leave.

Trubitsyn is lying brazenly: not only have I never entered into any explanations with him, I have not spoken to him at all and have never even greeted him. Why has the court not questioned my wife's neighbours in Moscow? After all, it's impossible not to notice a family with a child in a communal apartment, where there's a communal kitchen, toilet, bathroom and hallway.

On the 8th, we were visited by the Ottens, our friends from Tarusa, but no one has bothered to question them either.

When I was fined I did not hear what it was for, nor did I want to hear. Later, my wife found out. Immediately, back in December, she appealed to the procurator about it. But not one of the witnesses was summoned. Do you call this a trial? It's nothing but a kangaroo court.

Marchenko sat down. His speech was applauded in the courtroom.

The defence lawyer asked that the witnesses L. Bogoraz, I. A. Bogoraz and N. Kravchenko be called. The court refused this request on the grounds that these people had hitherto been present in the courtroom.

Marchenko seemed somewhat distressed during the delivery of his closing statement. He delivered the final words sitting down, saying he was not in any state to stand any longer.

*M*: I have already said everything. This trial is the settling of accounts with

me that the K G B have been promising me for a long time. However, I regret nothing. I do not regret that I was born in this country, that I was born a Russian. But, thinking of my two-year-old son's future, I appeal to all the people in the world and ask anyone who can to help me and my wife and son to emigrate from the U S S R.

The judges retired to prepare their verdict. However a few minutes later the public was asked to return to the courtroom.

*Judge*: We had forgotten, the defending counsel has still not made his closing speech. We shall proceed to the pleas by both sides.

*Defence lawyer Gribkov*: My client has refused to discuss the case with me. But from his statement in court I understand that he disputes the events of 7 November. We have heard evidence from witnesses. Kuzikov's evidence does not prove that Marchenko was away from home. Marchenko himself states categorically that he was at home and refers to witnesses of this. My opinion is that Marchenko was evidently at home. As for the two other infringements of the regulations, he does not deny these.

I think that in deciding the question of punishment you should take into account the lack of proof concerning the first infringement of the regulations. And also Marchenko's positive qualities should be taken into account.

*Judge*: Defendant Marchenko, do you wish to add anything?

*Marchenko*: I shall continue my hunger strike, and insist on an exit visa to the U S A.

While the judges were considering the verdict, friends of Marchenko went up to Gribkov: 'If you dispute the first infringement of regulations. you should ask for an acquittal! You're a lawyer, don't you know the law?'

*Gribkov*: I've done all I could and more! I know everything but you don't understand anything . . .

The verdict repeated what was stated in the indictment. The 7 November incident was considered proved; the defendant's guilt had been demonstrated by *all* the witnesses, except Chereminov. Because he was a family man (Marchenko supports a two-year-old child) the court found it possible to apply article 43 of the R S F S R Criminal Code and instead of punishment by imprisonment as stipulated in article 198-2 sentenced him to 4 years in exile. Marchenko was to be sent to his place of exile under guard.

After the sentence was read out Tatyana Khodorovich stated: 'As a protest against this unjust trial I declare a hunger strike in sympathy with Anatoly Marchenko.'

### A Legal Commentary

In refusing to recognize the surveillance imposed on him, Marchenko violated the procedures for protesting against decisions and orders of the authorities: if he considered the imposition of surveillance and the way it was practised to be unlawful, he was required to write a complaint to the prosecutor's office. A. Ginzburg did this and received no answer at all to his complaints.[24]

However a declaration of refusal to observe surveillance rules is not a crime under article 198-2 and cannot serve as grounds for a criminal charge under this article. Even a large number of infringements of surveillance regulations would not be sufficient to do so. A criminal charge can only be brought in the following circumstances: two infringements of the rules or limitations of surveillance must be analysed by a judge and on this basis an order of administrative punishment issued; these violations must have been committed with the goal of avoiding surveillance. Criminal charges could then be brought if the person under surveillance committed a further infringement of the regulations.

The court is obliged in the first place to establish whether the imposition of surveillance was lawful — in this case, this question was not even touched on, although there are grounds for regarding the surveillance as unlawful. Secondly, the court should have considered whether the terms of the surveillance order corresponded to the law — in particular, whether the surveillance restrictions established were arbitrary in nature and whether the manner of surveillance was contrary to the law. The law requires that the surveillance order take into account the family position of the person under surveillance.

Naturally the infringements of surveillance regulations charged against the defendant should have been investigated from every angle; in this case not only did the court not discuss the reasons for the infringements, but even the evidence of an infringement on 7 November remained unproved.



## The Trial of G. P. Vins

Kiev, 27-31 January. The court building was guarded by a detachment of police. Entrance was by special pass only. A group of religious believers were pushed back to the other side of the street.

* * *

The defendant was Georgy Petrovich Vins, born in 1928, Secretary of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians and Baptists. From 1966 to 1969 he spent three years in labour camps under article 142, paragraph 2 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. He was arrested on 31 March 1974 (*Chronicle* 32). At this trial he faced charges under articles 138, paragraph 2, 187-1 and 209, paragraph 1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, corresponding to article 142, 190-1 and 227 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

The case was heard by the Kiev regional court. The presiding judge was Dyshel (see *Chronicles* 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34). The people's assessors were

Polyakova and Sechkarev. The prosecutor was Tsekhotsky. Luzhnenko was assigned to be defence attorney.

* * *

Vins declined the services of the attorney, saying that in his opinion an atheist could not defend him in this case. Luzhnenko and the court accepted his refusal.

The defendant informed the court that his family has asked the Norwegian lawyer Alf Haerem to defend him, and he asked the court to allow the latter to take part in the trial.

In addition Vins made 17 other requests. These included a request that the Council for Religious Affairs under the Ukrainian S S R Council of Ministers be asked to state in court the true reason for the liquidation of the Baptist Union in 1935, the number of believers convicted for their faith between 1929 and January 1975 and the number of believers who died in prison during the same period. The purpose of these requests was to defend himself from the charges of libel with regard to the article 'Faithfulness' (Vins's work on the history of the persecution of Baptists in the U S S R).[25] Vins also asked that a number of witnesses be called concerning other charges.

The court refused all these requests. Vins then declared that he rejected all three members of the court. The court refused to accept this declaration.

Vins declared that he did not recognize the present court's jurisdiction and refused to participate in the trial: from now on he would not take part in the questioning of witnesses. When the judge asked: 'Has the defendant any questions for this witness?' He replied: I shall ask questions only in the presence of my lawyer, Alf Haerem.'

* * *

The basic charges were:

—organizational activity as Secretary of the 'illegally constituted' Council of E C B Churches;
—organizing the illegal publishing house 'The Christian';
—organizing the Council of E C B Prisoners' Relatives;
—participating in the publication of the journals: *Bratsky Listok* (*Fraternal Leaflet*), *Vestnik Spaseniya* (*Messenger of Salvation*), *Yunost'* (*Youth*) and *The Bulletin of the Council of E C B Prisoners' Relatives;*
—drawing up the Statutes of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians and Baptists;
—participating in the compilation of an instructional book on biblical themes, *The Shepherd's Song;*
—holding a meeting 'of over 500 members of the illegal E C B movement . . . under the pretext of performing a marriage between Vera Pavlovna Shuportyak and V. P. Slinko, members of the Kiev C C E C B Union of Churches', on 24 August 1969;
—holding a meeting of E C B representatives in the settlement of Borovoye in Kiev region on 24 January 1970;
—holding a meeting on 10 July 1970 in Pushchevoditsky forest (near Kiev), where Vins gave a 'speech-sermon, accompanied by loud singing which disturbed the peace of holidaying citizens';
—publicizing the martyr's death on 16 July 1972 of the Baptist I. V. Moiseyev, who died while serving in the army; the prosecution asserts that Moiseyev drowned while bathing in the sea;
—writing the articles 'Faithfulness' and 'Great Biblical Principles'.



During the trial 18 witnesses were called; after this Vins again took part in the trial and agreed to give explanations concerning the charges. However Vins was unable to give his explanations in full because the judge constantly interrupted him.

Vins described the circumstances of his arrest; he stated that immediately after his arrest the K G B official Izorgin tried to negotiate with him about regularizing the relations between the C C E G B and the state. Vins answered that he was not empowered to discuss any such matters with him. Later Vins stated that the Council of Churches was not 'illegally constituted', as it had been newly elected in 1969 at an assembly in Tula which had been permitted by the Tula City Soviet Executive Committee (Permit Number 2438-K).

Vins stated that during the preliminary investigation his cell-mate Zborovsky turned out to be an agent-provocateur and tried later to intimidate him. Because of this Vins could not play a normal part in the pre-trial investigation. Vins also referred to the fact that not long ago he had gone on hunger-strike for 12 days (after a meeting with his mother about a defence lawyer).

Vins quoted the following figures: from 1929 to 1941 25,000 believers (Vins evidently referred only to Baptists—*Chronicle*) were arrested; of these 22,000 died. He asked for the establishment of a commission consisting of representatives of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, the Council for Religious Affairs of the U S S R Council of Ministers, the K G B, the Council of Churches, and the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, with representatives of the world public also taking part. This commission would objectively examine the position of believers in the U S S R. Vins again refused to take part in the trial — until such a Commission was formed.

* * *

Then experts were questioned. In conformity with their official affidavit they declared that the literature produced by the 'Christian' publishing house included incitement to non-fulfilment of legislation on religion as well as incitement to anti-social behaviour.

The judge asked whether the experts had heard the tape-recording of a sermon by Vins, and whether they had found similar incitement in that.

The experts had listened to the tape but had not found it to contain such incitement.

The judge asked whether the experts had changed their opinion after hearing the witness.

The experts had changed their opinion.

Did the experts agree to have this included in their affidavit?

The experts agreed to this.

* * *

The fourth day of the trial: Vins read out a number of protests against the actions of the presiding judge.

Dyshel sharply interrupted him.

The procurator began his statement by saying that the Constitution of the USSR guaranteed freedom of conscience (article 124) and that Lenin had written that the battle against believers must be conducted only on the ideological level. He asked that Vins be sentenced to five years in labour camp and five years in exile. The judge asked the defendant to make a defence speech.

Vins: I refuse, because my defence at this trial should have been conducted by the lawyer Alf Haerem. May my relatives and fellow-believers understand me correctly when I say I will be defended by Him in whom I believe, God, Jesus Christ.

The defendant was invited to make a concluding statement.

Vins: My Lord will say the last word for me, He who said of himself: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end."

The pronouncement of the verdict was postponed to the next day.

* * *

The sentence: Five years in a strict-regime labour camp and five years in exile, with confiscation of property.

Applause in the courtroom.

Judge: (to the defendant): 'Do you understand the sentence?'
Vins: 'Yes. Glory be to Jesus Christ!'

Out on the street Vins's friends were singing hymns.

## The Trial of Vladimir Maramzin

From 19 to 21 February 1975 in the Leningrad city court, the trial took place of a prose writer, a member of the trade union group among the writers at the Leningrad branch of the *Soviet Writer* publishing house — Vladimir



Rafailovich Maramzin. The presiding judge was Isakova, the people's assessors were Krainov and Kurochkin. The procurator was Katukova; the defence attorney was Kheifets (who has the same surname as the writer Mikhail Kheifets, who was recently convicted in Leningrad).

At the beginning of April 1974 the home of Vladimir Maramzin was searched in connection with case No. 15. (At the same time searches were carried out at the home of Mikhail Kheifets and those of other Leningrad residents — see *Chronicles* 32, 34.) Judging by the orientation of the searches and interrogations, the investigators were interested most of all in the five-volume collection of poems by Joseph Brodsky, which was compiled by Maramzin, a friend of Brodsky who admired and collected his poems. Later on, especially after Brodsky's statement in defence of Maramzin when he was arrested in July, this charge came to figure less and less in the case: Kheifets's article on Brodsky (the basic charge in his case) was analyzed at his trial quite apart from the compilation of the whole collection, and in the final indictment against Maramzin Brodsky's poems did not figure at all.

After the search Vladimir Maramzin sent a statement to the Leningrad branch of the Writers' Union in which he described as unprecedented the confiscation of manuscripts from their author. (A number of manuscripts of published and unpublished works had been confiscated from him.) A later declaration by Vladimir Maramzin contained a protest against the arrest of Mikhail Kheifets. These declarations and a few others were published in the West,[26] for example in the newspaper *Le Monde*.

While Maramzin was under threat of arrest, and after he had been arrested, a widespread campaign in his support and defence was conducted in the West.

A few days before his trial the press department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed to the correspondent of *Le Monde* a letter from Maramzin (which was quickly published in *Le Monde*) in which Maramzin expressed his chagrin at the fact that his name 'is now being used abroad for anti-Soviet purposes'. 'I am moved to say this not by fear of punishment but by real indignation at the murky political influences which want to use me in their fight against my country. It is insulting for a writer to be used as a plaything in political machinations. Wherever I find myself, I am sure of one thing: I shall never have anything in common with organizations carrying on this anti-Soviet campaign. I regret that I sent my declarations abroad and involuntarily gave the enemies of my country an excuse for attacking it, and thus inflicted harm on my state.' Quoted from the newspaper *Leningradskaya Pravda*, 21 February 1975, V. Mikhailov's article 'When Understanding Dawns'.)

Vladimir Maramzin was charged under article 70, paragraph 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. He was accused of producing and disseminating materials described in the indictment (and later in the verdict) as anti-Soviet: *Conversations with Stalin* by Djilas, 'in which the Soviet state is libellously called imperialist and predatory'; the book *Solzhenitsyn: A Documentary Record*, 'in which it is libellously stated that there is no freedom of speech in the USSR';

*Messenger of the Russian Student Christian Movement,* numbers 101-102, 'containing calls for the overthrow of Soviet power and statements that freedom of speech does not exist in the U S S R'; *An Unfree World* by H. Böll, in which 'Soviet society is libellously called an unfree world'; a speech by G. Svirsky; the letter written by Grigorenko and Kosterin to the Budapest Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties; a Lenten letter to Patriarch Pimen; and an interview with Western correspondents (the author of the interview is not named). The indictment also lists these 'anti-Soviet documents published abroad', stored by Maramzin and confiscated during the search: *Messenger of the Russian Student Christian Movement,* numbers 100, 103, 104-5; Berdyaev's *The Meaning of History; The Russian Literature Triquarterly,* number 1, 1973; vol. 3 of the collected works of O. Mandelshtam; *The Social Meaning of Christianity* by G. Fedotov; and *The Sources and Meaning of Russian Communism* by Berdyaev.

The descriptive section of the indictment also listed Maramzin's 'anti-Soviet statements', but these were not included in the direct charges.

It was pointed out that the case evidence included tape-recordings of Western radio stations 'which transmitted Maramzin's declarations and made use of them to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria', as well as 'extracts from foreign publications in which Maramzin's declarations were reprinted'. It was noted that in the pages of the 'Trotskyist' newspaper *Novoe Ruskoe Slovo* Maramzin was defended by his close acquaintance A. A. Kiselev, a 'well-known N T S activist'. (Kiselev is a specialist in the work of Andrei Platonov, which was why he was acquainted with Maramzin.)

A considerable part of the 'anti-Soviet materials' used as evidence against Maramzin consisted of his 'own personal libellous compositions': the short novels *The Man Who Believed in His Special Destiny* ('which libels our people's court'), *A Blonde of Both Shades,* the stories *Cadres* ('which distorts the nationalities policy of our government'), *Secrets, Funnier than Before* and *Push-pull.* It was pointed out that Maramzin 'had, at his apartment, given a signed copy of the libellous story *Push-pull* as a gift to A. V. Kuznetsov, who later betrayed his country'; it was also pointed out that his stories had been published in the U S A publication *Russian Literature Triquarterly* — 'the case evidence includes reports from the Leningrad branch of the Main Administration for the Prevention of State Secrets Appearing in the Press[27] and from the International Post Office, which affirms that the *Russian Literature Triquarterly* is anti-Soviet and that its import into the U S S R is forbidden'; that Maramzin had also given his stories to A. Voronel for publication in the collection *Jews in the U S S R* — the report issued by the same Leningrad Glavlit[27] branch affirms that this collection also is anti-Soviet; that Maramzin had given the short novel *A Blonde of Both Shades* to Catherine Doré, a citizen of France, 'an emissary of the Trotskyist organization, the Youth Socialist Union', so that she could take it to the West, and to Anri Volokhonsky, who had now left for Israel.



Referring to Maramzin's statements during the pre-trial investigation and his letter to *Le Monde,* the indictment noted that he had agreed with the evaluation of his activity as anti-Soviet, and that he had said that formerly he had not always realized what harm his actons were doing his country, but that now he regretted this and repented.

Maramzin fully admitted his guilt and made a statement to the court, which the *Chronicle* quotes with some abbreviations:

> I deeply regret the harm my activities have done to the Soviet state and I sincerely repent of what I did. I am especially indignant at those who were quick to describe me as a dissident and an anti-Sovietist, ascribing to me non-existent links with some sort of organizations which are unknown to me and hostile to our country. Thus, for example, the French newspaper *Le Monde* as long ago as 8 April 1974 published false information, anonymously written, which alleged that I was being charged with having links with anti-Soviet organizations and with sending my manuscripts abroad. When I found out about this, I appealed to the investigator to give me the opportunity of writing an open letter to the chief editor of *Le Monde.* The point was that while I had indeed sent my manuscripts abroad only two or three people in Paris could have known about this in April 1974. No-one has accused me or is accusing me of having links with anti-Soviet organizations. This means that someone abroad found it useful to substitute wishful thinking for the truth. Someone is trying to prove that by his own actions he has succeeded in making me an enemy of my country. And this someone must have been one of those who visited me in Leningrad. A fine way of thanking me for my hospitality! It seems that these 'friends' of mine knew better than me which anti-Soviet organizations they represented and in whose interests they intended to use my acquaintance. Behind all this was the wish to see me arrested all the sooner, so that they could play up this fact for their own ends. (Further on, Maramzin tells of how he gave his manuscripts to Catherine Doré for safe-keeping: 'I did not imagine that this was part of a widely-planned provocation'; he speaks of the arrival of a messenger from C. Doré, the Paris student Karine Vaast, who 'in order to compromise' the defendant gave him some kind of leaflets in English, which he 'did not show to anyone and burned immediately after her departure'). I see that I was mistaken in thinking that my foreign acquaintances were interested in me as a writer. But the people behind them needed only an excuse for kindling enmity. I hope that everything that happened to me will serve as a lesson to my fellow-countrymen who show true Russian hospitality and trust to similar acquaintances from abroad. I state decisively that I have never given Catherine Doré or her masters the right to defend me, and I protest against the use of my name in the anti-Soviet struggle.

Maramzin admitted that he had produced and stored *samizdat* literature and his own works, that he had sent his letters to the West and that all these

documents contained libels and statements defaming Soviet power. However, he did remark that 'some of the libellous expressions' in the text of his works seemed to him to be necessary for character portrayal: 'A comic writer always risks being identified with his heroes.'

The testimony given by the witnesses, who were laconic and restrained, agreed as regards the facts (that Maramzin gave them manuscripts to read and distributed *samizdat* material) with what Maramzin himself had said. According to rumours, before the trial he had sent letters to some of his friends asking them not to refuse to give evidence in court.

With regard to the facts of the case the defendant himself took up the position of a man supporting the evidence of the witnesses rather than giving evidence for himself. With regard to evaluations the witnesses differed from the defendant and denied above all the anti-Soviet character of his works.

One of the witnesses who appeared at the trial was Mikhail Kheifets, convicted last September and still confined in a K G B investigation prison. While expressing his friendly attitude to Maramzin and his respect for his talent as an author, he spoke with incredulity of Maramzin's letter to *Le Monde* (he had been shown the letter by the investigator): 'This letter seemed very strange to me. Usually a person in prison defends himself, but this is a protest against those who have tried to defend him in his sufferings.'

In her speech the prosecutor Katukova repeated the points made in the indictment and then devoted the greater part of her statement to the problems of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism — both in general and in relation to this trial:

> Unfortunately, among our intelligentsia there are to be found Philistines who have no firm political views. In order to achieve their narrow personal aims they are ready to go as far as treachery. On 1 April a search was carried out at Maramzin's apartment, which was quickly made use of by reactionary circles in the West in order to stir up anti-Soviet hysteria with the aim of destroying international détente . . . Maramzin's anti-Soviet inclinations were formed by his acquaintance with anti-Soviet works published abroad. A new tactic adopted by our enemies consists of using as a weapon the propagation of reactionary Orthodoxy. A significant role is played in this by the so-called Russian Student Christian Movement. The leadership of this organization has openly put the movement at the disposal of reactionary circles; their *Messengers* prepare and train militant anti-communists under the guise of religious propaganda. These anti-Soviet types have recently taken up as a weapon and tried to resurrect the Russian idealist philosophers so as to use these works to influence Soviet people in the direction necessary to them. This is why they send into the U S S R by illegal means books by the avowed anti-communists and anti-socialists Berdyaev, Frank and Fedotov. And Maramzin kept these books at home, as revealsed by the searches at his apartment. Maramzin himself admitted that he did not read Soviet papers or listen to Soviet radio. Thus he was set, willingly or unwillingly, on the path of betrayal. Now he has realized this and declared it in the hearing of all . . . This trial has been a lesson not only for Maramzin but for other ideologically unstable citizens.



While considering Maramzin's guilt proved and his 'criminal actions' rightly defined as coming under article 70, the procurator noted the sincere repentance of the accused and the fact that he 'took measures on his own initiative to avert the consequences of his criminal actions', and therefore considered it possible to apply article 44 of the R S F S R Criminal Code in his case and to make conditional the punishment of five years' imprisonment.

The defence lawyer Kheifets drew attention to certain unproved items in the indictment (as a result, the unproved assertion that Maramzin gave the witness Makarov a letter from Grigorenko and Kosterin was not included in the verdict), and asked the court to accept the state prosecutor's assessment of the appropriate sentence, considering, however, that the term could even be reduced.

The court sentenced Vladimir Maramzin conditionally to five years' imprisonment in a strict-regime labour camp. Maramzin was released from arrest in the courtroom.

There are a number of detailed transcripts of the trial in *samizdat*, differing from each other in their degree of comprehensiveness. (It must be noted that attempts by those present in the courtroom to make notes met with physical prevention by the K G B officials who filled most of the courtroom.) In addition, the trial was described by the Moscow writer Viktor Sokolov, who was present. His article contains not only a description of the trial, but also an attempt to analyze the various moral positions taken up and various assessments of the trial by people with whom the author happened to discuss it. According to information from Leningrad an anonymous pamphlet, hostile to Maramzin, has appeared there, but its text is unknown to the *Chronicle*.

## The Investigation of Case No. 345

On 22 January two more searches were carried out in Moscow in connection with case no. 345, which is being conducted by the Lithuanian K G B (see *Chronicle* 34). These were at the homes of **Malva Landa** (for the second time) and **T. Khodorovich**. *Samizdat* and a typewriter were confiscated (from Landa). There was no material which concerned Lithuania. M. Landa was interrogated on the following day but refused to give any evidence.

* * *

**S. Kovalyov** is in a Vilnius prison (see *Chronicle* 34 for news of his arrest). The investigation of his case is being conducted by Senior Investigator Major

A. A. Istomin of the Perm K G B, who earlier took part in the investigation of case no. 24 (see *Chronicle* 29).

* * *

In February and March investigator Yurikov questioned the biologist **Valery Maresin,** a colleague of Kovalyov, on three occasions. The interrogations concerned in particular the incident involving the book *The Gulag Archipelago,* which prompted a letter from Kovalyov to Andropov. In this letter (17 October 1974) Kovalyov asked that the copy of *The Gulag Archipelago* which had been confiscated not long before from V. Maresin and handed over to the K G B, be returned to him.

Maresin refused to answer questions concerning the book *The Gulag Archipelago,* although he said that Kovalyov's letter was known to him.

* * *

On 13 February investigators Yurikov and Istomin interrogated **M. M. Litvinov** and **F. P. Yasinovskaya** (P. Litvinov's parents). Both of them were shown a letter by P. Litvinov which had been confiscated during the search at S. Kovalyov's home. The letter spoke, in particular, of the publication of *A Chronicle of Current Events* by the publishing house 'Khronika Press' and the undesirability of its being published by publishing houses linked with N T S. Both F. Yasinovskaya and M. Litvinov stated that they had not seen the letter before. They described their relationship with Kovalyov as friendly and spoke highly of his qualities as a person and a scientist.

* * *

On 28 February Istomim questioned **L. Boitsova** (S. Kovalyov's wife). The interrogation took place in Vilnius, where L. Boitsova had gone to deliver a parcel to her husband.

* * *

On 4 March **Balis Gajauskas, Birute Pašiliene** and **Algirdas Petrusevičius** were questioned in Vilnius. All three had been questioned at the end of December 1974, after searches. (See *Chronicle* 34.)

Thy were asked about their acquaintanceship and relationship with each other, various Lithuanians, S. Kovalyov, G. Salova and other Muscovites. Gajauskas was once again asked about the list of Lithuanian prisoners which had been found at his home. He replied: 'I know many Lithuanian prisoners, as I myself was recently imprisoned for 25 years. I know their sufferings well and I consider it a charitable duty to help those who return home after completing their sentences, and to greet them. I compiled this list, so that I would not forget anyone.'

When asked why he was translating *The Gulag Archipelago* into Lithuanian



(50 translated, handwritten pages were confiscated from him), Gajauskas replied: 'I hope that one day the book will be published in the Soviet Union and my translation would then be useful.' B. Pašiliene was again asked, in vain, how the book *The Gulag Archipelago* had come to be in her home; she was also asked about her acquaintance with L. Boitsova. She answered that when she had heard from friends that the investigator had told Boitsova to bring her parcel without taking anyone with her, she had offered her help, although earlier she was not acquainted with her, and had met her at the station in Vilnius.

* * *

On 28 March in Vilnius Istomin interrogated **A. Lavut** (who had brought a parcel for Kovalyov). Lavut refused to give any evidence 'as a criminal investigation into such a case is an obstacle to the free dissemination of information'. After the signing of the record of the interrogation, Istomin asked if *Chronicle* number 34 had come out yet, explaining that Sergei Adamovich [Kovalyov] was interested in knowing this; when he did not receive an answer, he added: 'We are charging him with number 33, of course, but we won't, probably, charge him with number 34.'

* * *

On 28 March **Gajauskas** and **Žilinskas** were interrogated. They were shown a formal statement by experts, according to which two texts — one confiscated in Lithuania, the other from Kovalyov — had been typed on the same typewriter.

* * *

On 27 November 1974 **Monika Gavenaite,** a resident of Kaunas, was interrogated. The interrogation continued into 28 and 29 November. She was also made to take part in personal confrontations with **J. Gražys,** who had been arrested earlier (*Chronicle* 32) and the Ukrainian priest **V. Figolis.** During the interrogation M. Gavenaite was threatened with arrest.

The trial of Gražys began in the middle of March.

## From the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church

*Lithuanian Chronicle* 14 reports that in June 1974 the rector of the church in the settlement Deleka (a district of western Belorussia with a significant Lithuanian population) was permitted to celebrate a First Communion. One Sunday thousands of believers began to arrive at the church with their children. The rector was summoned to the village soviet and detained there. After waiting

for three hours, the crowd moved towards the village soviet building. After a sharp exchange of words with the authorities the rector was released.

* * *

The building engineer **Mindaugas Tamonis** was forcibly incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital on 17 June. He was subjected to 18 insulin injections, as a result of which he suffers from chronic insomnia, his weight has increased by 17 kilograms and his sight has been greatly weakened. He was released three months later, in September 1974. (M. Tamonis had refused to participate in the restoration of a monument to the Soviet army and called for a monument in memory of the victims of Stalinism to be erected in Lithuania.)

* * *

On 28 June 1974 **J. Kazlauskas,** the parish priest of Stakliškis, was fined 50 roubles for teaching catechism to children.

* * *

In July 1974 the priest **Vladimir Prokopiv,** arrested on 18 December 1973, was released from Lvov prison (*Chronicle* 32). Prokopiv returned to Vilnius.

* * *

On 12 July 1974 **Petras Adomonis,** the parish priest of Kriaunos, was fined 50 roubles for teaching catechism to children. He was warned that next time he could be sentenced to three years in a labour camp.

* * *

On 30 July 1974 46 priests of Kaišiadoris diocese appealed to the Commissioners of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, asking for **Bishop V. Sladkevičius** to be allowed to fulfil his pastoral duties in Kaišiadoris diocese. On 5 August K. Tumenas, the Commissioner, summoned **I. Pilkas,** the parish priest of Daugiai, for a talk, as he was one of the signatories of the appeal. Tumenas told Pilkas that the priests' request could not be satisfied and that such demonstrations were in any event extremely inadvisable and quite useless.

* * *

On 27 August officials of the Vilnius K G B carried out a search at the home of **Bronislava Kibickaite.** Nothing was confiscated. As they departed they threatened: 'If the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* mentions this search we'll be talking to you in a different way.'

* * *

In Kaunas the teacher **Andrius Dručkus** was banned from teaching and, after an unsuccessful attempt at 'dismissal on the insistance of the collective', was



put in charge of the accountants department, because he had accepted from his pupils a wooden statue of Christ sorrowing (Rupintojelis) and put it in the school museum. The republican teachers' union acknowledged that the dismissal was unlawful, but Dručkus was not restored to a teaching post.

* * *

On 7 September 1974 **Rakh** (an ethnic German resident in Volgograd) was detained in Šiluva. At the police station he was subjected to a search; various religious books in German and a prayer book were confiscated. Rakh is the father of 13 children.

* * *

**Statements by Priests**

A statement by **Father I. Babonas,** acting vicar of the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Šiauliai, and of Aukštielskai church, dated 20 June 1974 [in summary]:

On 30 May I. Babonas was called to the Aukštielskai old people's home to celebrate Holy Communion. Vladas Kačinskas, the director of the home, tried to interfere with the celebration of the mass, and afterwards detained I. Babonas and A. Vanagas, a priest who was accompanying him. In the administrative office of the old people's home they were talked to by Beržinis, the deputy chairman of the district Soviet Executive Committee, K G B official Urbonavičius and two other K G B officials who did not give their names. The talk came to an end at 2.00 am with an order to come to the Šiauliai City Soviet Executive Committee on 4 June. On 4 June at the Šiauliai Executive Committee I. Babonas was received by Beržinis. The conversation took place in the presence of a state security official. Again the same accusations of breaking existing laws and the same demands to end anti-state activities were repeated. I. Babonas ends his statement with these words: 'I was reprimanded on the grounds that my presence in the old people's home had offended people because many of the residents were unbelievers. When I said that if attention had to be paid to the wishes of unbelievers, surely the believers were also human and merited the same attention, the K G B officials said nothing. Probably in thir opinion a believer is not really human.'

* * *

A statement by **Father K. Žemenas,** dated 22 June 1974 [in summary]: On 19 June K. Žemenas was summoned for a talk by Mrs A. Gudukiene, chairman of the Ignalina district Soviet Executive Committee. Gudukiene accused Žemenas of inviting other priests for church festivals without obtaining the consent of the district authorities. Žemenas asked her to show him the law which forbade such activities. In reply Gudukiene said that the Soviet authorities issue various regulations which are not for general distribution. In addi-

tion, as Gudukiene put it, it is not the custom in the Soviet Union to publish laws concerning the Church. Žemenas objected that according to the Constitution all laws must be published and an unpublished law cannot have any force. K. Žemenas writes: 'I ask the honourable Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs to explain whether the demands made by the Ignalina district authorities are legal. If such a law exists, then by whom, when and where was it published.'

* * *

The *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* number 12 reports that at the beginning of September 1974 a letter addressed to Bishop J. Matulaitis-Labukas and signed by 'a group of priests from Vilkaviškis Diocese' became public. The authors of the letter, whom the *L C C Chronicle* calls 'the anonymous one', condemn 'reactionary' priests who oppose Soviet authority and collaborate in publishing the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and likewise 'underground priests' (meaning priests who have been ordained without the knowledge of the authorities). The anonymous letter urges on believers unity and loyalty to the state authorities, and compares 'disloyal' priests to moles 'undermining the foundations of the Church of Christ'. We quote here the last paragraph of this letter: 'Your Grace, you will soon be leaving for the Vatican. We should like to hear you speaking pastoral words of truth from there about our diocese and its priests, because as long as you keep silent the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* speaks on your behalf, although it represents neither the Lithuanian Catholic Church nor Vilkaviškis diocese.'

*L C C Chronicle* numbers 12 and 14 publish four replies to the 'anonymous' author. Issue 12 publishes 'An answer from a group of priests of Vilkaviškis diocese', dated 25 September and signed: 'The priests of Vilkaviškis diocese'. It also reproduces a letter to Bishop Matulaitis-Labukas from priests of Vilnius diocese, in which the following remarks are made: 'The anonymous letter is not without irony in speaking of priests illegally consecrated by "someone or other". Who is this "someone or other"? Without any doubt, the bishops. But this disrespectful attitude to the bishops reveals the non-ecclesiastical thinking of the anonymous writer: his is the speech of a deserter, not a warrior.' The authors of the letter defend the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, saying: 'If freedom of religion, especially in regard to children, were not rudely contravened, the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* would never have come into being. Can a mother keep silent when her child is being mocked? Can a priest look on with indifference while atheists, who proclaim freedom of conscience, are in fact constantly persecuting the believers, who have "equal rights"?'

Issue 14 of the *L C C Chronicle* publishes two replies to the anonymous letter from priests of Panevežys Diocese.

* * *



*L C C Chronicle* 13 publishes an appeal from five priests in defence of P. Plumpa-Pluiras, P. Petronis, J. Stašaitis, V. Jaugelis, J. Gražys and N. Sadunaite (see *Chronicle* 34), who are all under arrest.

The letter points out that some of the accused have been in detention for 11 months, in contravention of the existing law.

* * *

A statement of 14 November 1974 by Father V. Černiauskas, living in Melagenai, Ignalina district.

According to Černiauskas the church in Melagenai needs speedy, thorough renovation, but the local construction department refuses to renovate the church, and the deputy chairman of Ignalina Soviet Executive Committee, I. Vaitonis, persecutes the workers who want to help in restoring the church building. The church still has no electricity or water.

In the middle of July the church was burgled; the criminals broke a window, desecrated the sanctuary and took away 'about 600 Holy Wafers'. Police Lieutenant Rimiskis, when he came to Melagenai, did not carry out an investigation but stated that only insignificant material damage had been done to the church.

The statement ends as follows: 'All the statements which we have sent to high authorities in Moscow and Vilnius have been returned for investigation to the local district and even village authorities. Why then do the highest governmental institutions exist, if they pass responsibility for the fate of believers to lower officials in district executive committees and village soviets, the local atheists?'

## In the Prisons and Camps

### Mordovia

The head of the K G B administration at Dubrovlag (Institution ZhKh 385) is Drotenko. His deputy is Bykov. Other K G B officials in the camps are Kochetov (ZhKh 385/1, the special-regime camp), Stetsenko (ZhKh 385/19), Ciriulis (ZhKh 385/3-5). Since the end of 1974 Ciriulis has been replaced by Zuiko. The names of the K G B officials at camps 385/17, 385/3-4 (women's political 'zone') and 85/3-2 (hospital) are unknown to the *Chronicle*.

* * *

**Camp 19.** At the moment there are about 400 prisoners in this camp.

They are employed in producing watch-cases. A prisoner's wages after all deductions come to between 50 and 70 roubles a month in the cutting and machine workshops (in 1972 wages in the machine workshop even reached

100-120 roubles) and between 25 and 40 roubles in the drying, carpentry-assembly and finishing workshops and in the cleaning shop. This is when production norms are fulfilled 100 per cent. Recently the norms have been steadily increased. There are unhealthy workshops (such as the polishing shop).

* * *

Information has been received that in September 1974 **Kuzma Matviyuk** [*Chronicle* 33] suffered a serious arm injury at work. In the machine workshops, where Matviyuk was working, there are almost no safety devices.

In another workshop (where the watch cases are painted with spraying equipment) there are no respirators.

* * *

On 10 December 1974 some prisoners in camp 19 made protest declarations. Their contents and addressees are unknown to the *Chronicle.*

* * *

On 22 February 1974 there was a one-day hunger strike for recognition of political prisoner status. Those who took part were **Alexander Bolonkin** (serving four years and two years' exile), **Igor Kravtsov, Kuzma Matviyuk** (four years), **Vasily Ovsiyenko** (four years) and **Zoryan Popadyuk** (seven years and five years' exile).

* * *

In September **Kaminsky** and **Korenblit** [*Chronicle* 20] were transferred from camp 17 to camp 19. Three months after being transferred the latter was given 15 days in a punishment isolation cell.

In December **Povilonis** (camp 385/3-5) and **Bolonkin** (camp 385/3-2 — i.e. the hospital) were transferred from camp 3. At the same time **Bogdanov** and **Vasilev** were brought to camp 19 from Leningrad (on 4 year sentences). It seems it was the latter to whom M. Kheifets referred at his trial as his cell-mate in the Leningrad K G B prison who had been sentenced for distributing anti-Soviet pamphlets.

* * *

**Fedoseyev** has been sent to Vladimir prison.

* * *

On 15 February **E. A. Vagin** and **B. A. Averichkin,** leaders of the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People, were released. They had both served eight years [*Chronicles* 1, 19, 33].

* * *



Information has been received that **Lyubomir Staroselsky** (*Chronicles* 32, 33) was released more than a year ago. Possibly his term of imprisonment was shortened. It is still unclear how he ever got into an 'adult' political camp; the sentence of the Lvov regional court assigned him to an educational-labour colony *until the end of his term.*

* * *

In the letter to the U N from women political prisoners (see the present issue in the section 'Letters and Statements') it was reported that **Vyacheslav Merkushev,** a prisoner from camp 19, had been declared mentally ill and sent to Barashevo.

* * *

**Camp 17.** Not long before his sentence was due to expire **Boris Azernikov** (*Chronicles* 23, 32, 33) was taken from the camp to Leningrad, where he was released on 10 February this year. On 11 February he applied for emigration to Israel. B. Azernikov has now left the U S S R.

* * *

**Camp 3.** This camp consists of five zones or sections: for common criminals, for men in the hospital (385/3-2), for women in the hospital, for women political prisoners (385/3-4) and for men political prisoners (385/3-5).

* * *

There are now 50 men in camp zone 385/3-5. Constant conflicts take place with the authorities over books, living conditions and food. The last such conflict was in the middle of August 1974, when the food got significantly worse. Numerous complaints and petitions were ignored. Then nine people refused to work. A commission arrived from the administrative authorities and investigated general conditions in the camp. After the inspection conditions became somewhat better: new blankets were given out, buildings were repaired, and meat was included in the rations.

Two weeks later the food again got worse, and on 8-9 September the prisoners declared a hunger strike. The same commission came again, after which the food got a little better.

* * *

The following prisoners in camp zone 3-5 are known to the *Chronicle*:

**Israil Zalmanson** (sentence — eight years, *Chronicle* 17);
**Boris Penson** (sentence — 10 years, *Chronicle* 17);
**Feliks Nikmanis,** a Latvian 'nationalist' (sentence — three years);
**Viktor Shibalkin,** a sailor, a 'defector';
**Yuri Levshin;**

**Pozdeyev,** a student who fled to Turkey in 1970 in a stolen aeroplane. Extradited by Turkey?[28]

**Oleg Savinkin** (the Oryol case, sentence — five years and two years in exile, *Chronicle* 29);

**V. Lisovoi** (Ukraine, sentence — seven years and three in exile, *Chronicle* 30); there is a report that he is now in camp 19 and has been put in a punishment cell (for five months).

The poet **Vasyl Stus** (Ukraine, sentence five years, *Chronicle* 27) is in the hospital zone. He was transferred from the Perm camp complex.

**Yury Melnik, Boris Penson, Israil Zalmanson, Feliks Nikmanis, Vasyl Stus** and **Vidmantas Povilonis** took part in the 30 October 1974 hunger strike on U S S R Political Prisoners' Day (*Chronicle* 33) in the third camp (zone 5). On the same day in the second (hospital) zone **A. Bolonkin** and **E. Kuzin** (sentence four years and two years in exile, co-defendant with Savinkin) went on hunger strike.

* * *

On 17 January **Yury Melnik** was released at the end of his term. Melnik (Leningrad, sentence three years[29]) had been transferred to camp 3 from camp 19 in the spring of 1974.

* * *

**Women's political zone** (Institution ZhKh 385/3-4). **Raisa Ivanova** (*Chronicle* 33) was declared mentally ill in October 1974 and sent to the hospital zone in Dubrovlag (to the psychiatric block).

### The Perm Camps

**Camp 35.** On 16 January an assize session of the Chusovoi district court heard two cases behind closed doors.

**Iosif Meshener** (*Chronicles* 16, 33, 34) was transferred to (Vladimir) prison 'for systematic infringement of the regulations and his bad influence on the other prisoners'. After the trial he was placed handcuffed in a punishment cell for the forthcoming transfer. Meshener had been brought to the court from a medical isolation ward, where he had been confined on the day of the trial because he was in a serious condition with a high temperature. The next day Lev Yagman asked Doctor Yarunin who had sanctioned the trial of a seriously ill man and his transfer to a punishment isolation cell. Yarunin excused himself, saying he had no information on this. Meshener stated in writing on the day of the trial that he was adopting the status of a political prisoner.

The second case concerned the release of **Mikhail Dyak** because of illness: Hodgkin's disease in its *terminal* stages.[30] The court refused the application for release on the grounds that Dyak 'had not gone on the path of correction, is friendly with the wrong kind of prisoners and writes appeals'. The report to this



effect on which the court relied was signed by Kuznetsov, the detachment leader. After the court hearing Dyak was taken back to hospital. He handed in an appeal against the court's decision.

Dyak was sentenced in 1967 to 12 years' imprisonment (until March 1979) and five years' exile, in the Ukraine National Front case (see *Chronicles* 11, 17).

* * *

The following have been sent to Vladimir prison: **G. V. Gladko** — until the end of his sentence, that is six months; and on 16 January — **Vladimir Balakhonov** (see also this issue, 'Letters and Statements') who took up political prisoner status on 10 January.

* * *

**Erik Danne** (see *Chronicles* 11, 33) has been released at the end of a seven-year sentence. One of the charges against him under article 64 was association with the N T S and dissemination of N T S literature. In Latvia, to which Danne returned, he has been put under surveillance.

* * *

The Ukrainian poet **Taras Melnichuk** (sentence three years, *Chronicle* 33) has been released at the end of his term of imprisonment.

* * *

**Camp 36.** In November 1974 **Vladimir Raketsky** (a Ukrainian, 30 years old, article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, five year sentence) was transferred here from the Mordovian camp complex (*Chronicle* 29).

* * *

**Anatoly Zdorovy** (Ukraine, seven-year sentence) has declared his rights as a political prisoner. He was subjected to repressions in camp (punishment cell and cell-type premises) and in February or March he was sent to Vladimir for the remainder of his seven-year sentence. As a result of hunger strikes he is suffering from jaundice.

* * *

On 10 February a work strike was declared in camp 36, apparently to demand recognition of political prisoner status. **Kalinchenko** and **Suslensky,** who took part in the strike, were sent for 15 days to punishment cells. **Bondar** got 10 days.

* * *

**E. A. Sverstyuk** served 10 days in a punishment cell this winter.

* * *

**Nikolai Kurchik** (*Chronicles* 25, 33) was transferred *without a court hearing* to a special regime camp (i.e. to camp 1 in Dubrovlag).

* * *

**Ya. M. Suslensky** has been returned from Vladimir. (On his transfer to Vladimir see *Chronicle* 32.)

* * *

In November **V. Vylegzhanin** (*Chronicle* 34) was taken to Kiev 'for re-education'. Now he is back in camp 36.

* * *

**Yury Grodetsky** (*Chronicle* 34) is serving a four-year sentence under article 64 for an attempt not to return from abroad.

* * *

On 6 (or 9) February the 'terrorist' **V. S. Kharlanov** (five-year sentence) was released (*Chronicle* 33).

* * *

In October **Ivan Nikolaevich Pokrovsky** (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, sentence 25 years) was released at the end of his term. Pokrovsky is 54 years old, he is now in hospital with the open form of tuberculosis. In the camp he had been declared healthy.

* * *

The following have also been released: **Belomesov, Prikhodko, V. Kharlanov, Chamovskikh** (into exile), **Tolstousov, Pilitsyak, V. Melikyan, Saarts** and **V. Potashov.**

### Vladimir Prison

Six weeks after ending his 145 day hunger-strike **V. Moroz** was put into a solitary confinement cell for 15 days (4-19 January).

* * *

On 12 January **Yury Fyodorov** (six-year sentence, *Chronicle* 12) was released from Vladimir.

* * *

From 27 January to 7 February **Kronid Lyubarsky** was on hunger strike in protest against the unwarranted confiscation of his letters and arbitrary restrictions on the use of his own books.



In January one long letter from K. Lyubarsky to his wife was confiscated on suspicion of containing 'pre-arranged phrases', while another was returned because of its 'bad handwiting'. In a short letter in February Lyubarsky stated that if these aggravations did not stop he would have to renounce further correspondence.

## Bukovsky Day

29 March 1975 was marked in the U S S R and abroad as 'Vladimir Bukovsky Day'. On this day many Soviet citizens made statements in defence of Bukovsky.

* * *

Four years ago Vladimir Bukovsky was thrown into prison.
He is only 32 years old today, yet this was already his fourth arrest. Out of the last eleven years of his life he has spent ten in prison.

. . . Vladimir Bukovsky provided documentary proof of the existence in the U S S R of the criminal practice of sending mentally normal people, labelled as dangerous lunatics, to especially terrible M V D prisons which disguise themselves as 'special psychiatric hospitals' . . .

On the third day after Western radio announced that these documents had been received by the International Commission preparing the World Congress of Psychiatrists, Bukovsky was arrested.

We ask all who prize truth, justice and love: Do not remain indifferent to our persecuted compatriot!

**Tatyana Velikanova, Grigory Podyapolsky, Tatyana Khodorovich.**

* * *

The case of Vladimir Bukovsky is striking because of the disparity between the actions attributed to him in the verdict and the severity of his punishment.

As I have no access to the case evidence I cannot dispute the verdict from a legal point of view.

But knowing Vladimir Bukovsky personally as a totally unselfish man, devoted to his country, a man with a great soul and a spotless conscience — I wish to join my voice to those who are today fighting for the release of Bukovsky from a sentence which is physically insupportable for him.

**S. V. Kallistratova**

* * *

. . . In 1963, at the age of 20, he was expelled from university and arrested. His crimes: he read *samizdat*, he organized meetings of friends to exchange opinions. The sentence: a prison psychiatric hospital.

On his release he joined in the campaign for the freedom of the arrested

writers A. Sinyavsky and Yu. Daniel. This time Vladimir was imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital without trial or investigation. On his release Bukovsky did not enjoy freedom for long. When Galanskov, Ginzburg and Lashkova were arrested he responded by organizing a demonstration demanding their freedom. Again he was arrested. His sentence: three years in a labour camp.

After serving this term Vladimir again achieved something for civil rights: he publicized 10 psychiatric diagnoses on the basis of which normal people had been shut up in prison psychiatric hospitals on account of their convictions . . .

Bukovsky was responsible for cutting short the terms spent in prison psychiatric hospitals by Grigorenko, Gershuni, Borisov, Fainberg and others. He gave them back their freedom, reunited them with their families and is paying for this with 12 years of his own freedom.

. . . So help us to obtain Bukovsky's release. His freedom is our freedom!

**Zinaida Grigorenko**
**Andrei Grigorenko**

* * *

Vladimir Bukovsky has not committed any crimes . . . Even now the disclosures by him have not become out of date. They are not evidence about yesterday only: Soviet psychiatry is still being used to root out 'dissent'.

. . . Vladimir Bukovsky and his fellow-prisoner, the psychiatrist Semyon Gluzman, managed while in a 'corrective-labour' camp together in 1973-4 to write a *Manual on Psychiatry for Dissenters*, dedicated 'to Lenya Plyushch, a victim of psychiatric terror'.

In spite of all obstacles the *Manual* was brought out of the camp.

Vladimir Bukovsky, sentenced for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda', has already been imprisoned for four years: one year in the investigation block of Lefortovo prison in Moscow; one year in Vladimir prison; one year in a strict regime labour camp in Perm region; and now again in Vladimir prison. . . . Moreover, his first two months there were on the strict regime, distinguished, in particular, for the especially inadequate food rations.

**M. N. Landa**

* * *

Bukovsky did what any decent man should have done, but what only a hero is capable of doing.

. . . I consider myself to be especially in Bukovsky's debt. The first to speak out against the shameful use of medicine in order to harm people should have been medical people, doctors. And I am one of these. If I had done my duty then, I would today be where Bukovsky now is. But he acted in my place.

Bukovsky's health has now been ruined by the severe conditions in strict-regime. He has ulcers, cholecystitis and a rheumatic heart condition — chronic illnesses which cannot be effectively treated in conditions of imprisonment.



. . . If Bukovsky dies in prison it will be the fault not only of those who imposed this cruel punishment on him. It will also be the fault of those who knew of Bukovsky's achievements and while exulting over them in their hearts never made any effort to help him; it will be the fault of our whole society, of each one of us. And my fault too.

I have no infallible remedies, but one thing I know: Bukovsky must be saved. He must be saved before we find we can never pay back our debt to him.

**L. Ternovsky**

## Letters and Statements

### An Appeal from Political Prisoners in a Special-Regime Camp

Five prisoners in the 'special' camp in Mordovia (P/ya ZhKh 385/1, Sosnovka village) have sent out an appeal to the Committee of Human Rights in the USSR (in the original — 'The Soviet Committee in Defence of Human Rights'), dated 2 November 1974. They call for action to be taken to prevent world public opinion being misinformed that 'in the USSR there are no political prisoners, only criminal offenders'. The authors mention the fate of D. Shumuk, M. Osadchy, V. Moroz, V. Stus, I. Kalynets, Yu. Shukhevich, V. Romanyuk and I. Senik.

The second part of the appeal speaks of the deal which KGB officials propose to many prisoners, offering them their release in exchange for their 'condemnation of their past'. In the opinion of the authors, such proposals have become more frequent recently.

It is reported that V. Chornovil, I. Gel (in Ukrainian — Hel), M. Osadchy 'have been transferred from Mordovia and are being kept in local KGB prisons'.

The letter is signed by: **Shumuk** (*Chronicles* 27, 28 and 35, sentenced to 10 years in ordinary regime camps and five years' exile), **Romanyuk** (*Chronicle* 28, sentenced to 10 years in camps and five years' exile), **Kurchik** (*Chronicles* 25, 33; has been in prison since 1946; his second sentence ends in 1979), **Karavansky** (*Chronicles* 13, 15; has been in prison since 1944 with an interval in 1960-65; his present sentence ends in 1979); (and Saranchuk).

* * *

### Two Letters from Vladimir Balakhonov

This former employee at the Secretariat of the World Meteorological Organization at the UN addressed an open letter to the Employees' Association of WMO,[31] in November 1974 from a political labour camp in Perm (Institution VS-389/35). Balakhonov informed his former colleagues of his fate after

December 1972, when he rejected an offer of political asylum in the West and returned to the U S S R.

Here he was arrested and at the beginning of 1973 sentenced by the Moscow city court to 12 years in labour camp under article 64 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (*Chronicle* 33).

Balakhonov describes the political labour camps in the Urals; he tells how in August 1974 he and three of his friends (Antonyuk, Gluzman and Svetlichny — *Chronicle*) went on hunger strike 'to support their demand for acknowledgement of their status as political prisoners'; when he wrote this letter the hunger strike was in its third month (see *Chronicles* 33 and 34, and also this issue).

'I write of all this with only one aim: in my capacity as an eyewitness to inform you and the staff of other United Nations organizations about the fate of political prisoners in the U S S R', he says in the letter.

In a statement dated 20 December 1974, addressed to the Procurator-General of the U S S R, Balakhonov raises the question of the way in which Soviet citizens are paid for their work in various international organizations, in particular in the U N. The U S S R Ministry of Foreign Affairs demands that the salaries received by Soviet employees of these organizations be paid into an account of the Soviet delegation, and in exchange the employees are paid salaries out of the funds of the Ministry. In Balakhonov's opinion this practice is an infringement of the Declaration of Loyalty to the Heads of the Secretariats of U N Organizations, which is signed by persons taking up employment in them and which forbids material rewards and other incentives from elsewhere than the relevant General Secretary.

Balakhonov asks for a legal case to be initiated concerning the 'compulsory' withholding from him by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of part of his salary and other payments. The sum withheld, according to his reckoning, is about 50,000 Swiss francs.

* * *

Ukrainian prisoners in the Mordovian camps have issued a statement in connection with International Women's Year, in which they call on all citizens who value freedom to appeal on their behalf to the International Women's Congress in Berlin, which is to take place in October 1975, and to demand the release of Stefaniya Shabatura, a talented artist from Lvov; Irina Stasiv-Kalynets, a poet and philologist from Lvov; Nadezhda Svetlichnaya; Nina Strokata, a scientist; the doctor Irina Senik; and other women, whose detention in strict-regime labour camps is irreconcilable with the usual norms of human morality and constitutes a crime against freedom and democracy. 'To add more weight to our demands, we, a group of Ukrainian political prisoners in the camps of Mordovia, have declared a one-day hunger strike for 8 March'. The statement was signed by **Zoryan Popadyuk, Kuzma Matviyuk, Vasyl Ovsienko, Vasyl Dolishny, Igor Kravtsov, Roman Semenyuk** and others.

* * *



Women prisoners in political labour camp ZhKh 385/3-4 (Mordovia) appealed on 15 February 1975 to the U N Human Rights Commission.

'We are quite ready to go through all kinds of sufferings . . . if only we can maintain within ourselves the feeling of inner freedom.' The authors ask representatives of the Commission to come to Mordovia, to meet them in person. The letter was signed by **Darya Gusyak, Nadezhda Svetlichnaya, Irina Stasiv** (Kalynets), **Nina Strokata** and **Stefaniya Shabatura.**

* * *

**T. S. Khodorovich — to Dr Clare,** 11 December 1974

Having learned that two English psychiatrists, Dr Clare and Dr Merskey, have expressed concern over the fate of the political prisoner Semyon Gluzman, formerly a Kiev psychiatrist, Tatyana Sergeevna Khodorovich has decided to send Dr Clare some camp documents connected with S. Gluzman's name. Among these documents are *A Manual on Psychiatry for Dissenters* by Gluzman and Bukovsky (see above), 'An Interview with Political Prisoners in Perm Camp VS 389/35'[32] (*Chronicle* 33), a number of statements by Gluzman addressed to Soviet institutions (*ibid*) and fragments of Gluzman's correspondence with his parents. In an accompanying letter T. S. Khodorovich writes: 'I share the opinion of Dr Merskey that wide publicity for the appeals, letters and documents, and concrete protests together with official statements issued both by groups of specialists and by private individuals, are very important and can help people in trouble.'

T. S. Khodorovich gave a copy of this letter to foreign correspondents in Moscow — for publication.

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**A. D. Sakharov to L. I. Brezhnev and H. Wilson**

On 4 February 1975, in connection with the meeting in Moscow between the leaders of Great Britain and the U S S R, Sakharov again called for the release of political prisoners in the U S S R, as he had done during the 1974 visits of Nixon and Ford to the U S S R.

The appeal reports a collective hunger strike by political prisoners in Vladimir prison at the beginning of February 1975.

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**H. Böll and A. Sakharov to L. Brezhnev and A. Kosygin,** 18 February 1975

'We appeal to you to arrange for the release of Vladimir Bukovsky and Semyon Gluzman. These men have not committed any crimes.

'For many people in the U S S R, W. Germany and other countries, their names have become a symbol of courage, honesty and uprightness.'

The authors of the letter also mention others 'who are innocently suffering

in prisons, labour camps and special psychiatric hospitals'. 'We hope especially,' the letter states, 'that you will find it possible immediately to release all women prisoners in the political labour camp in Mordovia.'

The appeal was written in Russian and German at the time of Heinrich Böll's visit to Moscow.

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**V. Osipov: A Letter to Senator Jackson,** 12 November 1974

Not long before his arrest (see *Chronicle* 34), V. Osipov appealed to the author of the emigration amendment to the Law on Trade Between the U S S R and the U S A, asking for help in resisting pressure put on him by the authorities. Osipov and his family have been subjected to 'extremely unbearable' conditions. In Osipov's opinion this has been done with the aim of forcing him to emigrate.

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**A. Sakharov: Appeal to the U S Congress,** 18 January 1974

Sakharov expresses his regret at the annullment by the Soviet government of the 1972 trade agreement. He welcomes 'the principled and deeply humanitarian' position adopted by Congress on the question of the Soviet Union's emigration policy.

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**A. N. Tverdokhlebov:** Statement to the Procurator-General of the U S S R, dated 26 December 1974; Statement to the Head of the section of the U S S R Procuracy for Supervision of the K G B, dated 21 January 1975.

The author is disturbed at the attempts made by K G B officials to establish, in cases under articles 70 and 190[1] of the R S F S R Criminal Code, the practice 'according to which on the basis of a refusal by a witness to answer procedurally incorrect questions, which refusal is artificially provoked by the investigators, the procurator's office allows the K G B to arraign the witness as a defendant in the same criminal case or a similar one'.

In the second statement, Tverdokhlebov suggests that the criminal prosecution of citizens for exchanging information should be reduced in 1975, and 'in the next five-year plan' ended completely.

## News in Brief

**Kiev:** On 25 March the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S S R heard the appeal against the verdict in the case of **Shtern** (*Chronicle* 34) and confirmed the sentence.

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**Tallin:** On 13 December **Kiirend, Mättik, Soldatov** and others,[33] whose names are unknown to the *Chronicle*, were arrested here.

In connection with their case, which is known in Tallin as 'the case of the Estonian Democratic Movement', a search was carried out on 25 March at the home of former political prisoner **Erik Udam**; on 26 March a search took place at the home of his friend **Endel Rotas.**

In 1969 Soldatov was subjected to interrogations and interviews with a psychiatrist in connection with the case of the Baltic Fleet officers (Gavrilov, Paramonov, Kosyrev — see *Chronicle* 11).

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**Tallin:** In March[34] 1975 **Georgy Davydov** (*Chronicle* 29) was transferred here from Vladimir prison. He had been taken to Vladimir from Perm camp 36 in November 1974 for a three-year term under prison regime, and arrived in Vladimir prison the same month.[35]

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**Moscow:** On 20 February a search was carried out in connection with case No. 38 at the Moscow flat of the priest **Dmitry Dudko** [*Chronicle* 32]. The warrant was signed by Lieutenant Evseyev, head of the K G B investigation section in Vladimir region. The search was carried out by senior investigator Lieutenant Yu. P. Chuprov, Major A. D. Shilkin (Moscow K G B) and Major L. N. Chistyakov. Books, manuscripts and a typewriter were confiscated.

Father Dmitry described the events of 20 February in an extensive article, 'Appeal to Public Opinion', which is circulating in *samizdat.* It should be noted that Father Dmitry is clearly mistaken when in this article he equates Major A. D. Shilkin with the well-known A. Shilkin, the author of anti-religious pamphlets: the anti-religious activist is called Aleksei, and the K G B man Andrei.

At the beginning of the year D. S. Dudko, M. Agursky, L. Borodin, I. Ovchinnikov and A. Dobrovolsky were interrogated in connection with case No 38. It is known that A. Dobrovolsky is giving evidence and actively cooperating in the investigation.

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**Krasnoyarsk:** In November 1974 a search was carried out at the home of **Arkady Sukhodolsky,** on suspicion of his having manufactured false work allocation slips. Issues 1 and 2 of *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R* were confiscated (these were typewritten copies).[36]

A. Sukhodolsky was released in 1965 after 13 years in camps under articles 58-1 and 11.

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**Odessa:** On 1 March **Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Igrunov,** 28 years old, was arrested. He was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. During the search, number 32 of the *Chronicle,* an index to the *Chronicle,* 'Minutes of the XVIII Conference of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)' and other materials were confiscated.

At the same time a search took place in the city of Kalinin at the home of **Oleg Kursa.** In Odessa four searches took place on the same day and two more a few days later: at the homes of **Leonid Tymchuk, Anatoly Katchuk, Pyotr Osherovich** and others. On 11 March a search took place at the home of **A. Rykov** in Moscow.

The searches and interrogations of Igrunov, Kursa and others in August 1974 were reported in *Chronicle* 34.

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**Leningrad:** In the autumn of 1974 **Alexander Georgievich Abramov** (about 30 years old), a fifth-year student at Leningrad State University, was detained and held for 15 days. After he had spent six days in police custody he was transferred to Liteiny Prospekt (K G B prison). There he gave the names and addresses of 57 people, including his father, who had in their possession manuscripts of his which the investigator had called anti-Soviet (the philosophical works *Man in the World* and *Marxism — a Stage in the Spiritual Development of Man*) and tape recordings of readings from *The Gulag Archipelago.* All those who had these manuscripts and tapes in their possession gave them up when they were asked to, without any search warrants being presented. On the last day of his detention at Liteiny Abramov wrote four reports, at the investigator's suggestion:

(1) 'The Role of Leningrad Cafés in the Formation of Anti-Soviet Views among Young People' (i.e. the so-called 'Podmoskovye', 'Olster' and 'Sphinx' cafés);
(2) 'The Ideological Situation in Leningrad State University';
(3) 'The People who Led me to anti-Soviet Views';
(4) 'My Path to these Views'.

(The titles are inexactly quoted.) Among the people 'who led him to anti-Soviet views' Abramov named his teacher, the philosopher M. Kagan.

It is known from Abramov's own words that he sent his father a note, through other 15-day prisoners, asking him to destroy the manuscripts and tapes at home. It is possible that his transfer to the K G B prison had something to do with this. After 15 days there, he was released.

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**V. N. Nikitenkov** (see *Chronicles* 19, 24) has been transferred from the Kazan special psychiatric hospital to the Taldom psychiatric hospital (in Moscow region).

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On 14 February **Pyotr Starchik** was released after one-and-a-half years of compulsory medical treatment. He was arrested in the spring of 1972 (see *Chronicle* 28).

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**Anatoly Dmitrievich Ponomaryov** (see *Chronicle* 26) was released in 1972 from the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital, where he had been held for compulsory medical treatment in connection with charges under article 190-1.

Recently, in September 1974, he sent a letter to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet asking to be allowed to go abroad, as he could not obtain employment anywhere in his specialised field. (Ponomaryov graduated from an Army Mechanics Institute.) On the same day he was summoned to a psychiatric clinic and forcibly incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital. He is now in the Skvortsov-Stepanov Psychiatric Hospital Number 3 (Leningrad) in the eighth wing (for the most serious cases). He is not being subjected to medical 'treatment'.

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The story of **A. P. Kozlov** in *Chronicle* 34 ('Biographies' section), broke off in May 1972. It has since become known that in September 1972 Kozlov was under psychiatric examination in the Serbsky Institute, Moscow. He was declared to be not responsible, but compulsory treatment was recommended for him in an ordinary hospital. After the diagnosis Kozlov was taken back to Tomsk.

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**Moscow: Yury Petrovich Brovko,** born 1939, a physicist and a junior research scientist at V N I I S T [All-Union Research Institute on Pipe-line Construction], managed to get into the Swedish embassy on 25 January to ask for advice on the possibility of renouncing Soviet citizenship. On emerging from the embassy he was grabbed and taken to the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital. He had never had any psychiatric treatment before this and was not on any psychiatric register.

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**Erevan:** On 4 December 1974 **Alexander Malkhazyan** was forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital. Malkhayzan is known to have been contemplating leaving the U S S R.

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**Moscow:** On 14 February 1974 **Nikolai Nikolaevich Kryuchkov** (son of the well-known film actor) sent a statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet asking for permission to emigrate. After O V I R had refused to consider his request (because he had received no invitation from abroad), Kryuchkov sent

another statement to the same address on 2 April: 'I ask to be deprived of my Soviet citizenship and allowed to emigrate to the United States of America'. There was no answer from the Presidium. However on 17 May Kryuchkov was asked to come to the district psychiatric clinic for a talk with a doctor, and on 22 June (at the time of Nixon's visit) he was forcibly incarcerated in the Kashchenko psychiatric hospital. The report which accompanied him stated: 'Reason for hospitalization — his wish to emigrate from the USSR.' On 5 July Kryuchkov was discharged from the hospital.

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**Vinnitsa:** The Baptist **Nikolai Mashnitsky,** who is trying to obtain permission from the authorities to emigrate to Canada with his family, is having difficulty in his efforts to find a job. It is reported in this connection that a danger exists that he may be prosecuted for 'parasitism'.

Mashnitsky has eight children, five of whom are still minors. He himself was recently released from imprisonment after serving a sentence for his religious activity.

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**Riga: Valery Buiko,** 33 years old, an engineer and mathematician, has been trying for about two years to get permission to emigrate to Israel with his family.

In August 1972, before he had even applied for an exit visa, he tried at the Riga branch of OVIR to clarify the legal basis of the tax then introduced on education. Soon afterwards he was dismissed from the Latvian SSR Institute of Electronics 'because it had been discovered that he was unsuited for his job', for which he had only recently been chosen by competition. After he had tried for eight months to obtain work in his specialized field he got a job as a stoker, and later as a consultant coach. He was dismissed from this job for non-existent absenteeism.

In June 1973 Buiko and his wife applied for exit visas, but in September their application was turned down on the grounds of opposition from their parents. V. Buiko's father, a retired lieutenant-colonel, insists that his son should pay compensation: 10,000 roubles to himself (return of allowances) and 12,000-15,000 roubles to the government (for his education and training). He has also asked the authorities in any case not to allow V. Buiko to leave, so that he can honourably pay back by work the education he has received and because his profession is so necessary for the country.

V. Buiko's father-in-law, a retired colonel and a Hero of the Soviet Union, protested against his daughter's emigration with her Jewish husband. He demanded that they be brought to criminal responsibility for Zionism and lack of patriotism.

In October 1973 V. Buiko was arrested, together with a group of Jewish activists, while taking part in a protest demonstration at the TASS building



in Moscow. A month later he was detained again. On 6 December 1973, the day before a Jewish meeting to commemorate the victims of fascism at Rumbuli (near Riga) which was broken up by the authorities (three people were arrested and detained for 15 days), V. Buiko was taken away from his place of work by the KGB. They tried to obtain from him a statement about the circumstances which led to his 'criminal activity', and also denunciations (in particular of Ladyzhensky, who was arrested on the same day).

After V. Buiko had refused to take part in such a 'discussion', his flat was searched. At the end of February 1974 a second search was carried out at his place of work (i.e. at the stoking-hold). Both searches were connected with the case of Ladyzhensky and Korovin (see *Chronicle* 32).

In May 1974 Buiko received two summonses from the military commissariat, asking him to report to a medical board. Buiko refused in writing to report, referring to the fact that the Law on Universal Military Obligation does not require a reserve officer to attend a medical board.

On 26 May Buiko was told by the military commissariat that 'the Soviet Army has no need of him'. However in the autumn Buiko again received a summons.

(On Buiko see also the section 'Samizdat News' below.)

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**Riga:** For the last four years **Moshe Eidelman** and his wife Feige have been refused permission to emigrate to Israel on grounds of the 'secrecy' of his former employment. (Until 1971 Eidelman was captain of a merchant ship.)

Eidelman is 59 years old; he spent four years in a Nazi concentration camp. His wife was on active service during the Second World War; at the present time she is seriously ill.

The Eidelman family applied for emigration in 1971. Since then, M. Eidelman has either had to work as a loader or has been unemployed. The Eidelmans' only daughter and their grandchildren are in Israel.

On 29 March 1975 Moshe Eidelman appealed 'to all the world's Jews'. In his appeal he says: 'I have exhausted every possibility of appeal in the USSR. I have also appealed to world public opinion. I now appeal to my own people . . . Help me to emigrate to Israel — to my daughter, to my Homeland, to our people.'

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At the end of February **Viktor Krasin** and his wife, **Nadezhda Emelkina,** left the USSR.

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**Nikolayev:** A search at the home of **Viktor Utkin** (October 1974). No search warrant was shown. After the search was over the KGB officials talked to several officials at the Southern Turbine Factory, colleagues of Utkin; all of

them had to promise in writing not to reveal what was said.

It is thought the search took place because of rumours that Utkin had sold or was about to sell a copy of Solzhenitsyn's *August 1914*.

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**Gatchina: Vladimir Antonovich Shvartsman,** born 1945, was dismissed from his job after two 'prose poems' by Solzhenitsyn ('Segden Lake' and 'In Esenin Country') had been found in his work table.

It is reported that the district soviet executive committee is preventing Shvartsman from obtaining another job.

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**Tallin:** Three lecturers in the Russian Language Faculty at the Pedagogical Institute — **Boris Maslov, Vitaly Belobrovtsev** and his wife, **Irina Gazer** — was dismissed in January 1975 for reading Solzhenitsyn's story *The Right Hand*.

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**Odessa: A. V. Golumbievskaya,** who was earlier dismissed from her job as a schoolteacher for sympathizing with Solzhenitsyn (*Chronicle* 34), is being threatened with a psychiatric examination. This was said to Golumbievskaya's colleagues on 4 January in the district party committee.

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**Moscow:** In the autumn of 1974 **Tsapenko,** a 5th-year student of Moscow University's biological faculty and a party bureau member, was expelled from the party and from the university because he had tried to send through the post a parcel containing works by Solzhenitsyn.

During the investigation of his case he said that he considered the dissemination of Solzhenitsyn's works to be a communist's duty.

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At the beginning of March closed party meetings took place in many Moscow party organizations, at which the necessity for increased vigilance in connection with the intensification of the ideological struggle was discussed. Any *samizdat* which found its way into the hands of a party member had to be taken immediately to the district committee.

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On 19 February a meeting of the activists of the party organization of the State Committee for All-Union Radio and Television was addressed by **Boris Dmitrievich Vinokurov,** head of the cadres section for the technical services given to the Committee's organizations and enterprises. He stated that things were in a bad way not only with regard to propaganda but also in the economy, that our society was close to collapse. The only means he could see of rectifying matters was the establishment of a two-party system. Vinokurov announced his intention of organizing a second party and renounced his membership of the C P S U. He ended his speech by saying: 'After all, someone's got to make a start!'



Of those present the well-known columnist Valentin Zorin reacted most surely: 'This man is a class enemy, we must dissociate ourselves from him!' After him Agapov, an official of the Central Committee, spoke, saying that this was most likely not a provocation but something else, and that those present would merit the Party's confidence by their behaviour (i.e. by their silence — *Chronicle*). Lapin, the chairman of the State Committee, spoke in similar vein.

On 24 February Vinokurov was taken to a psychiatric hospital. At the beginning of March, at the next meeting of party activists, it was announced that Vinokurov, along with his wife and daughter, was mentally ill. Vinokurov's life story was outlined: he was a senior member of the party; during the war he commanded a partisan battalion, and was awarded many medals and decorations. Recently, the rapporteur stated, Vinokurov's state of health had deteriorated; he gave the name of the doctor who had come to this conclusion.

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**Western Ukraine:** On 14 January 1975 a car containing three men in civilian clothes and a local policeman drove up to a house inhabited by **three old nuns** (in Lyubenki village, Peremyshlyansky district). These people carried out a search, confiscated prayer-books, took down embroidered blinds from the windows and threatened the nuns, saying they would be sent to Siberia.

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On 22 December 1974 the apartment of the **priest Vinnitsky in Lvov** was also visited by men who drove up in a car and made out a list of all those present (33 people); they fined each of them 10 roubles, and Vinnitsky 50 roubles, for holding an illegal church service in a home; they confiscated a chasuble and other garments, books and clerical cuffs.

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The priest **Bilinsky,** sentenced in 1946, lived in Lvov region after his return from the camps, but he was registered in Odessa region as he had been refused registration in the western Ukraine. In June 1974 he was arrested and sentenced to three years for conducting services in a church whose closure had been ordered in the autumn of 1973.

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In the autumn of 1973 the **priest Dmiterko** was arrested in **Kolomiya.** He was suspected of being a bishop. The priest **Ivan Slezyuk** was also suspected of this.

(Slezyuk died at the end of 1973, soon after the arrest of Dmiterko.)

At the same time, the **priest Petro Chuchman** was arrested for conducting services at his home.

(Evidently the above reports refer to priests and believers belonging to the Uniate church — *Chronicle*).

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**Moscow:** After the well-known Izmailov Park exhibition, two more exhibitions by **independent artists** have taken place: in December 1974 at the Central Hall of Russian Art, and on 19-25 February 1975 in two galleries in the 'Bee-Keeping' pavilion at the Exhibition of Economic Achievements. The latter exhibition was the subject of the article 'The Avant-Garde of the Petty Bourgeoisie' in *Vechernyaya Moskva*, 10 March 1975, signed by the chief editor of the journal *Creation*, V. Nekhoroshev. Nekhoroshev severely attacks 'avant-gardists' in general, and those who took part in the exhibition in particular. However the author expresses the noteworthy idea that such exhibitions should be held even in future — so that the people become convinced of the worthlessness of such art.

A similar exhibition was held in Leningrad in December 1974. It is reported that the authorities imposed as a condition for the holding of this exhibition the exclusion from it of 'anti-Soviet material, religious propaganda and pornography'.

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**Moscow: Lev Bruni** has been prosecuted for refusing to give evidence in the case of the artist Mukhametshin (*Chronicle* 34).

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**Moscow:** In November 1974, 11 lecturers in the Philosophy Faculty of Columbia University (U S A) sent a letter to Academician Keldysh asking him to defend **Yury Gastev,** the Moscow mathematician and philosopher, from the pressures being exerted on him. Twenty-three Canadian mathematicians sent a telegram to the same address protesting against the persecution of Gastev and the cybernetician **Grigory Rozenshtein.** At the end of January the management of the 'Orgenerstroi' institute, where Gastev works, informed him of these communications and asked him to explain the reason for them and to describe his situation. In a memorandum addressed to the institute director, written at the latter's request, Gastev explained that the letters in his defence by Moscow scholars, and later from scholars abroad, had been provoked by 'the unfounded actions of the investigative authorities' — searches and interrogations in connection with the *Veche* case. [*Chronicle* 32]. He stated that his working conditions at the institute were normal. On 20 February Gastev sent letters to the authors of both appeals, thanking them for their intervention and informing that at present there was no cause for alarm.

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**Moscow:** During a search in December (*Chronicle* 34) the K G B confiscated from **Andrei Tverdokhlebov,** among other things, a typewriter belonging to someone else. The owner of the typewriter brought an action against Tverdokhlebov, demanding that the latter should return his typewriter to him.

In February a people's court ruled that the defendant was required to return to the plaintiff either his typewriter or its value (with depreciation taken into account).

Tverdokhlebov appealed against this decision to the Moscow city court; at the beginning of March the appeal hearing began. Tverdokhlebov explained to the court the reason why he had not returned the typewriter and tried to get extracts from the search record admitted as evidence, together with his letter to the Lithuanian K G B asking for the immediate return of the typewriter, and the reply from Vilnius stating the impossibility of fulfilling his request until the investigation had been completed. The court refused to admit these documents as evidence and upheld the decision of the people's court.

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**Aeroflot:** Before entering aeroplanes, passengers are subjected to a search of their hand baggage. A decree of 19 March 1971 allows this procedure 'where there is sufficient reason to suspect passengers of intent to take with them objects constituting a threat to the safety of the aeroplane or the passengers'. At Moscow Airport, during one such search, a copy of the essay collection *Vekhi* was confiscated, at another, N. Ya. Mandelshtam's memoirs.

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**Tbilisi:** A. Inauri, head of the Georgian K G B, made a personal telephone call to the Tbilisi Collegium of Barristers and forbade them to accept **David Koridze,** former assistant to the procurator of Kirov district, for employment as a barrister. Koridze had been dismissed (on a pension) from his job for attempting to investigate the thefts and corruption in the Patriarchate, in which K G B officials were involved (*Chronicle* 34).

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**Moscow:** The engineer **Alexander Gorlov,** dismissed from his job in February 1973, has decided to leave the U S S R after eleven unsuccessful attempts to obtain employment in his specialized field.

Gorlov is a friend of the family of A. Solzhenitsyn. In 1971 he witnessed by chance a clandestine search at Solzhenitsyn's dacha and was beaten up by the agents carrying out the search (*Chronicle* 21).

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**Lvov:** The former political prisoner **Mykhaylo Horyn** (sentenced to six years in 1965 under article 62 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code; released in 1971 — *Chronicle* 21) is being refused a residence permit for Lvov, where his wife

and two children (12 and two years old) live. Horyn, a psychologist and author of a number of published scientific works, is working as a stoker, but he is about to be dismissed from this job as well because he has no residence permit.

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**Tartu:** The zoologist **Mart Niklus** [*Chronicles* 13, 15], who has served eight years in the Mordovian camps (he was released in 1967) is still not being given work in his specialized field.

Translations of three works by C. Darwin which Niklus completed while in the camps are not being published. These are the first translations of Darwin into Estonian.

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**Tobolsk:** In February the five-year exile of **Boris Vail** ended. (For his trial and that of R. Pimenov, see *Chronicle* 16.)

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**Ust-Abakan:** The term of exile of **Sergei Khakhayev** has ended. (A Marxist circle in Leningrad, spent seven years in the camps and three years in exile.)

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**Moscow:** On 5 December 1974 the traditional 'minute of silence' was held on Pushkin Square.

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**New York:** The publishing house *Khronika Press* has published issues 11 and 12 of *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R*. It has also published issue 32 of *A Chronicle of Current Events* and announced the appearance of issue 33.

Khronika Press has published the collection *Andrei Tverdokhlebov — in Defence of Human Rights* (a volume compiled by V. Chalidze).

## Threats to A. Sakharov

As already reported (*Chronicle* 34), on 20 December A. D. Sakharov received a letter signed by 'members of the Central Committee of the Russian Christian Party'; its authors threatened to settle accounts with Sakharov's son-in-law, **Efrem Yankelevich,** and his one-year-old son.

On 6 January, at about five o'clock in the evening, two unknown men waylaid Yankelevich on a street in the settlement of Petrovo-Dalneye, a suburb of Moscow; they demanded that he 'put an end to his activities' and repeated threats from the letter, interspersing them with obscenities. Yankelevich is convinced that these two were K G B officials.



Sakharov is of the same opinion. On the same day he sent an open letter to Andropov, the Chairman of the KGB. He writes:

'A year ago I listened to threats against members of my family from your colleagues masquerading as Palestinians. (This refers to the visit Sakharov received in October 1973 from two men calling themselves members of the Palestinian terrorist organization 'Black September'; see *Chronicle* 30 — *Chronicle*.) My wife also heard these threats at the time from investigator Syshchikov, dressed in the official uniform of your department.

'Arab Palestinians, a K G B investigator, false Christians, street hooligans — the wheel has come full circle. I demand that you cease this pressure on me.'

Sakharov asks that the Yankelevich family be allowed to travel to the U S A 'for an unspecified time, but on Soviet passports'. He also asks that his wife, Elena Bonner, be allowed to travel to Italy for treatment of a serious eye disease.

On 23 January the police reacted for the first time to the reports of the threats. A. D. Sakharov was summoned to 38 Petrovka Street, where Major Levchenko talked to him. Sakharov told him about the incident in Petrovo-Dalneye; Levchenko said it was the first he had heard of it and inquired whether the Yankeleviches were connected with the criminal underworld. Levchenko advised Sakharov to limit the number of his visitors, otherwise the police would be unable to afford him reliable protection.

## Samizdat News

### Vladimir Bukovsky and Semyon Gluzman, 'A Manual on Psychiatry for Dissenters'[37]

This article, at the end of which the 'addresses' of its authors — Vladimir prison and a Perm political labour camp — are given, is dedicated to Leonid Plyushch, a victim of psychiatric tyranny. A former 'mental patient' and a former psychiatrist have compiled a manual in which they try to summarize the experience of many psychiatric examinations and the basic features of psychiatric theory. They do so at sufficient length for the reader to perceive the correct behaviour which will give the psychiatrist the least possible opportunity to declare an examinee insane. The manual consists of a legal section, general information on psychiatry, and sections on 'Dissent as a Psychiatric Problem', 'The Psychology of the Psychiatrist', 'Practical Recommendations for Your Tactics' and 'Behaviour in a Psychiatric Hospital'. The information and advice given in the manual cannot, of course, guarantee that those who make use of it will be declared sane. (This is why the authors included the last section, which may also become a vital necessity for some.) However, careful adherence to these recommendations will assist in avoiding a great many mistakes which could give grounds for finding 'symptoms', and will reduce the chances of a diag-

nosis of insanity. The manual is directed against moods of fatalism and the attitude that struggle against psychiatric persecution is impossible — it is precisely this fear and helplessness that the authors consider to be the reason behind recent unexpected 'repentances' and 'repudiations'.

**The Journal** *Zemlya* [*The Earth*] **Number 2, 25 November 1974**
Editor V. Osipov

The journal's contents are preceded by a press statement by the assistant editor, Vyacheslav Rodionov, dated 15 December 1974. Rodionov announces the arrest of Osipov on 28 November (*Chronicle* 34) and takes on himself 'all responsibility for the future publication of the journal *Zemlya*, until the release of V. Osipov from prison'.

The contents of this issue:

*V. Osipov*, 'Open Letter to the Editors of the [Western] newspapers *Russkaya Mysl* and *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, 7 August 1974'. Osipov reports on criminal case No. 38, which concerns the publication *Veche*, and announces his intention to publish a new 'Christian-patriotic' journal, *Zemlya*.

'We intend to keep the basic line of *Veche*, but with a strong emphasis on Christianity', the letter states.

*Anonymous*, 'Before the God of the Earth . . .'

*Father Dmitry Dudko*, 'Our Hope'. Talks 6 and 7. A record of talks which Father Dmitry conducted with his parishioners in 1973-4.

*V. Mashkova*, 'Who Must Repent?' The author categorically rejects the idea of a general national repentance. This idea is not characteristic of the Russian spirit.

*V. Mashkova*, Eight poems. September-October 1974.

*G. M. Shimanov*, 'On Equality and Inequality in Marriage'. An attempt to investigate this problem from the religious point of view.

'Interview Given by *A. E. Levitin-Krasnov* to the Editors of the Journal *Zemlya*, 17 September 1974. Given before Levitin-Krasnov's departure from the USSR.

*V. Osipov*, 'To Sholokhov'. The author journeyed to Veshenskaya village in an attempt to get Sholokhov to participate in resistance to the uncontrolled destruction of Moscow's architectural character. The story of his visit.

'The Voice of *Yury Galanskov* (on the second anniversary of his death)'. Galanskov's letters from camp (in extracts).

'The Tragedy of Nikolai Rubtsov'. A letter from camp by Lyudmila D., convicted for the murder of the writer Nikolai Rubtsov.

*G. Balashov*, 'On the Pluses and Minuses of State Ownership'. A continuation of the discussion begun in issues 6 and 7 of *Veche*. The author considers the existing economic system to be state capitalism.

*A. I. Udodov*, 'The Forgotten War'. An essay on the military history of events in China, 1900-01.



*A.K.*, 'Reply to N. Rybalchenko' (on the Moscow exhibition of unofficial art, 29 September 1974). N. Rybalchenko was the author of the threatening article on the Izmailov Park exhibition in *Vechernyaya Moskva*, 24.10.74.

'Legal information': extracts from the book *Especially Dangerous Crimes against the State*, Gosyurizdat, Moscow, 1963.

*I. R. Shafarevich*, 'On the Essay-collection *From Under the Rubble*'. A comment on this work has already appeared in *Chronicle* 34. However it was there incorrectly called the introduction to the collection.

*Igor Ratmirov*, An article on the essay-collection '*Questions concerning Capitalist Russia: The Problem of a Multi-Structural Society*', Sverdlovsk University, Sverdlovsk, 1972. He tells of the suppression of this collection by official historians and the persecution of the volume's authors.

*I. Ratmirov*. 'Re patria'. On the movement among Soviet Germans for emigration to West Germany.

*N.N.*, 'On the Necessity of Establishing a Russian Fund'. A letter to the editors on the organization of material mutual aid in the Russian nationalist movement.[38]

'Chronicle'. It is reported that Captain Pikulin, head of Dubrovlag camp 19, issued an order at the beginning of August according to which a prisoner must agree with the administration in advance the dates for personal visits. Relatives who miss the day assigned have their visit shortened.

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**A. N. Tverdokhlebov, Two Searches and Four Interrogations**

The author describes in great detail the searches carried out at his home on 27-28 November and 23 December 1974 in connection with case No. 345 (*Chronicle* 34) and how he was interrogated at K G B headquarters on 23, 24 and 25 December 1974 (case No. 345, investigator Kharitonov) and on 9 January 1975 (case No. 38, investigator Chuprov). A great deal of attention is devoted by the author to the methodology of interrogation ('the leading answers method').

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**Jews in the U S S R (Special issue)**

Riga, February 1975. Compiler — V. Buiko.

This collection consists of extracts from the correspondence of G. B. Pinson, mother of the artist Boris Penson, who was sentenced in December 1970 to 10 years' imprisonment at the trial of the 'aeroplane people' in the Leningrad city court; it also contains officials' replies to her complaints and extracts from letters from her son.

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**Moscow Miscellany,** January 1975

The collection is dedicated to the memory of Yury Galanskov and opens with an article by L. Borodin on Galanskov.

**Contents:**

*National and Religious Problems:*

A.P.V., 'L. M. Lopatin and Moscow University in the Years 1820-80'.
A. Skuratov, 'Triumph of the Suicides, Part III: "A Stab in the Back".'
G. M. Shimanov, 'On Trust and Responsibility in Marriage'.
I. Korshunov, 'Re-examining Old Concepts'.
On the position of the Orthodox Church in Georgia.
KAMaZ [The Kama Car Works].

*Unknown Works of Russian Thinkers*

S. Glebov, 'L. P. Karsavin'. A biographical sketch.
L. P. Karsavin, 'On the Lord's Prayer'.

*Translations:*

Archimandrite Mefody: 'Father Ioann of Kronstadt and Leo Tolstoy'.

*Prose and Poetry:*

'The Unknown Country'. Short story.
A. Berezovsky, 'A Visit'. Short story.
S. Vasilev. Poems.

* * *

**A. Solzhenitsyn: Sakharov and Criticism of 'Letter to the Soviet Leaders'**
February 1975

A. Solzhenitsyn reproaches his many critics 'among the Moscow intelligentsia' for 'coldly ignoring' a document which was published at the same time as his 'Letter to the Soviet Leaders' and directly linked with it — *Live not by Lies.*

Turning to the criticisms made by A. D. Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn remarks with satisfaction that in the six years that have passed since the publication of Sakharov's *Reflections on Progress* there has been an increase in the number of questions on which they agree. However a number of differences remain on very important points. The most important of these is the role of ideology in the U S S R.

Sakharov considers that Marxist ideology is merely a convenient facade for the rulers. But in Solzhenitsyn's opinion it is 'the evil-smelling root of present-day Soviet life, and only when we have cleansed ourselves of it can we begin to return to humanity'.

Their second difference is in relation to the permissibility and practicality of 'some kind of different path of development for our country apart from the sudden . . . onset of full democracy'. Solzhenitsyn asserts that he has been represented as completely opposed to democracy in general, but that in fact he has only expressed doubt as to the possibility of the immediate establishment of democracy in the present-day U S S R.



Finally, the author regards accusations against him of 'Great Russian nationalism' as also founded on misundertanding. He calls 'the contemporary Russian impulse towards national consciousness' 'the defensive cry of a drowning people' and insists that the sufferings endured by the Russian and Ukrainian people have been incomparably more terrible than those which have fallen to the lot of the other nations of the U S S R.

Solzhenitsyn understands national renaissance to mean the necessity of 'travelling the road of repentance, self-limitation and inward development, of contributing to good relations between nations'.

* * *

In October 1974 the West German writer **Günter Grass** addressed an open letter to Sinyavsky and Solzhenitsyn. Grass reminded them that progressive Western literary figures had always supported Soviet writers persecuted for their creative work, and reproached the Soviet emigré writers of 'the third wave' for the fact that, when they arrived in the West, they established contacts with the reactionaries there. In particular Grass sharply condemned the editors of the journal *Kontinent* for collaboration with a publishing house owned by Axel Springer.

In an answering letter **Andrei Sinyavsky** stated that, to begin with, Soviet emigrés were not obliged to join in political battles in the West, and secondly, as far as he knew, Springer had not so far put a single writer behind bars, nor had he murdered any writers, as Yury Galanskov had been murdered. However Western literary figures considered it possible to collaborate with Soviet publishing houses, which are known to be controlled by the K G B — an organization which constantly imprisons and destroys writers.

Sinyavsky stated that Springer had not imposed any political conditions on the editors of *Kontinent.*

Sinyavsky's point of view was supported in statements by A. I. Solzhenitsyn and A. D. Sakharov.

Heinrich Böll reproached Vladimir Maksimov in a similar vein. Maksimov replied sharply in a letter agreeing with the opinions expressed by Sinyavsky, Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov.

* * *

*The Messenger of the Russian Student Christian Movement* published an article from Russia, 'An Attempt to Imagine the Ideal Journal', signed with the letters **Kh.U.** The next number of the *Messenger* included comments on this article by Struve and Solzhenitsyn. **Solzhenitsyn** sharply attacks the authors of the article, reproaches them for using pseudonyms and advises them not to 'lower their gaze before the party authorities' and to carry out themselves in Russia their own 'attempt at an ideal journal'.

In an open letter to Solzhenitsyn, dated 30 November 1974, **Pavel Litvinov** condemns the tone of his remarks and rejects 'the closed system of normative ethics which excludes any third possibility', which in Litvinov's view is charac-

teristic of Solzhenitsyn as a social critic. Litvinov regards Solzhenitsyn's creative work as more compassionate than his writing on current affairs.

* * *

Reactions have appeared to **Shafarevich's** article on the collection *From Under the Rubble*, and his views on emigration have been criticized. Shafarevich wrote that leading figures of Russian culture who voluntarily emigrate 'cannot contribute anything to that culture', as they 'have turned out not to possess enough spiritual values which could outweigh the threat of suffering . . .'

**Yuly Daniel**, in an article dated 20 January and published in *Le Monde*, writes: 'For an artist, separation from his Homeland is always a risk, always a tragedy and always an adventure. It is the most serious test of his spiritual potenial'; 'a true artist, even when physically separated from his native land, is always linked to her by an unbreakable, spiritual umbilical cord'.

In a brief joint statement **A. Sinyavsky, V. Maksimov, V. Nekrasov** and **A. Galich** expressed their indignation at 'the impermissibly insulting tone' of Shafarevich's article. They write: 'In taking it on himself to separate Russian writers from Russian culture, he has adopted the tone and methods of Soviet justice.'

## Trials of Recent Years

### The Final Speech of Ilya Gabai at his Trial
(Tashkent, 21 January 1970)

Although more than five years have passed since the trial of Ilya Gabai and Mustafa Dzhemilev (*Chronicle* 12), Gabai's concluding statement at his trial has only recently begun to circulate in *samizdat*. Without attempting a full account of the contents of this vivid human document, the following extracts from it may serve to outline the moral position of its author.

> I am being tried on a criminal charge because I openly placed my signature on documents which set forth an attitude close to mine on certain facts of our life. To hold an opinion different from the official point of view on questions of domestic and foreign policy is a right achieved more than one-and-a-half centuries ago. I think that it was for the sake of this natural right that the most outstanding actions of the last few centuries took place: the storming of the Bastille, the writing of tracts on voluntary slavery, or of *A Journey from Petersburg to Moscow*. Countries which do not observe these laws of living are nowadays an exception to the norm. This is also recognized in the Constitution of our own country, which grants its citizens freedom of conscience, and freedom of speech and demonstration. In spite of this, from time to time the same old reservations appear, which allow dissatisfaction, disagreement and personal opinion to be classified as crimes.
>
> A question springs to mind: why is it obligatory that the official viewpoint be that of the public at large? Was it really necessary for the achievement of general well-being that Tito should be universally considered an executioner and catspaw of imperialism, that cybernetics should be considered a false science, genetics a vehicle for fascism, and Shostakovich's creative work a cacophony, not music? Or did the people really need the sacrificial orgies of 1937, 1949 and 1952 in order to achieve happiness?
>
> Why is it that from time to time dissatisfied people are dispatched to distant places? Is it because those who regard the rack and the iron collar as the best medical remedies speak in the name of the people? Or because 'protest is not in tune with our traditions'? In these cases, people usually object that 'we are not condemning anyone for their convictions but for spreading slanders'. That is, for two crimes: for lying or slandering, and for making this lie public. Nobody would object to such actions being indictable offences, especially as we can remember a great many proven slanders. In that case we might be able to expect some kind of judicial decisions in regard to the prose-writer Orest Maltsev and the playwright Mdivani . . . Professor Studitsky . . . the artists Kukryniksy, the journalists Gribachev and Kononenko . . . But these people go on successfully singing new songs, adapted to new times; a new generation of hate-inspired zealots has grown up, but all the same from time to time people keep on appearing in the dock, people who have not fallen in with the tradition of continuous unrestrained rejoicing.
>
> At all times and in every language slander has meant saying what is not true. But in the course of this investigation not one fact has been proved or disproved. I deny that the documents I wrote or signed were slanderous . . . I had no motive for disseminating libels. I do not think social ambition is a characteristic of mine, but even if it were assumed that I wrote out of political vanity it would be difficult to prove logically that I signed an open appeal to public opinion which distorted easily verifiable facts . . . As regards dissemination, in my opinion convictions are not only ideas which a man wholeheartedly accepts, but ideas about which he tries to convince others. Thieves exchange glances or gossip shyly, in confidential whispers, but this is not how frank opinions are expressed. And if the point were only whether I had given something I wrote and signed to someone else to read, there would hardly be any need for this investigation; an openly signed appeal to public opinion presupposes that everything possible will be done so that the document reaches those to whom it is addressed . . .
>
> In many documents of which I consider myself the author or co-author, the following issue was raised — that recently in the life of society alarming analogies were beginning to appear with the period of so-called 'cult of personality' . . . The documents refer to the fact that recently a halo has appeared around the dethroned figure of Stalin. One by one, works proving

Stalin's wisdom and perspicacity are being published . . . Even if it were supposed that . . . his actions were conducive to the common good, no amount of steel per head of population can serve as a justification for murder, no material prosperity can restore life to 12 million people and no amount of wealth could make up for loss of freedom, integrity and personal independence. If we take seriously the sarcastic advice of a great Russian writer: 'Why should we cling to the word "freedom" if we can replace it with the phrase: "better living conditions"?', and if we close our eyes to the real conditions of life in Stalin's time, then Stalin, as a symbol of harsh discipline and cheap vodka, can really appear to have been the highest incarnation of state wisdom and justice. But, in that case, popular pseudo-truths will squeeze out conceptions of human rights attained by civilization through suffering; in that case, a continuous loss of moral rights will result, and if new generations are successfully persuaded that the thirties were the years of labour victories and that was all, then who could deny another country its veneration of memories concerning the time when the people there also enjoyed an abundance of power, and faith, and respect, and enthusiasm, and terror, and spectacles, and steel per head of population? . . .

The cult of Stalin is not only an absurd pagan superstition. Behind it stands the danger that a mythical fiction may triumph, justifying human sacrifice, cleverly substituting the concept of living conditions for the concept of freedom . . .

The file of my case includes evidence of my optimistic state of mind at the time of the 22nd Party Congress. In referring to this I do not wish in any way to underline my political loyalty. Truth demands an honest admission that this state of mind was the result of my habitual over-enthusiasm and inclination to be taken in by illusions. If I speak of this it is only in order to explain why I wrote and signed such letters, although I was fully aware of the hopeless nature of such actions. I have never wished, nor do I wish now, to be in the same position as those in preceding generations who did not notice the disappearance of about ten million people. I am convinced that a short historical memory and a continual readiness for triumphant rejoicing form the best soil for the growth of tyranny, and that the millions referred to were in the last analysis made up of the individual neighbours, colleagues and good friends whom the adults of 1937 were losing every day . . .

Replacing debate by prison means throwing out a challenge to those people who are acutely aware of the fearful cannibalism of our century, and continually reminding them that it can be renewed any day. If fatigue or a sense of hopelessness ever lead me to act like Pilate, I shall cease to have any self-respect.

Some of the documents mention or specially examine the Crimean Tatar question. I am not a Tatar; I have never lived, nor wanted to live, in the Crimea, but I certainly have serious personal reasons for adopting this cause. I remember well Stalin's last years, when I sensed especially keenly



the complete defencelessness of someone belonging to a national minority. At that time anti-Semitism was arousing the most primitive and evil instincts; and when today I sometimes hear people talking about the Tatars, referring to Batu's attack on Ryazan as if it were yesterday, I mentally return to the period when I myself suffered personal injuries from that self-opinionated and irrational force . . . Let me say this: if the Tatars had indeed gone over to the Germans, this would have been a tragic mistake for their nation, but it would not have given anyone the right to dispose of their land. After all, it did not enter anyone's head to start resettling the Romanians, Hungarians or Italians. But the facts bear witness that this is not only an unfounded accusation, it is a deliberate lie . . .

The Crimean Tatar people are still being oppressed, morally and physically; they are subjected to cynical, inhuman insults . . . I am glad that I have been able, in the smallest degree, to share in the honour of the Tatar people's courageous and just struggle.

A few words on Czechoslovakia: I have always reacted and still react to the actions of the five powers as I would to any intervention or tyranny by strong powers . . . The President of the Czechoslovak National Assembly said in those days: 'The state and its sovereignty, liberty, our own development, the safety and existence of each citizen have been gravely endangered. We were forced to negotiate under the shadow of the tanks and aeroplanes occupying our country.' I have always been of the opinion that the state leaders of Czechoslovakia had a better basis for assessing their own affairs than did our journalists. The change in the Czechoslovak leadership cannot change my views, in the same way as the rearrangements in the leadership of our own country do not influence my convictions . . .

Finally, I must refer in particular to my articles 'Again and Again' and 'Outside the Closed Doors of an Open Trial', which examine from various sides the question, which seems essential to me, of what constitutes public opinion. Both articles are reactions to the arrest, and later sentencing, of a group of demonstrators. These people acted against the tyranny of a powerful government and convinced me once again that the truth is not upheld by mass meetings, that it cannot be ascertained by means of any organized headcount . . .

I was not aiming to place the intelligentsia in opposition to the people, to cultivate a sense of superiority which is deeply alien to me. I simply wrote how the actions of five people (who had on the one hand a firm knowledge of the facts, and on the other the courage to act in accordance with that knowledge and the convictions resulting from it, not in accordance with the circumstances) expressed the actual state of public opinion . . .

For a long time I have kept a newspaper from the year 1936. At that time Smirnov, Eismont and others were being tried and the workers of a number of factories were demanding the death sentence for these men, who have since been wholly exculpated. Playing on the words 'worker', 'people' etc. unleashes

in certain instances the dark forces of class arrogance . . . Thomas Mann wrote: 'We know that appealing to the masses as if to the people means pushing them towards hatred and obscurantism. Just think what has been done, both in public and in secret, in the name of the people! The same would not have been done in the name of God, of humanity or of justice.' The history of our country gives a great deal of support to these hard-won words . . .

Knowing my own innocence, and convinced as I am that I acted rightly, I cannot ask for a lighter sentence. I believe in the eventual victory of justice and common sense, and I am sure this sentence will sooner or later be revoked by time.

## Biographies

On 12 November 1960 the U S S R Council of Ministers gave **Ivan Nikiforovich Khudenko** permission to carry out an experiment in organizing wage-payment on state farms on the basis of a system of unsupervised team work. The experiment involved each team supporting itself fully and being on independent financial accounting: the team was assigned only the task of producing such-and-such an amount within a certain period of time. The experiment also involved a broad system of material incentives: the accounts were settled with each team as a whole (not with each individual person) and they were paid for results achieved (not for effort involved); the average wage level was excluded from the plan indicators.

Until then Khudenko had worked as a finance expert on the staff of the U S S R Council of Ministers; he was in the high-responsibility job lists of the C P S U Central Committee and received a salary equivalent to that of a deputy minister (by order of the U S S R Council of Ministers).

The success of the experiment was reported in the newspapers *Izvestiya* (24 November and 2 December 1961), *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (16 April, 29 May and 15 October 1965), *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (21 May 1969, 4 March and 18 November 1970) and in the journal *Novy Mir* (number 2, 1971, pages 155-156, and number 3, 1971, page 244). A Kiev documentary film studio made a film *Man on the Earth*. In the film it was stated that the C P S U Central Committee and the U S S R Council of Ministers approved of the experiment. The journal *Iskusstvo Kino* [*Cinema Art*], number 11, 1972, published an account of Khudenko's successful experiments over 10 years.

For example, on the Iliisky state farm 830 people and 227 tractors were engaged in grain production before the experiment took place. Under the unsupervised-team system, the same production came to be achieved with 67 people and 67 tractors.

After Khrushchev's removal Khudenko was transferred to a state farm in the village of Akchi, near Alma-Ata. After the unsupervised-team system had been established, the cost price of grain fell fourfold, the profit per worker rose sevenfold, and wages rose fourfold. Khudenko had accurately demonstrated that universal introduction of the system into the country's agriculture would mean a fourfold rise in gross production with the employment of five million people in agriculture (at present 30 million people are employed).



However, the experiment found zealous opponents. These were headed by M. Roginets, Minister of Agriculture for the Kazakh S S R, and V. Merkulov, the head of an administration in the Ministry.

On 23 July 1970 Roginets closed the Akchi state farm and asked the Kazakh S S R Procuracy to open a criminal case against the organizers of the experiment. The Procuracy, after investigating Roginets's accusations, did not find anything criminal in the actions referred to.

On 4 September 1970 Khudenko brought an action in a people's court against the Kazakh Ministry of Agriculture, concerning payment to workers of money actually earned by them — according to the conditions laid down by the unsupervised-team system (the state farm had been closed at the height of the work-season — before the accounts were concluded). The court refused to hear his suit. In August 1972 the U S S R Ministry of Justice, in response to complaints by Khudenko, ordered that the suit be heard, and the people's court of the Soviet district in Alma-Ata gave a judgement in favour of Khudenko.

The Kazakh S S R Procuracy protested against the decision of the people's court, categorized Khudenko's court action as an attempt to embezzle state property, and made out a criminal case against him and his deputy, Vladislav Vasilevich Filatov. (Filatov had been arrested earlier, in January 1972.)

On 28 August 1973 the Alma-Ata city court found Khudenko and Filatov guilty of actions covered by article 174 ('Unwarranted appropriation of official rank or authority') and article 177 ('Forgery, manufacture or sale of forged documents, stamps, seals, or forms') of the Kazakh Criminal Code, and also of attempted 'especially large-scale embezzlement of state or public property'. Applying article 39 of the Kazakh Criminal Code ('Passing of milder sentences than the law stipulates'), the court sentenced Khudenko to six years' and Filatov to four years' imprisonment.

On 3 May 1974 Khudenko appealed to the Supreme Court of the U S S R in a letter in which, after outlining the circumstances of the case, he asked that 'our case be reexamined by the U S S R Supreme Court because of its peculiarly serious nature and exceptional importance'. (The letter is published in full in the *Archives of the Chronicle*, number 2.) Filatov sent a similar appeal to L. I. Brezhnev.

On 17 June 1974 V. Vasilev, head of the Administration for Introduction of New Technology at the Republic's 'Kazselkhoztekhnika' combine, supported the request made by Khudenko and Filatov, in a letter to L. I. Brezhnev: 'Turn your *highest party consideration* to this and allow a review of the "case" in the U S S R Supreme Court.'

On 12 November 1974 Khudenko died in a prison hospital. His son's address is: Alma-Ata-64, ul. Chaikovskogo 149, apt. 19.

## Official Documents

**R S F S R Ministry of Culture**

12 December 1974. No. 01-305/22, index 103 693, Moscow K-74, Kitaisky pr. 7

*For Official Use*

—To the Ministries of Culture of Autonomous Republics, to the Administrations of Culture in territorial and regional soviet executive committees.
—To the main Administrations of Culture in the Moscow and Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committees.
—To enterprises, organizations and institutions subordinate to the authority of the republic (R S F S R).

The R S F S R Ministry of Culture sends for your information and guidance the order issued by the Director of the Main Administration for the Prevention of State Secrets Appearing in the Press of the U S S R Council of Ministers, No. 62-D S P, 30 October 1974, 'On the removal from libraries and book stores of books by A. A. Galich, V. E. Maksimov, A. D. Sinyavsky, G. D. Tabachnik and E. G. Etkind'.

You are requested to give the necessary directives to subordinate institutions, educational establishments, enterprises and organizations, libraries and book store chains.

Attachment: the above mentioned order in one copy 'For Official Use'.

Deputy Minister of Culture, R S F S R,
V. M. Striganov

*For Official Use, Copy No . . .*

### ORDER

Issued by the Director of the Main Administration for the Prevention of State Secrets Appearing in the Press of the U S S R Council of Ministers, No. 62-D S P.

Moscow. 30 October 1974.

Subject: the removal from libraries and book store chains of books by A. A. Galich, V. E. Maksimov, A. D. Sinyavsky, G. D. Tabachnik and E. G. Etkind.

The following books are to be removed from public libraries and book store chains:



Galich, A. A.

*August.* A story for the theatre in two parts. Moscow, V U O A P Department for Distribution of Dramatic Productions, 1959. 97 sheets. 200 copies. Printed on a duplicator.

*Weekdays and Feast Days.* A comedy-chronicle in two parts. Moscow, V U O A P, 1966. 97 sheets. 250 copies. Co-author I. Grekova.

*Taimyr is Calling You.* A comedy in three acts. Moscow, V U O A P Department for Distribution of Dramatic Productions, 1955. 94 sheets. 25 copies. Co-author K. Isayev. Printed on a duplicator.

*The Raft.* Literary scenario for the film *True Friends.* Moscow, 'Iskusstvo', 1954. 108 pages. (Library of Cinematic Drama.) 1,500 copies. Co-author K. Isayev.

*To the Seven Winds.* Cinema short novel. Moscow, 'Iskusstvo', 1962. 157 pages. (Library of Cinematic Drama.) 1,300 copies. Co-author S. Rostotsky.

*A ship called 'Eaglet'.* A romantic comedy in three acts. Moscow, V U O A P Department for Distribution of Dramatic Productions, 1957. 96 sheets. 100 copies. Printed on a duplicator.

*On the March.* A dramatic poem in three acts. Moscow, V U O A P Department of Dramatic Productions, 1957. 96 sheets. 100 copies. Printed on a duplicator.

*On the March.* 'Iskusstvo', 1957. 99 pages. 5,000 copies.

*On the March.* Vilnius, 1959. 110 pages (A play for amateur production.) 1,000 copies, in Lithuanian. Printed on a duplicator.

*On the March. Tallin,* Estonizdat, 1958. 76 pages. 2,500 copies, in Estonian.

Maksimov, V. E.

*The House without a Number.* A drama in three acts, nine scenes. Moscow, V U O A P, 1969. 59 sheets. 150 copies.

*Man is Alive, (We live on the Earth).* Short novels. Moscow, 'Molodaya Gvardiya', 1964. 104 pages, with illustrations. (First Books for Young People?) 65,000 copies.

(Short novels, stories.) *Young* (?), a book published in 1965, 160 pages, 15,000 copies.

The same. A drama in two acts. Repertoire of Moscow Drama, Theatre of Comedy, Moscow, V U O A P, 1965. 72 sheets. 100 copies. Printed on a duplicator.

The same. Short stories. Riga, Latgosizdat, 1964. 127 pages. 30,000 copies, in Latvian.

The same. Vilnius, *Vaga,* 1964. 82 pages. 10,000 copies, in Lithuanian.

*We Live on the Earth.* (Short story.) Moscow, 'Sov. Rossiya', 1970. 304 pages. 50,000 copies.

*Call Signs of your Parallels.* A play in two acts, six scenes. Moscow, V U O A P, 1965. 47 sheets. 100 copies. Printed on a duplicator.

*A Generation on Guard.* (Verses and poems.) Cherkassk, 1956. 60 pages. 5,000 copies.

*Strides Towards the Horizon.* Stories. Moscow, *Pravda,* 1966. 64 pages. ('Ogonyok' Library Number 11.) 106,000 copies.

*Short Novels.* Moscow, 'Sov. Pisatel', 1967. 424 pages. 30,000 copies.

*Echo at the End of August.* A drama in two acts, 10 scenes. Moscow, V U O A P. 10 pages. 75 copies.

Golomshtok, I. N. and Sinyavsky, A. D.

*Picasso.* Moscow, 'Znanie', 1960. 61/18 pages. 100,000 copies.

Menshutin, A. I. and Sinyavsky, A. D.

*The Poetry of the First Years of Revolution: 1917-20.* Moscow, 'Nauka', 1964. 442 pages. (U S S R Academy of Sciences, Institute of World Literature.) 4,000 copies.

Sinyavsky, A. D.

*M. Gorky's Novel 'The Life of Klim Samgin' and the History of Russian National Thought at the End of the 19th Century and in the 20th Century.* Synopsis of a thesis dissertation presented for the academic degree of Ph.D., Moscow, 1952, 15 pages. (Moscow State University.) 100 copies.

Tabachnik, Garri

*Fame Does Not Fade.* (On V. V. Smushkevich.) Moscow, Politizdat, 1967. 127 pages. (Heroes and Adventures.) 130,000 copies.

Etkind, E. G.

*Bertold Brecht.* Leningrad, 'Prosveshchenie', Len. Dept., 1971. 184 pages. (Library of Philology.) 280,000 copies.

*On the Art of Being a Reader.* Leningrad, 1964. 51 pages. ('Znanie' Society, R S F S R, Leningrad Dept.) 12,000 copies.

*Poetry and Translation.* Moscow-Leningrad, 'Sov. Pisatel', 1963. 130 pages. 6,000 copies.

*The Novels of Zola in the 70's and Problems of Realism.* Dissertation thesis presented for the academic degree of M.A. (Leningrad, 1948). (3) pages. (Leningrad State University.) 85 copies.

*Russian Poet-Translators, from Tredyakovsky to Pushkin.* Leningrad, 'Nauka', Len. Dept., 1973. 248 pages. (U S S R Academy of Sciences, series on the history of world culture.) 4,000 copies.

*Seminars on French Stylistics.* (Textbook for teaching institutes.) Part 1. Prose. Leningrad, Uchpedgiz, Len. Dept., 1960. 274 pages. 4,000 copies, in Russian and French.

*Seminars on French Stylistics.* Part 2. Poetry. Uchpedgiz, Len. Dept., 1961. 225 pages. 4,000 copies in Russian and French.

*Seminars on French Stylistics.* 2nd edition (revised and supplemented); Part 1. Prose: Moscow-Leningrad, 'Prosveshchenie', 1964. 350 pages. 5.000 copies, in Russian and French.

*Seminars on French Stylistics,* 2nd edition (rev. and suppl.) Part 2. Poetry. Moscow and Leningrad, 'Prosveshchenie', 1964. 250 pages. 5,000 copies, in Russian and French.

*Verse Translation as a Problem of Comparative Stylistics.* Synopsis of a thesis dissertation, presented for the academic degree of Ph.D., Leningrad, 1965. 36 pages. (Leningrad State Herzen Pedagogical Institute.)



(Signed)
P. Romanov

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By order of the Director of the Main Administration for the Prevention of State Secrets Appearing in the Press of the U S S R Council of Ministers, No. 29-D S P, 20 April 1971, books by the following authors were removed from libraries:

R. L. Baumvol, I. B. Kerler and Z. L. Telesin, and also F. M. Leonidov's book, *Class Struggle: Contemporary Problems and Peculiarities.*

* * *

According to a similar decree in 1971 or 1972, the following books were removed from libraries:

1. M. Demin. *Under a Sun that Does not Set.* Verses.
2. M. Demin. *Kochevye.* Verses.
3. M. Demin. *Facing the East.* Verses.
4. Yu. Krotkov. *John — Soldier of Peace.* A play in five acts, nine scenes.
5. Roger Garaudy. *Questions of Marxist-Leninist Knowledge.* General editor V. I. Maltsev. Moscow, Foreign Lit., 1955.
6. Roger Garaudy. *Grammar of Freedom.* (Ed. and foreword by F. V. Konstantinov.) Moscow, 1952.
7. Roger Garaudy. *Marxist Humanism: Five Polemical Sketches.* (Foreword by M. T. Iovchuk.) 1959.
8. Roger Garaudy. *On Boundless Realism: Picasso. St. John Persse. Kafka.* (Foreword by L. Aragon.) Moscow, 1966.
9. Roger Garaudy. *Reply to J.-P. Sartre. Moscow,* For. Lit., 1966.
10. Roger Garaudy. *Prometheus 1848.* A tragedy in five acts with a prologue. Moscow, For. Lit., 1961.
11. O. Šik. *Economics. Interests, Politics.* 1964, Progress.
12. A. V. Belinkov. *Yury Tynyanov.* Moscow, 1960. 'Sov Pisatel'.
13. M. Demin. *The Wordly Path.* Stories.
14. M. Demin. *Parallels and Meridians.* Verses.
15. A. Kuznetsov. *Continuation of a Legend.*
16. *Economic Reforms of Socialist Countries.* A collection of articles. Prague, 1967. 184 pages. 10,000 copies.

# Corrections to the List of Prisoners in the Perm Camps, Published in Chronicle 33

(The numbers are taken from that list)

*Camp 35*

24. VENDYSH, Mikhail — not Vyndysh.
25. GURNY, Roman (not Panas.) Born 1931; from Lvov; arrested in 1961; sentenced to be shot in the case of the Ukrainian national committee; sentence later commuted to 15 years.
95. GLANA — there is no prisoner with this surname.

*Camp 36*

5. SEMILETOV, Viktor Alekseyevich. (Not Vasilevich.) Sentence five years.
7. PETRASHKO, V. M.; arrested in 1971 (not 1969); sentence five years; has been released.
13. CHEKHOVSKOI, A. K. Arrested in 1970; article 70; sentence six years.
33. REPIEV, A. Has been released at the end of his sentence. It was wrongly stated that he still had one-and-a-half years left to serve.
38. SVERSTYUK, E. A. Has not been transferred to camp 35, just spent some time in the hospital there.
42. LUTSIK, Mikhail. Released in 1972; after his release he refused to take back his passport and tried to obtain Austrian citizenship (he was born in Vienna). In the autumn of 1973 he was sentenced to two years for vagrancy. In *Chronicle* 33 (also earlier in *Chronicle* 11) the start of his sentence and essential details of his case were given wrongly.
62. MITRIKAS, V. Born 1910 (not 1920).
64. SIDARIS. V. Was not transferred to camp 35, just spent some time in the hospital there.
65. STREIKUS, I. Born 1928 (not 1918).
71. ŠERKŠNIS, J. Article 64; sentence 15 years.
72. BAKANAVIČIUS, A. Article 64; sentence 15 years (not 10).
93. ZAGREBAYEV, Ivan. Article 64; sentence 15 years (not 25).
94. KAMUZ. Article 64; sentence 15 years. Not KASHUZ.

108-111. BEST, SAUTER, FUNK and KOST are Germans from Odessa, not Volga Germans. In 1957 they were sentenced for taking part in mass executions of Jews during the war. Altogether, nine or ten people were defendants in their case.

121. KAMPOV, P. F. Article 70; sentence six years in camps and three years in exile (not five or six years in camps).
122. TACHIEV, Yusup. There was an unfortunate misprint here: Tachiev was not 'a collective farm chairman'; rather, he 'killed a collective farm chairman'.
127. VASIN, Egor. He was described as a common criminal, but in fact is a Vlasovite transferred from a criminal camp; article 58; sentence 25 years, with additional time for convictions against him in camp.



131. KOLOMIN, V. N. Born 1945; wrongly listed as a criminal. Arrested in 1971; article 70; sentence six years.
145. FROLOV, Nikolai — there is no such prisoner.
146. VABISHCHEVICH, Grigory. Not BABISHCHEVICH. 43 years old; sentence 25 years for belonging to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; the end of his term is in March 1975.
152. RITINYSH. Not RATINYSH. Article 58; sentence 25 years.

**Activities in Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continue**

# A Chronicle of Current Events

Everyone has the right of 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 36** **31 May 1975**

**Contents**

The arrest of Andrei Tverdokhlebov. The Eighteenth of April. The arrests in Tallin. The trial of Nashpits and Tsitlyonok. The 'treatment' of Leonid Plyushch continues. In the camps and prisons. A list of political prisoners in Vladimir Prison. Torture in the investigation prisons of Georgia. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of religious believers. Extrajudicial persecution. News in brief. Letters and Statements. Samizdat news. A letter to the *Chronicle*. Addenda and corrigenda.

**Eighth Year of Publication**

# The Arrest of Andrei Tverdokhlebov

On 18 April 1975 Andrei Tverdokhlebov, an active participant in the human rights movement, was arrested in Moscow. The arrest was carried out by the Moscow procurator's office. Tverdokhlebov is charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. The investigation is headed by Senior Investigator Gusev of the Moscow procurator's office.

Andrei Nikolayevich Tverdokhlebov (born 1940) took part, together with A. D. Sakharov and V. N. Chalidze, in the founding of the Moscow Human Rights Committee (1970), and was a member of the committee until December 1972. During 1972-3 he published the samizdat miscellanies *Amnesty International.* In 1973 Tverdokhlebov was one of the founders of Group 73, which was set up to study the problems of aid to prisoners of conscience. Group 73 was associated with The International Federation for the Rights of Man (the Federation's bureau is in Paris). Tverdokhlebov is a co-founder and the secretary of the Soviet group of Amnesty International, which has been functioning since October 1973.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* have given details about the many declarations sent by A. Tverdokhlebov to various official bodies in support of people subjected to persecution on ideological grounds and concerning the conditions of detention in places of imprisonment (see, e.g., *Chronicles* 29, 30, 32-35).

In 1974 the Khronika Press publishing house (New York) published the collection *Andrei Tverdokhlebov in Defence of Human Rights* (edited by V. Chalidze). In a foreword to the collection, the publishers state that Tverdokhlebov's permission for its publication had not been sought, but they felt that 'his rights have not been infringed by this, as all the texts included in the collection are already available for public use'.

The collection includes some statements by Tverdokhlebov on the subject of ideologically motivated persecution; materials concerning his activity in the Moscow Human Rights Committee; documents on the activities of Group 73; a selection of material compiled by Tverdokhlebov, 'On Prisoners' Conditions' (*Chronicle* 33); an index of material contained in the four *Amnesty International* volumes; and some practical recommendations compiled by Tverdokhlebov, 'On Servicing the Needs of Prisoners of Conscience'.

On 27-28 November 1974, on the instructions of the K G B attached to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian S S R, a search was carried out at Tverdokhlebov's home, in connection with 'case number 345', concerning the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* (*Chronicle* 34). On 23 December another search took place at Tverdokhlebov's home in connection with the same case (*Chronicle* 34). On 23, 24 and 25 December, Tverdokhlebov was interrogated for three consecutive days about case number 345; on 9 January 1975 Tverdokhlebov was interrogated about case number 38, concerning the journal *Veche.* On 9 February Tverdokhlebov issued in *samizdat* the article 'Two



Searches and Four Interrogations'. The article appeared with nine appendices (two of them annotated in the 'Letters and Statements' section of *Chronicle* 35).

The author arrives at the following conclusions: 'Belief in the investigators' integrity is all too quickly destroyed'; 'it is morally impermissible to give evidence about other people and even to mention names which have hitherto not been cited by the investigator'; 'refusal to give evidence as a witness may result in a summons to appear as a defendant in the same case or a similar one'.

On 9 April 1975 Tverdokhlebov sent a letter to investigator Yu. Chuprov at the K G B headquarters in Vladimir. Confirming that he had received a message summoning him for interrogation on 10 April, he wrote: 'I ask you not to summon me any more as a witness in case number 38. During your earlier interrogation in Moscow I answered your questions more fully than was called for, and in my opinion this has exhausted my role as a witness in this case . . . You may use this letter as a statement of refusal to give evidence for the abovementioned reason.' On 18 April, in the early morning, Andrei Tverdokhlebov was arrested at his apartment.

# The Eighteenth of April

On 18 April 1975 searches were carried out at the homes of **Valentin Turchin,** chairman of the Soviet Amnesty International group, and at those of Amnesty group-members **Vladimir Albrekht** (Moscow) and **Mykola Rudenko** (Kiev). The searches took place in connection with case number 41045/48-75. No information was given as to the details of this case or who was being charged. The search warrants were signed by the same investigator Gusev who arrested Tverdokhlebov and is in charge of his case.

The search at V. Turchin's home lasted for over 12 hours. About 200 items were confiscated, including *The Gulag Archipelago.* volume I; *A Question of Madness* by the Medvedev brothers; V. Turchin's personal papers and handwritten notes; documents connected with his activities as chairman of the Soviet Amnesty International group (except for those printed abroad and letters from the International Secretariat of Amnesty International, written on the organization's notepaper); and typed copies of various articles, statements, etc.

Likewise, at V. Albrekht's home documents connected with the activities of the Soviet Amnesty International group were confiscated. Officials from the Procurator's Office, who carried out the search, would not allow Albrekht to write his own comments into the record of the search, and generally behaved in an insulting manner.

After the search of Mykola Rudenko's flat he was taken to a detention cell where he spent 48 hours before being released on condition that he did not leave town.

He was interrogated, first as a witness, then as a suspect, and finally as an accused person under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). The charges were based on articles and poems written by him, which had been confiscated during the search at his home. He was orally charged with membership of the Soviet Amnesty International group, but this was not entered in the record of the interrogation. His interrogators constantly emphasized that they were merely carrying out orders, and that the initiative lay with the Moscow Procurator's Office.

The investigator strove to obtain M. Rudenko's resignation from the Amnesty International group. After Rudenko had reported this to friends in Moscow, the investigator secured a promise from him not to disclose the secrets of the investigation. It was specifically stated in the promise: 'except for what has already become widely known.'

Mykola Danylovych Rudenko is a member of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, was a Party member, and fought in the Second World War, during which he was severely wounded in the spine. Large editions of his novels and poems have been published in the Ukraine. After the Twentieth Party Congress M. Rudenko became an active advocate of democratization within the Party and in the life of the people. His works gradually ceased to be published, and about a year ago he was expelled from the Party. In recent years, Rudenko has written a philosophic-economic work, 'The Energy of Progress', the story 'Goodbye, Marx!' and the report 'Hello, Kene'.

* * *

On the same day, 18 April, in connection with the same case number 41045/48-75, a search took place at the home of **Alexander Ginzburg** in the town of Tarusa, Kaluga Region.

The search was carried out by senior investigator L. F. Spassky of the Kaluga Regional Procurator's Office, D. Proshcheruk, the Kaluga procurator, M. Kuzikov, a Tarusa policeman, and three men in civilian clothing. After insistent requests, the three produced the identity cards of officials of the boards for internal affairs of Moscow City's Soviet Executive Committee (M. A. Zenin) and the Kaluga Regional Soviet Executive Committee (A. Apokin and V. Gagarin). The search was, in fact, conducted by Zenin. An active part in the search was taken by the witnesses — L. Sidorova, an official in the passport section at the Tarusa police station, and Yu. Ushakov, leader of a local jazz band.

The search lasted for 30 hours. Probing rods and mine-detectors were used in the search for secret hiding-places. The searchers ripped up floorboards and tore off wall panels and cupboard doors. They claimed that they were looking for printing presses, portable wireless sets, weapons and gold. No secret hiding places were found in the house. Besides a few samizdat publications and personal papers, the following were confiscated: lists and a card index of political prisoners with information about the state of their families (about 3,500 names), medicines prepared by foreign firms (34 articles), and account books containing three current accounts.



* * *

As is widely known (*Chronicle* 33), Alexander Ginzburg is openly engaged in the organization of material aid for political prisoners and their families.

* * *

On 18 April, in connection with the same case number 41045/48-75, a search was carried out at the flat of **Leonid Borodin.** Two typewriters, a hand-written copy of *Moscow Miscellany* number 3, and a few incomplete typed copies of the same volume, were confiscated. During the search, only Olga Kurganskaya was present in the flat. After the search she was subjected to an interrogation which lasted for many hours.

At about 5 p.m. on the same day Leonid Borodin, the publisher of *Moscow Miscellany,* was stopped on the street by K G B officials and taken to the Lubyanka Prison where he was given a 'final warning'. The K G B official who warned him called *Moscow Miscellany* an anti-Soviet publication.

* * *

Andrei Tverdokhlebov's arrest and the searches of 18 April gave rise to numerous protests.

On 18 April A. D. Sakharov appealed in a letter to Martin Ennals, General Secretary of Amnesty International, and to world public opinion.

On 19 April A. D. Sakharov and I. R. Shafarevich sent a letter to the Western press.

On 20 April the Soviet Amnesty International group sent the President of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet a protest against the persecution of members of the group, including a request to return the Amnesty documents confiscated during the search at the home of the group's chairman, Valentin Turchin, and also the archives contained in the cabinet that the authorities had sealed up at the home of A. Tverdokhlebov. 'These materials are necessary to us,' they pointed out, 'so that the U S S R Amnesty International group can function normally.' The letter was signed by eight Moscow members of the group: V. Turchin, Yu. Orlov, V. Albrekht, B. Landa, V. Voinovich, V. Kornilov, V. Sokolov and S. Zheludkov.

On the same day T. S. Khodorovich and M. N. Landa sent a protest statement to the press and the radio stations B B C, Deutschewelle, Voice of America, and Radio Liberty.

On 21 April Yury Orlov, Valentin Turchin and Tatyana Khodorovich appealed to public opinion in Western countries:

> We wish to warn Western public opinion that repressions systematically carried out by the Soviet authorities recently against humanitarian move-

ments — against Amnesty International, religious activists, and dissenters in general — are steps in the direction of a secret confrontation with the West, a strengthening of the rear in preparation for such a confrontation. The final suppression of humanitarian and ethical movements in a huge, centralized state, in which every citizen has been taught that 'the midwife of history is force' could be paid for dearly, not only by our own people, but also by other peoples of the world.

We urge you to try and understand that which you would, perhaps, rather ignore:

— that the fierce struggle to establish absolute ideological uniformity is directly relevant to your own future.

On 27 April the following letter, with 67 signatures, was made public:

On 18 April Andrei Tverdokhlebov was arrested in Moscow.

He was arrested because he had the courage, over a prolonged period of time, to protest openly against the persecution of dissenters in the U S S R, that is, of people who express opinions differing from the official norm.

The very fact that dissenters are persecuted is grotesque and reminiscent of the days of the Inquisition. Any state, and especially a great power, which persecutes its citizens in this way because of their convictions, covers itself with shame.

Tverdokhlebov is charged with distributing anti-Soviet, slanderous fabrications. But it is precisely the accusation of slander which is directed against any Soviet citizen trying to combat arbitrary repression or to prevent its repetition in the future, and against anyone publicizing the very fact of such repression and the names of its victims.

The name of Andrei Tverdokhlebov and his selfless activity in support of human rights are widely known throughout the world.

Andrei Tverdokhlebov is now faced with a real threat. People throughout the world cannot remain indifferent to his fate. They must raise their voices in his defence, realizing that this is the only way of supporting Tverdokhlebov and other Soviet citizens in their difficult struggle for human rights and against arbitrary repression.

On 28 May a meeting of the Moscow section of the Soviet Amnesty International group took place.

In connection with the arrest of the group's secretary, A. Tverdokhlebov, group member V. Albrekht has been temporarily appointed to carry out his duties.

The group sent messages to Franco, the head of the Spanish government, concerning the arrest of the playwright Alfonso Sastre, and to President Tito of Yugoslavia, asking him to pardon Z. Stojanovič-Kojič, who has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

*The work of the Soviet Amnesty International group continues.*



# The Arrests in Tallin

*Chronicle* 35 has already reported on the series of arrests in Tallin. According to more precise information, the following people were arrested on 13-14 December 1974 in Tallin: Dr Arvo Varato (40 years old); engineer Matti Kiirend (36 years old); Kalju Mättik (41 years old), lecturer at the Polytechnic Institute; and engineer Artem Yuskevich (43 years old, a Ukrainian and a member of the C P S U).

On 4 January 1975 engineer Sergei Soldatov (41 years old), a former lecturer at the Polytechnic Institute, was arrested in connection with the same case. In 1969 Soldatov was interrogated as a witness in the case of the Baltic Fleet Officers (*Chronicle* 11). On that occasion he was subjected to an out-patient psychiatric examination and was declared not responsible.

The arrested are charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. They are, apparently, being accused of producing and disseminating 'The Program of the Estonian National Front', the article 'Russian Colonialism in Estonia', and the journal *The Light of Freedom*. During the search, tape-recordings of the *Gulag Archipelago* (in Russian) and a rough copy of an Estonian translation of it, were allegedly found. The arrested men were blackmailed with the possibility of prosecution on charges of sabotage (an empty K G B car had been burnt in Tallin), and some sort of murder. The investigation was conducted by special investigators of the K G B, Pimenov and Berzinš.

In March Soldatov was transferred to Moscow, apparently for an in-patient psychiatric examination. The investigator told Soldatov's wife that he would very likely be declared not responsible.

Soldatov sent the following letter from prison:

This test has been sent to me by God and I commit my fate into His hands. Nothing, not even death, will deprive me of my good name. As regards the charges against me under article 68 of the Estonian Criminal Code, I am completely innocent, for I have always thought not of injuring or destroying anything but of good deeds and the betterment of life, of establishing friendly relations between people. The court of humanity and history will undoubtedly vindicate me, and progressive society is on my side. They will soon come to understand and sense this. But now a routine sacrifice is needed and I shall carry my cross in sacred awareness of this fact. What, apart from the ideals of love and truth, has guided my life? Now I am being misrepresented and depicted as a criminal by people who are themselves blind and have lost their way. They do not understand that they are condemning, not an individual, but a maturing social phenomenon, which has the future on its side and which, in spite of everything, is inescapable. It will come to fruition before the 1980's are over.

For several months searches and interrogations in connection with this case took place in Tallin, Tartu and Riga. Several dozen searches were conducted. At

least three searches in connection with the 'Tallin case' took place in Moscow. One of these was at the flat of philologist Igor Kochetkov.

In March Georgy Davydov (*Chronicles* 29, 34) was transferred from Vladimir Prison to Tallin. After confirming evidence he had given as a defendant during the investigation of his own case, he refused to give further evidence. On 27 May Davydov was sent back to Vladimir.

In the Perm camps Davydov's co-defendant, Vyacheslav Petrov (*Chronicle* 29), was interrogated about the 'Tallin case'.

In the Mordovian camps Alexander Bolonkin (*Chronicles* 29, 30) was interrogated in connection with the same case. He was questioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Nikitin, the deputy chief of the Dubrovlag investigation department, who has worked in the K G B since Stalin's time.

Bolonkin's co-defendant, Valery Balakirev (*Chronicles* 29, 30), was summoned from Moscow to Tallin for interrogation.

## The Trial of Nashpits and Tsitlyonok

On 24 February 1975 a demonstration was staged on the steps of the Lenin Library by nine supporters of the movement for emigration to Israel (N. Tolchinsky, G. Toker, M. Liberman, I. Beilin, I. Koltunov, L. Tsypin, A. Shcharansky, M. Nashpits and B. Tsitlyonok). Several of the demonstrators held banners saying 'Freedom for the Zionist prisoners!' and 'Visas, not prisons!'

As soon as the banners were unfurled, men in civilian clothes without any outward indication that they were policemen or vigilantes suddenly appeared and tore the banners out of the hands of the demonstrators. Because nobody resisted, the demonstration lasted, its participants reckon, only a few minutes. Policemen arrived and took the detained men to sobering-up station number 8. Tsypin and Schcharansky were soon released. Tolchinsky, Toker, Liberman, Beilin and Koltunov were sent to the Kiev district people's court, where judges L. S. Sobolev and A. K. Bondarev sentenced four of them to 15 days' and one to ten days' imprisonment under the decree of 15 February 1962, 'for wilful disobedience to representatives of authority'.

Two of the demonstrators, Mark Nashpits (born 1948, a dentist, sentenced in 1972 for refusing to serve in the army and since then unemployed), and Boris Tsitlyonok (born 1944, a plumber, had recently become unemployed), were arrested and sent to the K G B investigation prison (Lefortovo). They were charged under article 190-3 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. The investigation was headed by investigator Gusev of the Moscow Procurator's Office.

On 31 March in the Babushkino People's Courthouse, an assizes session of the Moscow City Court took place. The presiding judge was V. V. Bogdanov, the State Prosecutor was Prazdnikova. The lawyer E. A. Reznikova defended M. Nashpits; B. Tsitlyonok was defended by the lawyer L. M. Popov. Although the court hearing was officially open to the public, none of the friends of the accused who had come to the courthouse were allowed into the courtroom. The only ones permitted to enter were Nashpits's aunt, M. B. Zaslavskaya, and a representative of Tsitlyonok's relatives, D. M. Samoilovich. Moreover, foreign journalists were barred from entering the courtroom. The reason given was, as usual, the shortage of seats: 'People from the neighbouring houses have come, they want to attend the trial.'



The court heard nine witnesses. Seven of them confirmed that the defendants had been disturbing the peace. The two others seemed to confirm this too; however, one of them linked his evidence with Nashpits, the other with Tsitlyonok. In spite of this, the sentence was based on 'the evidence of the witnesses'.

Neither Nashpits nor Tsitlyonok pleaded guilty. They not only denied that they had intended to disturb the peace, but insisted that, in picking a site for the demonstration, they had tried to ensure that no disturbance would be caused: on the day of the demonstration the library was closed and there was no one on the steps where the demonstrators were standing. The other participants in the demonstration requested the presiding judge to call them as witnesses. This was also requested by the two defence lawyers, but the court refused these requests.

The prosecutor, on the basis of article 43 of the Criminal Code ('imposition of a milder penalty than that envisaged by the law'), asked for a sentence of five years' exile for both defendants (see the section 'Exile for Babitsky, Bogoraz and Litvinov' in *Chronicle* 4).

The defence lawyers asked for their clients to be acquitted because they had not intended to disturb the peace. They also pointed out that the wording of the indictment was identical with that on the basis of which five of the other demonstrators were sentenced to 10-15 days' imprisonment. And although the detailed section of the indictment in the case of Nashpits and Tsitlyonok stated that they had stood out among the demonstrators because of their specially vigorous activity, no factual evidence was cited to support this statement, apart from the fact that Nashpits and Tsitlyonok were holding banners (though they were not the only ones doing so), and that Nashpits had brushed aside the hand of a woman who had grabbed his banner, instead of handing it over to her.

They each received a sentence of five years' exile. The sentenced men and their lawyers appealed against the sentence, but the appeal session of the R S F S R Supreme Court, which met on 25 April with Gavrilin presiding, did not change it.

Once again (apart from M. B. Zaslavskaya and D. M. Samoilovich), none of the relatives of the accused were allowed into the appeal court. A group of 30 American lawyers turned up at the courthouse. They asked to be allowed into the courtroom, but in vain.

Nashpits was sent into exile to the Chita Region, Tsitlyonok to the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

# The 'Treatment' of Leonid Plyushch Continues

Leonid Plyushch is still being kept in an observation ward; he is still being given triftazine (nine tablets a day). His condition remains serious.

In March T. S. Khodorovich published the article 'Escalation of Despair'. This article ends in the following manner:

> How will this prolonged crime, sanctioned and inspired by the state, come to an end? It is not difficult to imagine! Either Leonid Ivanovich's physical health will fail to hold out — and physical death will follow . . . or the barriers of mind and will-power, which he has built up in his desperate struggle with his executioners, will collapse — and spiritual death will ensue. I take full responsibility for stating that the two possibilities have the same meaning, that there is very little time left, perhaps none at all. A man is not sent into the world in order to demonstrate his superiority over the products of the chemical industry . . . Leonid Plyushch's wife awaits the inevitable disaster. There is not one department left in the Soviet state machinery to which she can turn or from which she can expect any support.

On 4 April M. S. Oberemok, the procurator of Dnepropetrovsk Region, told Tatyana Zhitnikova, L. Plyushch's wife, that her application for criminal proceedings to be instituted against the doctors at the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital (*Chronicle* 35) had been turned down, because at the end of March a medical commission headed by Professor Blokhina (from Dnepropetrovsk) had examined Plyushch's treatment and living conditions and had not discovered any violations of the rules. (It was later discovered that no such commission had taken place in March.) The procurator told Zhitnikova of the diagnosis made by the commission: schizophrenia in its paranoid form. Declaring that he knew of the appearance of articles on Plyushch in the French press, the procurator advised Zhitnikova not to turn to 'foreign papers, but to Soviet authorities. You could be prosecuted for slander!'

On 7 April Zhitnikova sent a letter to Academician A. V. Snezhnevsky who had chaired one of the three pre-trial medical examinations of Plyushch (*Chronicle* 29). The letter ends as follows:

> I am applying to the Kiev Regional Court to end this compulsory treatment and I request your immediate intervention. You, as the acknowledged head of Soviet psychiatry and one of those responsible for the medical diagnosis that condemned my husband to be detained indefinitely in a psychiatric prison-hospital, must bear full moral and professional responsibility for everything that has happened. I demand that until the court reaches its decision you should cease injecting Leonid Ivanovich with neuroleptic drugs: the appointed medical commission should see before it a *man* and not the *effects on a man* of medical preparations which have been barbarously and inhumanly used on him.



On 9 April Tatyana Zhitnikova and Yury Orlov, a corresponding-member of the Armenian S S R Academy of Sciences, visited the medical department of the U S S R Ministry of the Interior. In the course of a long conversation, an official of the department remarked: 'You are behaving badly, above all towards Plyushch himself. Would it really have been better for him to go to a camp?' Zhitnikova then applied to the medical department of the U S S R Ministry of the Interior, asking for the treatment of her husband by means of neuroleptic drugs to be stopped until the Kiev Regional Court investigated the question of ending his compulsory treatment, and for him to be transferred to another hospital. On the same day, in the evening, Zhitnikova and Orlov visited A. V. Snezhnevsky at his flat. In the course of a highly charged conversation, Snezhnevsky asked the same question: 'Would it really have been better for Plyushch if he had got seven years of strict regime?' Snezhnevsky promised that he would ask G. V. Morozov, the Director of the Serbsky Institute, to send some experts at once to the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital.

On 10 April Zhitnikova sent a declaration to the chairman of the Kiev Regional Court, demanding an end to the compulsory treatment.

Zhitnikova has not so far received any answer to her letters and declarations. The commission of experts from the Serbsky Institute promised by Snezhnevsky has also not appeared yet.

23 April was declared an international day in defence of Plyushch. On this day a delegation of five people — two members of the 'Academy of Immortals', the internationally famous mathematicians Henri Cartan and Laurant Schwartz, the lawyer de Félice, and two members of Amnesty International — visited the Soviet Embassy in France. At the embassy the members of the delegation were told that 'Moscow will be asked'.

On this day a letter from T. Zhitnikova was published in the West:

> Three-and-a-half years have elapsed since the day my husband was arrested. Of these he has spent one year in prison and the remainder in the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital. He remembers prison as a lost paradise: there he could talk and read, and most important of all, he was not 'treated' there.
>
> I wish to state that Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch, 'the mathematician Plyushch', as they call him in foreign radio broadcasts, about whom articles and books have been written, whose letters and works have been published, that Leonid Ivanovich whom I knew, whom his children, relatives and close friends knew — this Leonid Ivanovich no longer exists. What remains is a human being pushed to the limits of suffering, who is losing his memory, the ability to read or to think, a man who is extremely ill and exhausted.
>
> And those who are directly responsible, who are killing him with their own hands, know this; they realize that they are committing a crime.
>
> . . . It is not the 'Plyushch case' but the issues of human freedom and

human dignity that are at stake.

If the world grows accustomed to the persecution of free and independent thought, to amoral and totally unlawful acts perpetrated by a state which is responsible for the fate of all humanity, what can we expect from the future? What can we place our hope in? What kind of tomorrow are we condemning our children to?

Don't think of us — think of yourselves: my terrible 'today' could become the same kind of 'tomorrow' for a large majority of people if you let your hands fall helplessly, if it seems, even for a moment, that your efforts to save reason and conscience are of no avail.

I made every effort to prove his normality, his absolute psychological health, his spiritual well-being . . . But now I say: yes, he is ill. Terribly ill. He must be saved from something worse than illness — from death.

In my own country I can no longer hope for anything. Now all my efforts are directed towards getting my emigration documents accepted by the appropriate authorities.

. . . I am forever grateful to all the foreign mathematicians and to all those who have concerned themselves with the fate of Leonid Ivanovich. But I have also realized something else: L. Plyushch's Soviet colleagues are silent. They are as deaf to injustice as if the drugs suffocating Leonid Ivanovich were affecting them as well.

. . . Let them give me back my husband — the sick man they have made him — and let them allow us to leave this country.

The right to emigrate is the only right that I now ask to exercise.

On the same day, 23 April, a routine commission talked with Plyushch (usually medical commissions take place in May or June). Nina Nikolayevna Bochkovskaya, head of the ninth department, told Zhitnikova that the commission had considered it necessary to continue Plyushch's treatment at the special psychiatric hospital. Bochkovskaya also said: 'Don't you worry — we're treating him. He's under constant observation. We're satisfied with him: he's very polite and friendly.' However, when asked why Plyushch was being kept in a 'ward for violent patients', she offered no reply. The members of the commission only asked Plyushch two or three questions: What effect is the triftazine having on you? What are you reading? How do you imagine the future shape of society? (Plyushch's answers: democratic, there must be freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and democratic elections.)

At the end of April Leonid Plyushch had a visit from his wife and sister. Plyushch was again suffering from facial erisypelas. His nose had swollen and covered half his face; his temperature was 38.9°C. He was being given injections of penicillin. He had not been given triftazine for several days. He was in a very bad condition. With difficulty he forced himself to attend the meeting with his sister. At the beginning of the visit he looked withdrawn and in another world. At such moments it seems to an onlooker that Plyushch sees nothing,



hears nothing and understands nothing. After some time his eyes show signs of comprehension. Leonid begins to answer questions. He answers slowly in monosyllables. He does not recount anything and asks no questions. He looks weak, inert, and drained. He is in a depressed state: he has no hope of getting out of the hospital.

Through a third party, Tatyana Zhitnikova has once again been told by the K G B that the methods of compulsory treatment chosen to use on her husband are directly related to how she behaves.

## In the Camps and Prisons

### The Mordovian Camps

At the end of 1974 in connection with the proclamation of 1975 as International Women's Year, **Darya Gusyak** [Husyak in Ukrainian], **Nina Strokata, Irina Senik, Stefaniya Shabatura, Irina Stasiv-Kalynets** and **Nadezhda Svetlichnaya** (Camp 3, Zone 4), refused to carry out forced labour and demanded their release. This was answered by repression. On 3 January 1975 Strokata and Shabatura were put in punishment barracks for three months and six months respectively. On the same day Stasiv-Kalynets and Svetlichnaya were put in the camp prison for 14 days. In addition Svetlichnaya was deprived of a visit from her son, who has not started school yet. As Strokata and Shabatura refused to do forced labour even in the punishment barracks, they were put on food ration 9.b [or 10.b?] (*Chronicle* 33), which reduced them to complete exhaustion.

As a gesture of solidarity with the women prisoners, **Vyacheslav Chornovil** and **Paruir Airikyan** refused camp breakfasts for the whole of 1975; **Azat Arshakyan** refused breakfast throughout the imprisonment of **Anait Karapetyan** (in some copies of *Chronicle* 34 Anait Karapetyan is [wrongly] followed by the masculine verb form).

In April Nina Strokata was in the women's hospital zone (zone 3) of camp 3. At this time her husband, **Svyatoslav Karavansky** (*Chronicles* 13, 15, 18) was in the men's hospital zone (zone 2) of the same camp. During a short meeting Karavansky found it difficult to recognize his wife: she had changed so much.

* * *

**Mikhail Kheifets** (*Chronicle* 34) arrived in Camp 17 in March.

Proposals have been made to Kheifets on a number of occasions, both personally and through his relatives, that he should appeal for a pardon, with the stipulation that the plea should come from him personally (the law allows anybody to address a plea for pardon) and that it should express full repentance.

Kheifets continually refuses to go along with these offers. He says that he wants to remain in the camp because he is preparing to write a book about

the camps and hopes to make a better study of the material than when he wrote his books on the 'People's Will' movement [of the late 19th century].

During a visit from his mother Kheifets refused to discuss the question of a pardon with her, and even brought the meeting to an early end. His wife refused the offer of an additional visit, through which the authorities hoped that she would get him to change his mind.

In Leningrad it is said that about a month after his arrest, Kheifets was blackmailed into starting to give evidence: he was threatened that Etkind would be arrested if he refused to comply.

* * *

**Dmitry Mikheyev** (*Chronicle* 21) is detained in Camp 19. After submitting a plea for pardon, his sentence was reduced by two years. His sentence should now end in 1976.

* * *

In February 1975 **Alexander Bolonkin** (*Chronicle* 30) was again transferred from Camp 19 to the hospital (zone 2 of Camp 3).

* * *

**Ukolov** has been brought to Camp 17. The *Chronicle* has no information about him.

* * *

In the winter of 1974-75 **Ivan Gel** [Hel in Ukrainian] (*Chronicle* 33), **Vyacheslav Chornovil** (*Chronicle* 33), and **Mikhail Osadchy** (*Chronicles* 24, 27) were taken to the Ukraine.

Gel's three-year battle to register his marriage to his acknowledged wife has ended in victory: their marriage was registered in Ivano-Frankovsk, in the K G B investigation prison. After the registration the couple were allowed a meeting.

Chornovil, however, has so far not been permitted to register his marriage. Nevertheless, his fiancée Atena Pashko was allowed to visit him in the K G B investigation prison in Lvov.

Osadchy was also allowed a visit, in a Kiev prison.

All three have now been taken back to Mordovia.

* * *

On 17 March the wife of **A. Arshakyan** (*Chronicle* 34) arrived at Camp 3, but was not allowed to meet her husband on the pretext that the visiting rooms were being redecorated. Nevertheless, on the same day relatives of a camp 'activist', a former policeman under the Nazi occupation, were allowed to visit him.

* * *



On 31 March **A. Tovmasyan, R. Markosyan, R. Zograbyan,** and **A. Arshakyan** (*Chronicle* 34) declared a hunger strike, demanding to be given the texts of their sentences. The hunger strike lasted for three days. So far they have not been shown the texts.

* * *

**A. Tovmasyan** has been transferred to Camp 19, **R. Zograbyan** to the Perm camps, and **P. Airikyan** to Camp 17.

* * *

At the beginning of 1975 **Daria Gusyak** (*Chronicle* 33), now almost blind, was released from Camp 3, after serving a 25-year sentence (19 years of which were spent in prison).

**Maria Palchak** (*Chronicle* 33) was released from the same camp, having completed a 15-year sentence.

* * *

In April 1975 **Prokhorenko** (from Leningrad) was released from Camp 17 having completed his sentence. He had been imprisoned for 12 years. The *Chronicle* has no further information about him.

### The Perm Camps

Reports have already appeared, in *Chronicles* 33 and 34, of the prolonged hunger strike carried out by **Balakhonov, Svetlichny, Antonyuk** and **Gluzman** in Camp 35. Further details have become known to the *Chronicle*.

It appears that the hunger strike began on 27 August 1974.

At the beginning of October Balakhonov and Svetlichny were in solitary confinement cells in the camp prison.

On 7 October attempts were made to force each of them to carry out their cell latrine buckets (weighing 30-50 kg).

On the night of 8 to 9 October Svetlichny began to suffer from nephritic colic. The doctor Solomina offered to hospitalize him on condition that he ended his hunger strike. She refused to give him a hot water bottle.

The pain continued uninterruptedly, Svetlichny could not sleep.

On the night of 11 to 12 October Svetlichny's condition deteriorated to such an extent that he was given an injection of platiphilin by the officer on duty. He was still refused a hot water bottle.

On 12 October at half past six in the morning, Butman, Valdman, Melnichuk, Chekalin and Khnokh declared a hunger strike in protest. At ten o'clock in the morning, the nurse brought a hot water bottle and drugs. Svetlichny's condition immediately improved.

On 18 or 19 October Svetlichny ended his hunger-strike because of his transfer out of the camp.

At the beginning of October Antonyuk and Gluzman found themselves together in the punishment barracks. The heating had been switched off in their cell, whilst cold water dripped onto the bunks from a pipe.

On 12 October the heating was switched on. The cell stank from the corpses of rats lying under the bunks. It was impossible to remove them because of the way in which the bunks are constructed.

The dripping of the water from the pipe grew worse. Antonyuk and Gluzman had to give up sleeping in order regularly to empty the basin placed under the drip. On 14 October the camp commandant, Major Pimenov, stated in reply to their complaint: 'It's not that bad. Why don't you take turns to carry the water out.'

From 19 to 22 October Antonyuk and Gluzman carried out a 'dry' hunger strike, i.e., refusing to take even water.

On 22 October Antonyuk was put in the hospital. He broke off his hunger-strike.

On 31 October Antonyuk was unexpectedly discharged from the hospital, and, as punishment for his 'hostile activity', was sent off to the punishment barracks for four months. He now renewed his hunger-strike.

On 6 November Antonyuk's pain from a perforated ulcer and, apparently. tuberculosis, became more acute. He was given no medicine.

On 9 November Gluzman had a heart attack.

The actual date when the hunger strike was finally called off is unknown to the *Chronicle*, but it was not before 10 November.

One of the reasons for the hunger strike was that Igor Kalynets (*Chronicle* 33) had been deprived of a visit to which he was entitled. The Perm Regional Procurator's Office admitted that this deprivation had been 'unfounded'.

* * *

**Ivan Svetlichny** has now been taken back to the Perm camps.

* * *

On 27 March 1975 **Gabriel Superfin** (*Chronicles* 32, 33) was put in the punishment barracks for four months. According to unconfirmed reports, this was because he had sharply refused to answer questions put to him by a visiting investigator. This is already his fourth punishment: in November 1974 he was deprived of a visit (it was moved from January to May; now it is due to take place only after his release from the punishment barracks); in December 1974 he was barred from the camp 'shop'; in January 1975 he got five days in the camp prison. The *Chronicle* does not know the reasons for these punishments.

Incidentally, according to reports from prisoners, Camp 35 is distinguished among political 'zones' by the completely arbitrary tyranny of the camp administration.

* * *



In April 1975 **Šarūnas Žukauskas** (*Chronicles* 32, 33) was transferred from Camp 36 to Vilnius.

* * *

**Petras Plumpa** (*Chronicle* 34) arrived at Camp 36 in April. He had spent two months being transported.

* * *

On 8 March 1975 about 40 political prisoners in the Perm camps held a one-day hunger strike in protest against the 'existence of women political prisoners in the U S S R, a country calling itself the most democratic in the world'. In their declaration to the Head of the Soviet Committee for International Women's Year, they called for the release of women political prisoners.

* * *

**Vasyl Stus** (*Chronicles* 27, 33) has been suffering from an ulcer for ten years. From the moment of his arrest (January 1972) he has been deprived of vikalin, the medicine that he needs, as there is none in the clinic or in the camp hospital. At the beginning of 1975, at Stus's request and with the permission of the administration of Camp 35, Stus's relatives sent a small parcel containing vikalin to the clinic; however, it was sent back, and Stus is receiving only pain-killing drugs, as before. Although the illness has worsened, and is accompanied by sharp, tormenting pain, Stus is being systematically refused permission to be excused from work.

* * *

*Chronicle* 33 mentioned the *Chronicle of the Gulag Archipelago*. The *Chronicle of the G A* continues to come out from the camps.

* * *

The *Chronicle of the G A* gives additional details about the transfer to Vladimir prison of **Vladlen Pavlenkov** (*Chronicles* 33, 34) and **Georgy Gladko** (*Chronicles* 33, 35).

On 30 November 1974, during a visit from his wife, Pavlenkov referred to the attempted suicide of Meshener (*Chronicle* 34). He was immediately charged with spreading 'classified information'. Two days later, the Chusovoi District Court, headed by Zvereva, sent Pavlenkov to Vladimir until the end of his sentence (October 1976), 'because of all his infringements of the rules'. It was also taken into account that Pavlenkov had not attended political lectures; this, as the *Chronicle of the G A* states, is unprecedented. The conversation with his wife did not, it seems, figure in the charges.

At the beginning of November 1974 Gladko told K G B Major Anastasov that when he was released he would try to emigrate legally from the U S S R. According to the *Chronicle of the G A* Anastasov responded by physically

threatening him. On 18 November Gladko was beaten up by some of the prisoners. The *Chronicle of the G A* names Captain Khromushin, head of the operations office, as the organizer of the beating. Major Yarunin, head of the medical section, covered up the marks left by the beating. On the same day Gladko was put in the camp prison for ten days 'for fighting'. He was sent to Vladimir prison until the end of his sentence (19 June 1975), at the same session of the Chusovoi Court as Pavlenkov. The *Chronicle of the G A* reports that on 4 December, before being transferred, Gladko was asked by Khromushin to give a written pledge that he would not appeal to a court about the beating. In Vladimir, Gladko was put on strict-regime until the end of his sentence. Earlier, Gladko had already spent three years in Vladimir prison.

* * *

### Vladimir Prison

The hunger strike lasting from 27 January to 7 February (*Chronicle* 35) was carried out, according to more precise information now received, by the whole of cell 36 in cell-block one, i.e., by **Afanasev, Vudka, Lyubarsky** and **Safronov.** The hunger strikers made the following demands: that the confiscation of letters on imaginary pretexts should cease, that unlawful restrictions on books should cease, that Afanasev should be given the opportunity to complete his secondary education (he only had eight years at school).

On 4 February Lyubarsky was transferred to the hospital block.

On 6 February forced feeding began. The feeding was done through a thick tube, as it was maintained that no other was available.

On 7 February representatives of higher authorities, who were then present, promised to meet the demands of the hunger-strikers. The hunger strike was called off.

On 7 April the Procurator of Vladimir Region told Lyubarsky's wife: 'The commandant of institution OD/1-ST/2 has allowed your husband to make use of dictionaries and foreign language textbooks, as an exception to the restrictions laid down concerning books.'

* * *

In March **Lyubarsky** should have received a visit from his wife. In spite of this the prison commandant refused to allow Lyubarsky's wife to visit him, declaring that earlier, in his camp, Lyubarsky had had this penalty imposed.

Because, however, the court verdict by which Lyubarsky had been transferred from the camp to the prison listed all the penalties imposed on him and did not contain the one referred to by the prison commandant, the Procurator of Vladimir Region replied to a complaint from Lyubarsky's wife by informing her, 'The prison commandant has been told to allow you a visit.'

The visit took place in the middle of April . . .

In Vladimir Prison forced labour has now been imposed on political



prisoners as well as others. Some of the cells have been made into a workshop; the bunks have not been taken out, but just pushed up against the walls.

The floor is made of cement. It is cold (the temperature is 10 to 12 degrees below zero) and damp. The work involves tiny radio parts, but special lighting has not been installed in the cells. The work demands constant concentration of vision. Because of the bad lighting this soon leads to headaches. Normal safety regulations are not observed. If they were, 'the output required by the plan would not be met', the workshop overseer said. The production chief is Captain Kapustin. The work norm is 3,000 parts on one type of machine and 1,500 on the other. A working prisoner gets an extra 10 grams of bread a day and some soap.

From the beginning of March political prisoners began to be led out to work. At first this applied only to a few people, but later it involved almost everyone. In the beginning, many of the political prisoners refused to work. Punishments rained down on these 'refusers'. By the middle of April there were almost no more refusals to do forced labour.

At the beginning of May **Valentin Moroz** got a routine visit. He said that he felt better than he had just after his hunger strike, although he had put on weight again very slowly. He had started to learn English. He was reading a lot.

In December 1974 **Lev Lukyanenko** was taken to the psychiatric hospital in the town of Rybinsk. Two months later he was brought back, labelled as a second-category invalid.

According to unconfirmed information, this was preceded by an offer from K G B official Otrubov for him to write a plea for a pardon (Lukyanenko's 15-year sentence is due to end in 1976) and Lukyanenko's refusal of this offer.

Captain Dmitriev threatened **Georgy Gladko,** 'Stop your complaints or the psychiatrist will be attending to you!'

Similar threats were heard in February by **Valentin Moroz.** from the lips of the Vladimir prison psychiatrist, Valentin Leonidovich Rogov.

* * *

The prison administration has refused to send prisoners' declarations and complaints to higher authorities by registered post, or to give receipts for registered letters sent to relatives; advice-of-receipt letters are not accepted (the receipt slip is either torn off and thrown away or returned to the prisoner).

* * *

# A List of Political Prisoners Known to the Chronicle in Vladimir Prison

Only the 'minimum details' are given here about those included in the *Chronicle* 33's 'List of Political Prisoners in the Perm Camps'; references are given to the numbers in that list.

1. ABANKIN — article 64 (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 26).
2. AFANASEV, Vladimir — article 64; 10 years (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 87).
3. BALAKHONOV — (*Chronicle* 33, camp 35, number 19).
4. BUDULAK-SHARYGIN [in English — Scharegin], Nikolai — article 64; 10 years from 1968 (*Chronicle* 32).
5. BUKOVSKY, Vladimir — article 70; seven years plus five in exile, from 1971 (*Chronicle* 33).
6. BUTMAN — (*Chronicle* 33, camp 35, number 17).
7. VUKDA, Yury — articles 70 and 72; seven years plus two in exile from 1969 (*Chronicle* 14).
8. GLADKO — article 64; 13 years (*Chronicle* 33, camp 35, number 20).
9. DAVYDOV — five years plus two in exile (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 2).
10. DENISENKO, Gennady — article 70; seven years from 1971.
    DENISENKO, Gennady Georgievich, born 1938, from Saratov. Sentenced on a criminal charge. In the camps of the Komi A S S R he protested against the beating up of prisoners. He was tried in Syktyvkar under article 70 and sentenced to a further seven years in prison.
11. ZDOROVY — article 70; seven years from 1972 (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 40).
    ZDOROVY is from Kharkov (*Chronicle* 33 was mistaken here), married with a child. His family's address is: Kharkov, 108, pr. Kurchatova 25, flat 15. In 1972 he was tried for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' and got a seven-year sentence. Later an appeal court shortened the term to four years. At the beginning of 1974, because of a protest from the procurator, the court restored his original sentence.
12. KRASNYAK — mentally ill (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 130).
13. LAZAREV — apparently also mentally ill.
14. LUKYANENKO — article 64 (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 17).
15. LYUBARSKY, Kronid — article 70; five years from 1972 (*Chronicles* 28 and 33).
16. MAKARENKO (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 119).
17. MALCHEVSKY, Sergei — articles 70 and 72; seven years plus two in exile from 1969 (*Chronicle* 9).
18. MESHENER (*Chronicle* 33, camp 35, number 1).



19. MOROZ, Valentin — article 70; nine years plus five in exile from 1970 (*Chronicles* 14, 17, 18 and 33).
20. MO-KHUN — a Chinese.
21. OPPELFELD (?) — in December 1974 he was V. Moroz's cellmate.
22. PAVLENKOV (*Chronicle* 33, camp 35, number 5).
23. SAFRONOV — article 64 (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 34).
24. SERGIYENKO, Alexander — article 70; seven years plus three in exile from 1972 (*Chronicles* 27 and 30).
25. TUMELKANS — member of the Latvian legion, six years from 1972.[30]
26. FEDOSEYEV, Nikolai — article 70; seven years plus five in exile from 1969.
    FEDOSEYEV, Nikolai Ilyich, born 1929, from Dushanbe. Asked to be given an apartment. Was refused. He then applied to foreign embassies with the same request.
27. CHERNOGLAZ — articles 70, 72 and 89 (*Chronicle* 33, camp 36, number 25).
28. SHAKIROV, Bobur (*Chronicle* 33).
29. YATSYSHIN — six years from 1972, mentally ill (*Chronicle* 33, camp 35, number 88).

# Torture in the Investigation Prisons of Georgia

A year ago the *Chronicle* already possessed a complaint made by **Karlo Tsulaya,** sentenced in Georgia for 'receiving bribes'. This complaint stated that the evidence given by Tsulaya himself and his co-defendant Kardava at the preliminary investigation was obtained by torture (beatings, etc.) carried out in special cells at an investigation prison by special prisoners.

In his complaints Tsulaya reports how torture was also used on other prisoners. Tsulaya himself was tortured by the prisoner Y. G. Tsirekidze.

The facts described in Tsulaya's complaint were appalling to the point of being unbelievable, and the *Chronicle* decided not to publish them at that time. However, in April 1975 a trial took place in Tbilisi of two prisoners who were agents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (M V D) and who had beaten a third prisoner to death.

It became clear from the court evidence that torture in the investigation prisons of Georgia was a reality.

* * *

In June 1973 an assizes session of the Georgian S S R Supreme Court, presided over by Gersamiya, investigated the case in which Kardava was charged with giving bribes and Tsulaya with taking bribes. The state's case was put by procurator Khurtsilava. Tsulaya had been arrested on 30 March 1973. From

January 1970 until his arrest he had worked as chairman of the Tsalendzhikh District Committee of People's Control.

From April to May 1973 Tsulaya was in cell 40 in the second wing of Tbilisi Investigation Prison Number 1. In his complaint he writes:

> From the very first day Y. Tsirekidze began to torment me. He beat me so brutally that I lost consciousness for several hours and the administration had to call for the help of doctors. Later they stuck iron spikes in me, beat me on the head with a chair, stubbed out lighted cigarettes on the skin of my hands, and threatened to kill me if I did not write evidence that would incriminate me. In particular they demanded that I should write that I had taken a bribe of 800 roubles from Kardava. I refused and was beaten so badly that I lost consciousness for two to three hours. Doctors were called who brought me back to my senses. Afterwards the beatings continued. Later Tsirekidze sat down beside me and named my nearest relatives, describing their appearance, and even gave their telephone numbers. He named my wife and eight-year-old daughter, whom they threatened to rape if I did not give the evidence required. I was convinced that they could do this, and so I finally agreed and was ready to write everything they asked. I was ready to confess to having received not just 800 roubles, but eight million roubles.

Concerning the actual trial Tsulaya writes:

> After the trial had begun Kardava began to give slanderous evidence just as he had been told to, but a representative of the Georgian M V D, Major Skhirtladze, was present at the trial and warned Kardava to give truthful evidence and not to be afraid of anyone. After this Kardava renounced all his previous evidence and began to tell the truth and expose all the provocateurs . . . At this moment confusion arose in the courtroom; the judge and the prosecutor did not know what to do next and speeded up the trial, thus failing to question about 50 important witnesses. The case evidence, consisting of eight volumes, was compressed and hurried through in one hour. Gersamiya then suspended the trial proceedings for two days and went to Tbilisi . . .

Both defendants were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

Only in his camp did Tsulaya manage to obtain a medical examination and a report concerning the burns on his hand; the judge had refused to allow this earlier. Report number 2/675, dated 4 October 1973, was then sent to the Georgian S S R Procurator's Office.

In his complaint Tsulaya also describes the events leading up to his arrest. Tsulaya's complaint has been published in samizdat.

* * *

In April 1975 the people's court of the Kirov District in the city of Tbilisi heard case number 2254 in which the prisoners **Yury Grigorevich Tsirekidze** and **Valiko Usupyan** were charged with having beaten up the prisoner N. U. Ismailov so severely on 24 October 1973 that on 27 October Ismailov died. For three days after the beating Ismailov was given no treatment. The defendants were charged under article 110, paragraph 2, of the Georgian Criminal Code ('serious physical injury with intent') and under article 129, paragraph 2 of the Code ('neglect of dangerous injuries'). The presiding judge was Gabitashvili; the prosecution was conducted by Procurator Macharadze.



The court hearing took place in the recreation room of Investigation Prison Number 1 in Tbilisi.

The defendants Tsirekidze and Usupyan had been convicted previously on numerous occasions for various crimes. The M V D had kept them in investigation prisons for years without sending them to camps, and the investigators had made use of them in their work. Investigation Prison Number 1 in Tbilisi contains a special wing, number 2. This wing, isolated from the other wings of the prison, was built in 1966. It has ten cells specially constructed with facilities for eavesdropping and secret spyholes. They are occupied only by police agents and their 'targets', i.e. the prisoners from whom the agents are supposed to extract information — by any means!

There have been cases where prisoners have died in the hospital after heavy beatings, and the hospital has 'written off' their deaths under various false medical pretexts. They could not, however, 'write off' the prisoner Ismailov in this way, as he had died in his cell and it was obvious that this was due to the beating that he had suffered; consequently, it was decided to initiate a case against the agents, whilst the prison administration got off with no more than a fright. (Lezhava, the head of the investigation prison, and Frolov, the operations officer on whose orders the beating up of Ismailov took place, were dismissed.)

During the pre-trial investigation Tsirekidze wrote many declarations to various government bodies. He described in detail the whole system of 'beating out' evidence with the aid of torture, deception, 'stool pigeons' and blackmail.[40]

At his trial Tsirekidze, sincerely puzzled, asked: 'When I was being called a Richard Sorge, I was needed by everyone, I was considered to be all right. Why did the Presidium take two years off me?' (In July 1970 Tsirekidze was given a six-year sentence for 'hooliganism'; in May 1973, after representations had been made on his behalf by the administration of the investigation prison, supported by K. Ketiladze, Minister of Internal Affairs for the Georgian S S R, the Presidium of the Georgian S S R Supreme Soviet took two years off his sentence.) 'Why did they express their gratitude to me? Why did Shevardnadze himself shake my hand, if I was so bad? After all, I had had so many convictions! I brought thousands of people to their doom and I saved so many of our officials!'

When the judge asked: 'Tell me, Tsirekidze, were you ordered to kill Ismailov?', he replied: 'The orders were to beat him, not to kill him. You should know that in pre-trial detention cells they give them worse beatings

than at our place; then they bring them to us — for more beatings. Who can stand so much?'

This reply drew the following remark from the judge: 'We shall issue a separate order that people like you are no longer to be ordered to give prisoners a working-over. As for the officials responsible, we shall initiate charges against them.'

In answer to the procurator's question: 'A dying man lay for three days in his cell. Why didn't you take any notice?', the witness Goderzishvili (an official and inspector at the investigation prison) said: 'That did not come under my sphere of responsibility. It was the business of the head of that wing. I did not witness the beating of Ismailov by Tsirekidze. I informed my superiors and the nurse about it, but they took no action.'

Later the same man said: 'I am amazed that this case is being heard in an open court. Only officials should be allowed in. Cell 40 was a special cell. Tsirekidze was thanked for cracking more than 200 cases.'

The procurator in his speech said of the defendants: 'They say they were ordered to beat him up. Perhaps this is true, but they were probably told to work within the limits of decency.'

The lawyer Pkhakadze, defending Tsirekidze, said: 'What led Tsirekidze to do all this? The violations of the law ordered by his now dismissed superiors. I myself am a former M V D official, but I have never heard of another prison where so much vodka and so many drugs were brought in, where the prison officials were themselves trading in them. Discipline was violated, there was no supervision . . . I demand the minimum sentence.'

Usupyan pleaded not guilty and renounced making a final statement.

Tsirekidze said in his final statement: 'Why was I ordered to beat people? I did not beat the innocent, I beat those about whom there were special instructions . . . We were always given instructions about beatings and torture, everyone knows that. I demand my acquittal, I plead not guilty.'

In passing sentence, the court stated that defendants Usupyan and Tsirekidze had beaten the prisoner to death 'because of a private quarrel', and sentenced them both to six years of strict-regime.

## Events in Lithuania

Issues 15 and 16 of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* have come out. The information in this section is largely based on material provided by these issues.

### The Fate of Jaugelis

Virgilijus Jaugelis, sentenced under article 199-1 in December by a Vilnius court (*Chronicle* 34) to two years in an ordinary-regime camp, has been sent



to camp OCh-12/8 in Praveniškes.

On 10 February criminal prisoners beat him up while he was praying. He received serious head injuries and his skull was fractured, but it was a week before he was sent to the 'Lukiški' prison hospital in Vilnius.

On 7 March Monika Jaugeliene, Virgilijus's mother, sent a declaration to the procurator of the Lithuanian S S R in which she holds responsible for the beating those who imprisoned her son along with criminals, when he had been sentenced for reproducing the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and collecting signatures for the Catholics' memorandum.

'I ask the procurator,' she wrote, 'to arrange for my son, on his return from the Vilnius prison hospital, not to have to live together with murderers, rapists and thieves.'

On 28 March in a declaration addressed to the U S S R Procurator-General, V. Jaugelis described how during a search at the camp guardroom before his transfer to the hospital, some religious objects which he had earlier been allowed to take from prison to the camp, were confiscated from him.

'I consider that the behaviour of the uniformed officials,' declared V. Jaugelis, 'was not only a mockery of me and my faith, but also an insult to the Soviet Constitution; I demand the return of the articles confiscated from me, and the punishment of those persons who behaved so insultingly towards me.'

Jaugelis also asked to be transferred to a political labour camp, and stated that if his demands were not met he would begin a hunger strike in a month's time.

In March, during Jaugelis's stay in the hospital, he was examined in the oncological clinic, which discovered third-stage cancer of the intestine and recommended an immediate operation. Jaugelis refused to undergo the operation in prison conditions.

On 2 May he began a hunger strike.

On 7 May, because the cancer had reached a potentially lethal stage, he was released from the rest of his sentence and taken home from the prison hospital in a serious condition.

Virgilijus Jaugelis is 28 years old.

### The Trial of Juozas Gražys

The case was heard on 11-17 March 1975 in the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R. The judge was Jankauskas, the prosecutor Bakučionis, and the defence counsel Kudaba. The court was declared to be an open one but no one was allowed into the courtroom. Among those called as witnesses were prisoners sentenced in December — Povilas Petronis and Jonas Stašaitis (*Chronicle* 34), and also Kazenaite, Martinaite, and Semaška (the search at the home of the latter was reported in *Chronicle* 32).

Gražys was arrested on 24 April 1974 (*Chronicle* 32); the investigation was conducted in connection with case number 345.

At the trial he was charged under article 68 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code (article 70 of the R S F S R Code). He was accused of binding several issues of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, of retyping articles and books (for example, *Bishop T. Matulionis* and *The Trial of S. Kudirka*), of translating from Russian the article 'The Distribution of the National Income', and of making a summary of the article 'To Thee, Lithuania'.

J. Gražys refused to tell the court who had given him these works or to whom he had given them. The prosecutor called for a sentence of six years of intensified-regime. The sentence was three years of ordinary-regime. In addition, the court ordered the confiscation of his typewriter and the destruction of three high-voltage electrical units used in the working of an 'Era' duplicating machine, which had been discovered during a search at Gražys's home. This is the third time that J. Gražys has been sentenced 'for political reasons'. During his second imprisonment he developed a chronic illness of the intestine.

### The Investigation of Case Number 345

According to *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* number 15, case 345 was initiated on 5 June 1972.

* * *

During 23-26 December 1974 the following searches and interrogations took place in Lithuania, besides those mentioned in *Chronicle* 34.

In Šiauliai **Jonas Petkevičius** was detained. He was taken to Vilnius and interrogated there for three days. J. Petkevičius has served 18 years of imprisonment.

In Skuodas, **Alvidas Šeduikis,** former student at Vilnius Conservatory and organist of the local church, was interrogated for three days; he has served a four-year term of imprisonment.

In Vilnius searches were carried out at the home of **Valery Smolkin,** who has served a three-year sentence (*The First Circle* was confiscated and after the search there were two days of interrogation); at the home of engineer **Albertas Žilinskas,** who has served seven years in Mordovia (one issue each of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church,* and statements by the Human Rights Committee were confiscated; after the search he was detained, then released after three days); at the home of engineer-economist **Antanas Terleckas,** who has already served two terms of imprisonment; and at the home of **Algis Baltrušis,** a master craftsman in folk art, who has served four years in Mordovia (interrogated for two days). **Jonas Volungevičius,** a former conservatory student who has served a five-year prison term, was interrogated over a two-day period after being summoned from work.

* * *



The following former political prisoners and wives of political prisoners were also interrogated: **Vincas Korsakas** (Lukšiai), **Bronis Guiga, Povilas Pečiulaitis, Pupeikis and his wife, Janina Burbuliene** (Kaunas), **Jonas Protosevičius, Kestutis Jakubinas** and **Justas Šilinskas** (Panevežys).

* * *

On 23 December, during a search at the home of **A. Petrusevičius** in Kaunas, his friend **Leonas Laurinskas** came to visit him. He was also searched, and photographs found in his briefcase of members of the Lithuanian underground, taken in 1945-47, were confiscated; these men are all dead now, except for Laurinskas and Paulaitis, the latter now being in camp 17 in Mordovia. L. Laurinskas served 15 years in the camps and is now living without work or a residence permit.

* * *

The report in *Chronicle* 35 about the interrogations in March can also be supplemented and made more precise.

On 4-6 March in Vilnius, **Žilinskas** and **Smolkin** were interrogated as well as **B. Gajauskas, B. Pašiliene,** and **Petrusevičius.** The basic question asked was, 'Do you know Kovalyov?'

On 14 March a personal confrontation was arranged between B. Gajauskas and Cidzikas, who had earlier testified that he had been given 30 roubles by Gajauskas for a visit to his brother (undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment — *Chronicle* 34) and that this money had been given in the name of some committee or other. Gajauskas said, during the personal confrontation, that he had given his own money and Cidzikas admitted that he might have been mistaken about the committee.

The investigator made a remark in passing about *The Gulag Archipelago*: a well-written book, but perhaps libellous — this would be decided by a court.

On 21 March a personal confrontation took place between Gajauskas and Žilinskas. According to Žilinskas's testimony, Gajauskas had introduced him in Vilnius to the Muscovite Irina ('from Kovalyov's group' — in the words of the investigator), but Gajauskas denied this. At the confrontation Žilinskas made a formal statement that earlier he had obviously been mistaken. The investigator said that the statement would be translated into Russian, and also that there was a lot of 'evidence' about Kovalyov.

* * *

On 30 January 1975 the senior librarian at Vilnius Republican Library, **Elena Šuliauskaite** (*Chronicle* 30) was interrogated by K G B investigators Marcinkevičius and Rimkus. The interrogation lasted six hours and concerned the distribution of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and the birthday celebrations of T. Masyte in September 1973, which the investigators called 'an anti-Soviet gathering'. She was also asked about the assistant rector

of Simnas parish (Alytus District), the priest **Sigitas Tamkevičius** (*Chronicle* 32). The investigators expressed annoyance because Tamkevičius was inciting young people and distributing the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and the instruction pamphlet 'How to Behave During an Interrogation'.

The investigators tried to obtain the evidence they needed by threats, but without success.

* * *

In connection with the same 'gathering' in January-February 1975, the sisters **Aldona and Regina Belskute,** students at Vilnius University, were summoned by the K G B. Searches were carried out at their mother's house, at work, and at the small house on their allotment. Both sisters were expelled from the university.

* * *

On 14 and 15 February 1975 Major Rimkus and Major Pilelis, investigators of the Vilnius K G B, interrogated **Father S. Tamkevičius.** He was questioned about Nijole Sadunaite who has been arrested (*Chronicle* 34). The investigators also said that Tamkevičius was undoubtedly one of the publishers of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church.* They expressed the hope that he might still 'reform', though as far as the priests J. Buliauskas (*Chronicle* 34), J. Zdebskis (*Chronicle* 29), Račiunas, and A. Svarinskas were concerned the investigators had lost all hope. The investigators threatened that if the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* continued to appear, criminal charges would be initiated against Tamkevičius. They alleged that about 50 per cent of the facts in the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* were of a libellous nature.

Tamkevičius said in reply to the threats that he had no say in any decision about whether to continue or to cease publication of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church.*

* * *

On 20 February 1975 **Elena Šuliauskaite** was again summoned for interrogation by the K G B. This time the interrogation lasted for over six hours. The investigators Rimkus and Marcinkevičius threatened Elena with imprisonment for distributing the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and for covering up the 'crimes' of Father Tamkevičius. Rimkus said that the K G B had checked the facts mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and almost all of them had turned out to be false.

The record of the interrogation was set out in the form of questions and answers, and after each question a blank space was left. When Šuliauskaite began to scribble over the blank spaces, investigator Marcinkevičius forbade her to do so. Then Elena began to sign her name after each reply. 'There's an



impudent woman for you,' said the investigator, 'you can see at once that she's read the instruction pamphlet "How to Behave During an Interrogation".'

* * *

*Chronicle* 34 contains a report of a search at the home of **Vladas Lapienis** on 20 November 1973 and the series of interrogations which he underwent.

On 15 October 1974 Vladas Lapienis sent a declaration to the head of the K G B, the Procurator of the Lithuanian S S R and the Minister of Justice of the Lithuanian S S R.

In his description of the events which took place during his interrogation, Lapienis writes: 'Since the K G B officials infringed articles 17 and 18 of the Lithuanian S S R code of criminal procedure during the investigation of my case by forcing me to give evidence by means of threats, deceptions, lies and other illegal means, I renounce the testimony which I gave both orally and in writing between 20 November 1973 and 28 June 1974.' (It appears that the date of this last interrogation was recorded inaccurately in *Chronicle* 34.)

* * *

In 1975 the Vilnius K G B interrogated **Stauskas**, President of the Lithuanian Artists' Union, the artist **Didelyte** and the librarians **Kilikevičiute** and **Stankevičiute.** The investigators were interested in the mood of the intelligentsia after the sentence passed on Žukauskas (the chief defendant in the 'trial of the five' in February-March 1974 — *Chronicle* 32), and its links with the Catholic Church. Some of those questioned were asked to become informers.

These interrogations are probably unconnected with case 345. *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* number 16 considers them to be a continuation of the K G B 's interest in ethnographers (*Chronicle* 29).

* * *

**A Readers' Letter to the** *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*
(published in issue 15)

Not long ago we heard of the arrest of **Dr Sergei Kovalyov** in connection with the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church.*

We Catholics of Lithuania pray to God for the physical and spiritual well-being of this scientist. Today what the world vitally needs is love. Jesus Christ said 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends' (*John* 15:13). We believe that the sacrifices made by S. Kovalyov and others are not in vain.

We bow our heads before Academician Andrei Sakharov, fighter for human rights in the U S S R, and in his person we honour all Russian intellectuals of good-will. By their courage and sacrifice they have made us, Lithuanian Catholics, see the Russian people in a new light.

We express our heartfelt gratitude to the great Russian writer Alexander

Solzhenitsyn for the warm words which he spoke about Lithuanians and in defence of the Lithuanian cause. Thousands of Lithuanians, especially the former citizens of the Gulag Archipelago, pray for the blessing of the Almighty to be upon him.

The letter expresses gratitude to Western organizations, church leaders, radio stations, and the journal *Kontinent*, which has concerned itself with the fate of Lithuania and that of the Catholic Church; it continues later:

We Catholics of Lithuania are firmly resolved, with the Lord's help, to fight for our rights. We would still like to believe that the Soviet authorities will understand the great mistake they have made in supporting the atheist minority and in inciting against themselves the Catholic masses.

### The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church on the Situation of Believers and the Church

In the autumn of 1974 a lecture was given at Kaunas Polytechnic Institute by **K. Tumenas,** the representative for the Lithuanian S S R of the Committee for Religious Affairs of the U S S R Council of Ministers. According to the lecturer, half of Lithuania's inhabitants are practising Catholics. Official figures state that 45 per cent of newborn infants are baptised, 25 per cent of marriages take place in church, and 51 per cent of those who die are buried with religious rites.

* * *

It is reported that attempts are being made to forbid completely the observance of religious rites.

**Romualdas Šarmavičius,** a driver at the Bogaslaviškis collective farm, was preparing to get married on 9 September 1974, in the village church of Gelvonai. Jonas Vasiliauskas, secretary of the collective farm party organization, demanded that Šarmavičius forego the church wedding, but to no avail.

In November 1974 in the town of Alytus, the death occurred of the 29-year-old **Vaclovas Paliokas,** a veterinary surgeon and a candidate member of the C P S U, from the village of Pivašiunas.

As he had been a believer, his relatives decided to bury him with religious rites. A representative of the district party committee and the chairman of the collective farm, Mikalava, demanded that A. Alkavikas, rector of Pivašiunas parish, should not conduct Paliokas's funeral, but again to no avail.

* * *

On 9 January 1975 **M. Jurevičius,** a painter at the Šiauliai industrial teaching complex of the Lithuanian Society for the Blind, was dismissed from his job 'for absenteeism'. In November and December Jurevičius made written declarations, stating that he had refused to work on obligatory Catholic feast days and



had offered either to take these days off his holidays or to make up the time on other days. The charge that he 'had absented himself from work without a valid excuse' referred to 10 November and 8 December (Sundays declared as working days), 25 December (Christmas) and 6 January (Feast of the Epiphany).

On 4 February the local paper published an article accusing Jurevičius of hiding anti-Soviet feelings under the cloak of religion and reported that in 1950 he had been sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment.

* * *

In October 1974 the crosses on 'the Hill of Crosses' outside Šiauliai were destroyed for the third time. Many believers expressed their indignation orally and in writing. According to the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, people are again putting crosses on the hill.

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In Panevežys cemetery, on Good Friday, 28 March 1975, 28 crosses and a statue of the Virgin Mary were broken or smashed to pieces.

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In 1972, in Jurbarkas, the craftsman **Verbickas** carved a wooden statue of the Mother of God for the new altar.

A commission of the district soviet executive committee, headed by deputy-chairwoman, Tamošiuniene, ordered the statue to be removed from the church as it had been 'erected without permission'. The craftsman and Father V. Byla left the statue where it was. Recently Verbickas made another statue for the church. 'The executive committee has said nothing so far', reports *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* 15.

In 1974, after a ten-year ban, bell-ringing before Sunday Mass was allowed at this church.

* * *

**G. Lazdauskas,** chief surgeon at the central district hospital in Utena, issued an order on 24 January strictly regulating the inviting of a priest to attend the dying: written permission from the chief surgeon or his deputy is required. Lazdauskas, as the chairman of the atheist council, published an article in the wall newspaper in which he admitted that there were shortcomings in the organization of anti-religious propaganda in the hospital. The article, quoted in *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* 16, states that the sufferings of the sick lead them to re-examine their beliefs, but that these conditions are not exploited by medical personnel in order to inculcate the materialist world-view.

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The authorities are hindering church repairs in every way.

In a declaration by **Father B. Laurinavičius** to K. Tumenas, the representative of the Committee for Religious Affairs, dated 25 January 1975, it is stated

that a certain Tarasov, when he arrived from Moscow on 16 July 1973, had said: 'Without the permission of the authorities you have no right to hammer a single nail into the church.'

**Jonas Mazgelis** and **Aleks Lubas** were repairing the church in Akmuo (Varena District). Government representatives from Varena told the workers that by repairing the church they had broken Soviet laws and would get five years in prison for it, but, as this was their first offence, if they promised not to repair churches in the future, they might get away with a fine.

On 8 January 1975 the administrative commission of Varena District, presided over by Varena police chief Rečkus, fined each of them 25 roubles.

The sentenced men paid the fines, still not knowing which law they had broken.

In the town of Šilale deputy chairman Jankus of the soviet executive committee forbade **Valaitis,** rector of the local church, to repair the church clock.

* * *

On 9 February **V. Vaičiunas** (*Chronicle* 32), an engineer from Kaunas, sent a letter entitled 'The Law and the Believer's Conscience' to the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and to the editors of the newspapers *Tiesa* and *Kauno Tiesa*.

He quotes newspaper articles which stated that believers were forbidden to teach their children religion, to carry out charitable works, or to hold meetings in order to discuss religious questions. On the other hand, the decisions of the second Vatican Council (published in Lithuania, according to the same newspaper report) enjoin the Church to help the needy and encourage the education of the young.

'It is sad,' writes Vaičiunas, 'that the Lithuanian believer, in carrying out his religious duties, feels as if he were walking through a minefield: if he puts a foot wrong with the law it counts as a crime against the state, if he goes against his conscience, he suffers spiritually.'

An editor of *Tiesa* replied to Vaičiunas on 20 February. Pointing out that understanding of Soviet laws.'

Soviet laws do not infringe upon freedom of conscience, he writes: 'In your letter, you are often illogical and you contradict yourself. Try to gain a better

The Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet informed Vaičiunas that his letter had been sent to the representative of the Committee for Religious Affairs. On 14 March Vaičiunas visited the representative's official advisor. During a short conversation the latter said nothing concrete, except that Vaičiunas should not write such letters.

* * *

In the autumn of 1974 the administrative commission of Prienai District Soviet Executive Committee fined the Prienai parish organist 50 roubles because school children had been singing in the church choir.

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**Gene Žukauskaite,** a resident of Kaunas, was suspected of teaching schoolchildren religion. In December 1974 she was interrogated and stated that she had tested children to see if they were ready for confirmation. The procurator's office carried out an investigation in the schools, among the children and their parents.

* * *

In September 1969, in Skrebotiškis, after a church feast day in which many children had taken part, the authorities investigated whether or not the organist **Emilija Kinskaite** was attracting children to services. Deputy chairman Stapulionis of the district soviet executive committee, together with the headmaster, questioned five school-girls who tearfully confessed that they had been in the organist's home. The next day E. Kinskaite was summoned by the procurator, who threatened to press charges against her for teaching religion to children. In September 1970 the executive committee demanded that the parish council dismiss Kinskaite. Stapulionis said that if she were not dismissed the committee would not confirm the new parish council's membership, but that if she were dismissed the parish would be allowed to paint the church roof and lay a cement pathway. The parish council resisted for a while but later gave in.

* * *

The regular column in the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, 'In Soviet Schools', reports facts about discrimination against religious schoolchildren and the pressures put on their parents.

Children have their behaviour marks lowered for attending church, and for refusing to join the Pioneers or the Komsomol.

In school number 1 in Klaipeda pupils of the sixth year were given questionnaires which asked the following: 'Do you believe in God? Do you go to church? Do you know how to say prayers? Who prepared you for your first Holy Communion? Who in your family believes in God and goes to church?' The teacher Sobeckas later mocked pupils who had declared themselves to be believers on the questionnaire.

Before Christmas an anti-religious play was to have been staged at the secondary school in K. Naumiestis. The teacher **Damiionaitis** assigned roles to religious pupils and told the children not to tell their parents about the preparations for the play. However, the children did not obey him and after complaints from parents the performance did not take place.

* * *

**K. Mockuviene,** party secretary at the school in the 'Saulute' sanitorium (in Druskininkai), asked teachers to write down their attitude to religion, to state whether they were believers or non-believers, and to endorse their statements

with their signatures. Mockuviene explained that this had been requested by the local authorities.

* * *

In 1974, during the entrance examination to Šiauliai Polytechnic, K. Raudys, deputy director of teaching, told the school leaver **Mištautas** that if he wanted to pass he would have to join the Komsomol and promise not to go to church. The young man immediately withdrew his application.

His brother **Zenonas Mištautas** had once been a student at the polytechnic (*Chronicle* 30); shortly before his finals he had been expelled for putting a cross on 'the Hill of Crosses', and, according to the evidence supplied by the K G B to the polytechnic, because he intended to enter a seminary.

### The Struggle Against the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church

*Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* 15 has published yet another anonymous letter (the first was in the *Chronicle of the L C C* 12, see *Chronicle* 35) addressed to the bishops. The author, who describes himself as 'a priest of the older generation', condemns the *Chronicle of the L C C* as a political and not a church publication, and writes: 'It is understandable that the authorities are trying to stop these activities.' The anonymous author blames the *Chronicle of the L C C* for the worsening of the authorities' attitude towards believers and for the fact that prayer-books have ceased to be published. 'It is no secret,' he concludes, 'that this publication is run by priests who have lost their sense of responsibility and reason.'

*Chronicle of the L C C* 15 and 16 contain comments on an article in the newspaper *Tarybinis Mokytojas* (*Soviet Teacher*) of 24 January 1975. The article accuses Radio Vatican of broadcasting imaginary stories about teachers mocking religious pupils and alleges that teachers with the surnames given in the broadcasts do not exist. The *Chronicle of the L C C* says that the aim of the article was also to compromise *Chronicle of the L C C*, which had earlier published these facts, and that in reality it was the newspaper which had distorted surnames and place names.

The paper reports that the Dabenai village Soviet (Kretinga District) had issued a statement on 22 November 1974, endorsed by a seal and the signatures of the chairman and the secretary, stating that there had been no conflicts between the headmaster Povilaitis and his pupils, nor between him and their parents. However, *Chronicle of the L C C* 16 states again that Povilaitis beat on the hand pupils who had not filled in applications to join the Komsomol, and that a commission was set up to investigate complaints made by parents.

***The Chronicle of the L C C*** notes that at the present time the K G B is collecting official statements of this sort, interrogating people mentioned in its issues, and forcing them to deny the veracity of the facts published in the *Chronicle of the L C C.*

* * *



*Chronicle of the L C C* 15 concludes with the statement that 18 March 1975 marked the third anniversary of its first issue.

## Persecution of Religious Believers

### The Trial of Fedotov

Ivan Petrovich Fedotov (born 1929, a builder) was arrested on 15 August 1974 (*Chronicle* 34).

From 10 to 18 April 1975 the Kaluga Regional Court examined his case. The presiding judge was Kuznetsov. The state prosecutor was a man of the same name. Fedotov conducted his own defence.

He was charged under article 227 ('infringing on the person and rights of citizens under the guise of carrying out religious rites'), article 190-1, article 191 ('resisting a representative of the authorities or the public in the performance of his duty of safeguarding public order') and article 192 ('insulting a representative of the authorities or the public') of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Under article 227 Fedotov was accused of organizing unregistered prayer meetings. Five signed statements by officials were presented in evidence as material proof of this. A statement dated 2 December 1972 decleared: 'Twenty-six believers were singing, i.e. performing religious rites. On the table were a Bible and a hymn book published in 1968.' A statement dated 5 July 1973 ran thus: 'When we came in, the believers were sitting around and talking and there was nothing on the table.'

In a statement dated 26 October 1973 it was said that 'Ten guests were present, in addition to the residents. While this report was being compiled, Fedotov said, "You're Gestapoists", and refused to name his religious denomination or to sign his name.'

A statement dated 2 June 1974 said: 'There were 31 people present, they read verses and sang to the accompaniment of a guitar.'

And the statement dated 4 August 1974 reported that 'there were 150-180 people at the meeting, praying, singing and muttering; there were about 30 children. When they were asked to give their names and show their passports, they refused.' (This last statement was compiled at a wedding!)

Fedotov was charged under articles 191 and 192 because on 26 October 1973, when representatives of authority (Deputy Rudakov of the district Soviet, police lieutenant Lovkov, and others) climbed over a fence, broke into Fedotov's house, and Lieutenant Lovkov grabbed hold of him by the lapels, Fedotov said: 'You're behaving like the Gestapo' and pushed Lovkov away.

It seems that article 190-1 formed part of the charges against Fedotov only because of a meeting of the administrative commission of the district soviet executive committee Fedotov had said that the communist Lomovtsev, head

doctor at the Medical Centre for Sanitary and Epidemiological Protection, was a drunkard.

The majority of the witnesses of this incident, members of the administrative commission, attributed the following statement to Fedotov: 'You communists are drunkards.'

The judge behaved very rudely. When the witness Olga Loseva asked what the defendant was accused of, the judge answered: 'We're the ones who ask you the questions, not you us.'

When O. Loseva began to say, 'I must . . .', the judge interrupted her, saying, 'That's right, you must. Go and sign the record!'

When the witness Natalya Loseva started to describe in detail how the police broke into Fedotov's house on 26 October 1973 (see above), the judge also interrupted her, saying, 'All right, that's enough. You sound as if you're addressing a meeting. Who has incited you so much against the Soviet police?'

When N. Loseva protested, 'As a witness I have the right to recount freely all I know about the case,' the judge cut her off. 'You can demand your rights in your own home, but here you're in a courtroom.'

V. I. Nazdrachev, presbyter of the Baptist congregation in the town of Maloyaroslavets, who appeared as a witness at the trial, stated that Fedotov had been driven out of the Baptist congregation, after which he had formed a separate group with 17 other members of the congregation. When the judge asked if Fedotov's 'unregistered group' was still meeting after his arrest, Nazdrachev replied: 'Yes, they still meet. I have not been there myself, but one of our sisters went.' The secretary of Maloyaroslavets District Soviet Executive Committee told the court that presbyter Nazdrachev had twice applied in writing to the Executive Committee, and more than once in person, demanding that they 'get rid' of Fedotov.

The prosecutor alleged in his speech that Fedotov was being tried not for his convictions but for breaking the law . . . 'He organized a group of Pentecostals, including 17 Baptists and young children . . . The activities of Fedotov's group are anti-social in character and are aimed at encouraging disobedience to Soviet laws, though this is not openly stated in the sermons . . . The Bible contains the words "He who takes the sword shall perish by the sword". They were quoted to indicate a veiled refusal to take the military oath . . .'

The prosecutor demanded a sentence of five years' imprisonment for Fedotov. In addition he demanded that the witnesses P. I. Pyzhov, M. I. Smirnov and A. I. Smirnov should be criminally charged for refusing to give evidence.

In his defence speech Fedotov denied that he belonged to a group of 'Pentecostal shakers'.

> When I moved to Maloyaroslavets I did not organize an underground group but went to the prayer house.
>
> Everyone here has testified that the presbyter let me sit beside him and that I spoke the Word of God; but later he expelled me because of envy and evil jealousy . . . Then he began to expel others, which was the reason for our meetings . . . I am a devout Christian and have never concealed this fact; representatives of the authorities came to our house and were present at our services. I do no harm to citizens' health. All the children present were those of devout parents, and had become believers before they knew me.



He also denied the charges made under other articles. In his concluding statement, Ivan Fedotov also denied that he was guilty and asked the court to take into consideration the fact that his dependants included his old mother who received no pension, an invalid aunt, a brother — an invalid of the first group — and his wife; 'and as the prosecutor has asked for a sentence of five years' strict-regime under article 227, and as I am not guilty, I ask the court to limit its sentence to the period of imprisonment I have already served and to substitute five years' exile for the five years of strict regime.'

The court sentenced Fedotov to three years in a corrective labour colony of strict regime.

At the end of May an appeal court confirmed the sentence.

* * *

*Chronicle* 34 reported that in the 1960s and 1970s Fedotov had served 10 years under article 102 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. In fact, he was tried under article 107 of the Code: 'incitement to suicide'. In his defence speech at the trial, Fedotov said that the charge made against him in 1960 had been false.

* * *

The *Chronicle* has received a document entitled 'A Statement of Accusation', dated 31 January 1975, and signed 'from eye-witnesses, witnesses and onlookers in the city of Kaunas'.

The addressee is not indicated. The 'Accusation' describes how **Birute Poškiene,** mother of three children (home address: Kaunas, ul. Demokratu 36, apartment 1), was forcibly put in a psychiatric hospital.

Birute Poškiene had some time ago 'began to lead a strange way of life, strange for both Catholics and atheists, by observing Saturday as a day of rest for herself and her children . . . and she changed to a vegetarian diet'.

The administrative commission in charge of minors and employment for youth in the Pozhelovsky district of Kaunas demanded that Poškiene should stop the religious education of her children and cease practising her religious cult of celebrating Saturday; that she should feed her children on meat and begin to bring them up in an atheistic spirit. Poškiene refused. Then the commission applied for a court order to deprive Poškiene of her parental rights.

At this time Poškiene was dismissed from her job for 'being absent from work on Saturdays'. Poškiene had been a janitor at a school and had not worked on Saturdays for a whole year.

On 18 September 1974 the people's court of the Pozhelovsky district of

Kaunas examined the case for depriving Birute Poškiene of her parental rights. Poškus, Birute's husband, asked the court to put his wife 'in a psychiatric hospital to cure her of her belief in God'.

Prosecutor Damaševičiene stated: 'I feel I must ask the people's court and the Pozhelovsky district department of internal affairs, bearing in mind that she is a healthy mother capable of working, and with no disabilities, to assign her to work, so that, perhaps, when she has to work hard she might understand and, as they say, really begin to work, thus finding less time to read all kinds of writings, to go on trips with sectarians and to believe in God'. (The *Chronicle* has preserved the original text of the 'Statement of Accusation'.)

The court deprived Poškiene of her parental rights and transferred the children to the care of Poškus. The 'Accusation' reports that shortly before the court hearing Poškus had the children christened into the Catholic faith.

Poškiene appealed against the decision to the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R.

On 22 October 1974 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R heard Poškiene's appeal. The hearing began with a question being put to Poškiene: 'Do you belong to the "Sabbath day" sect?'

In connection with this the 'Accusation' quotes the words of V. I. Lenin: 'No official should have the right even to question anyone about their faith: this is a matter of conscience and no one should interfere with it.' (*Complete Collected Works,* volume 7, pp. 172-3.) (The authors of the 'Accusation' did not notice that these words were written before the October Revolution—*Chronicle*.) The Supreme Court upheld the decision of the people's court.

On 29 October 1974 two men came up to Poškiene on the street, showed her their red passes (of the K G B), ordered her to follow them, put her in a car and took her to Kaunas Psychiatric Hospital (75 Kuzmos Street).

The 'Accusation' emphasises that after 22 October Poškiene and her husband did not meet. The authors ask: on whose initiative was Poškiene forcibly placed in a hospital? They write: 'In her relations with other people up to 29 October 1974, Poškiene said nothing, did nothing, and performed no actions which might demonstrate that she was mentally unbalanced . . . And if we state that up to 29 October 1974 Poškiene was mentally healthy, we know what we are saying and take full responsibility for doing so.'

'The Accusation' reports that in the hospital Poškiene was put in special ward 3: she was given doses of powerful drugs which immediately affected her health: her sight deteriorated (for five days she could hardly see anything); she felt severe pains all over her body; and her legs were paralysed, so that she could not walk.

In the hospital she was asked: 'Do you believe in the second coming of Christ?' Many times the doctors at the hospital asked Poškiene to renounce her faith in God, offering to release her as a healthy woman if she did.

The 'Accusation' ends as follows: 'If you do not take urgent steps for the immediate release of Poškiene and the restoration of her legal rights, we shall use every means to inform public opinion in our country and in the world generally about this evil deed . . . that will be our answer to your criminal inaction.'



* * *

**Vladimir Pavlovich Khailo** (Voroshilovgrad region, Krasnyi Luch, mine 22-4 (bis), Severnaya Street 11) has described in 'Notes of a Believer' the persecution to which he, his wife Maria Emelyanovna and their children (they have 14 children) have been subjected by the local authorities. Khailo's family are members of a Baptist congregation which does not belong to the official Baptist church.

Attempts have been made to dismiss the head of the family from his job and to reduce his wages.

His eldest son Anatoly found a job with difficulty, but was soon almost entirely deprived of his wages. He tried to get work in the mines; he was answered: 'Let the Baptists give you a job.' In 1974 he was falsely accused of taking part in a group rape. The court took no notice of evidence from witnesses who disproved the charge. Anatoly was sentenced to eight years.

His daughter Lydia, having finished the eight-year school course, was not accepted for higher education, nor could she find a job; her school report stated that she was from a Baptist family and was herself a believer.

Two sons who are still at school are threatened with transfer to a special school for mentally retarded children.

The authorities have doubled their efforts to influence public opinion against V. P. Khailo and his family: they publish libellous articles in the local press and carry out investigations into the family's way of life, with pre-arranged conclusions. Nevertheless a 'denunciatory' meeting, which was intended to 'condemn' V. P. Khailo, had to be held not in the car pool where he worked as a driver, but in a neighbouring one where he was less well known. Apparently the authorities are preparing local public opinion for the deprivation of the Khailos' parental rights — such threats have often been made.

The authorities are striving 'only' to get Vladimir Khailo to return to a Baptist congregation that is controlled by the state. Furthermore he has repeatedly been asked to become an informer.

In July 1974 Mr and Mrs Khailo appealed to N. V. Podgorny to allow them and their children to emigrate to Canada.

* * *

**Janis Ernestovich Šmits** (Latvian S S R, Aizpute, Kuldigas St. 17) the pastor of Aizput congregation of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, and a member of the Episcopal Council of Latvian Baptists, has sent a declaration to the 'Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the U S S R'. In this declaration he writes that in March 1974 P. Liepa, the representative of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Latvian S S R, took away his certificate of registration as

a pastor for 'blatant infringement of Soviet laws'.

The 'infringements' seemingly consisted of the fact that Šmits had 'preached on apocalyptic themes, called on the believers to pray for believers in prison . . . and had allowed under-age children of believing parents to take part in church life'.

The church council, while trying to get the authorities to restore Pastor Šmits's rights, also asked him to continue to fulfil the duties of a pastor. On 27 February 1975 Liepa sent a 'compulsory order' to the church council, in which he again told them to forbid Šmits to fulfil the duties of a pastor. He threatened the church council with dissolution if it disobeyed, and with the dispersal of the congregation. In spite of this the church council again asked Šmits to continue with his duties.

Šmits writes: 'It was I myself who, in order to make things easier for the congregation, and worried as I was about the future of my family, which includes 10 small children, applied for a visa to emigrate abroad . . . I have had this application turned down twice.'

Šmits expresses the hope that the intervention of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR 'will end the persecution of our congregation and restore the violated rights of the believers . . .'

* * *

**In Tbilisi** in 1975 **'anti-Easter measures'** were announced by First Secretary Tsuladze of the city Komsomol committee, the secretaries of the district Komsomol committees, the officials of the party district committees, and of the Komsomol district committees, of the police and the procurator's office.

In Kashveta Church, Komsomol vigilantes detained young people who were lighting candles in church and praying. Those detained were taken to the 'vigilante headquarters', photographed, interrogated and threatened.

In Zion Church a man of about 45 was detained for visiting the church together with his wife and small child.

**Zviad Gamsakhurdia** and **Merab Kostava,** members of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in Georgia, tried to explain to citizens that since the constitution guarantees freedom of conscience to every citizen of the USSR, the actions of the vigilantes were illegal. For this M. Kostava was taken to headquarters. I. Chelidze, secretary of the Komsomol district committee, called his actions 'a political crime' and threatened him with dismissal from his job.

* * *

**In Moscow** cordons of vigilantes sometimes allowed into the Easter services only those who were wearing crucifixes.

However, **Andrei Grigorenko** was not allowed into a church even after exhibiting his crucifix. Waiting police cars were pointed out to him and he was advised to go away while he was 'still in one piece'.

* * *



In issues 19 to 21 of the *Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives in the USSR* many protests are published against the destruction of the printing shop of the Baptists' 'Christian' publishing house in Latvia (*Chronicle* 34), and against the sentence passed on **G. P. Vins,** secretary of the Baptist Council of Churches (*Chronicle* 35).

* * *

At school number 2 in Gagra, Georgian SSR, the children of believing parents are being driven out of the school. The headmaster warned parents: 'They can either wear Pioneer scarves round their necks or get out of the school.' (*Bulletin of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives,* No. 19).

* * *

In the town of Kropotkin police led by Captain A. I. Gorokhov, the town police chief, broke into the house of **S. Forsh** during a religious service, without the permission of the procurator, searched the house and confiscated all the religious literature and tape recordings.

All the believers who were in the house at the time were taken to the police station. Some of them were given 10 to 15 day sentences. The owner of the house, a pensioner whose monthly pension was 30 roubles, was fined 50 roubles for holding a meeting for believers at his house (*Bulletin of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives,* No. 20).

* * *

In October 1974 the people's court of the Soviet district of Vladivostok heard the divorce case between religious believer **Svetlana Vardapetyan** and **Yury Bregman** (see *Chronicle* 34, where the plaintiff's surname was spelt incorrectly). The people's court decided to grant a divorce, to remove the children from the custody of S. Vardapetyan and to entrust their upbringing to their father, Y. Bregman; the respondent was to pay alimony.

On 23 December 1974 the civil appeal court of Primorskii Territory heard an appeal from S. Vardapetyan. The procurator asked for the decision of the people's court to be annulled. The appeal court decided that the decision of the people's court concerning the removal of the children and payment of alimony had been incorrect since the people's court did not have access to all the relevant documents (for example, a statement approved by the head of the district education department) during its investigation and had not verified the plaintiff's living conditions, nor his ability to educate his children. The appeal court confirmed the divorce and ordered that the decision of the people's court 'concerning the removal of the children, the entrusting of the upbringing to Y. Bregman and the payment of alimony by S. Vardapetyan be set aside and submitted to a fresh investigation in the same court with different judges presiding'.

## Extrajudicial Persecution

**Moscow**

**Konstantin Shaumyan,** a student in his final year at the Moscow Institute of Electronic Engineering, has been expelled from the Institute a week before defending his graduation thesis (he was informed of his expulsion two days before his defence). Formally speaking, he was expelled for allegedly narrowing the subject of his thesis, and he has the right to defend it in a year's time. Clearly the real reason for his expulsion was that Konstantin Shaumyan's parents had received permission to emigrate to Israel (his father, S. K. Shaumyan, is a doctor of philosophy and an eminent Soviet linguist).

At the same time as his expulsion, Konstantin Shaumyan was deprived of his officer's rank. And although he immediately submitted his documents to O V I R in order to emigrate with his parents, the military commission is now calling him up for service in the army.

* * *

**Odessa**

The teacher **Golumbievskaya** (*Chronicles* 34 and 35) has been left without teaching obligations for the forthcoming school year, that is, in effect, without work.

* * *

**Vilnius**

After the flight abroad in May 1974 of **Aloizas Jurgutis,** a lecturer at the Vilnius Conservatory, his wife **M. Jurgutiene** was dismissed from her job in the *Znanie* [Knowledge] Society in September by a telephone call from the Central Committee of the Lithuanian S S R Communist Party. At K G B interrogations it was demanded of her that she influence her husband not to participate in the activities of Lithuanian emigrés. For this she was promised that she would be allowed to go abroad with her daughter.

* * *

**Alma-Ata**

A certain woman (the *Chronicle* does not know her name), a lecturer at the Kazakh university, left her group while on a trip abroad and travelled to Paris. In Paris she talked to Roger Garaudy. She wanted to see Etkind (*Chronicle* 32) too, but he was ill. Then she returned to her group. After her return she was dismissed from her job and expelled from the party. A rumour was spread that she had wanted to remain abroad.



## News in Brief

**Anatoly Marchenko** has refused to appeal against the sentence of the court (see *Chronicle* 35).

In reply to a request of Marchenko's wife, Larissa Bogoraz, that the sentence should be appealed by way of the procurator's supervision, and that false witnesses in her husband's case should be called to account, Sharafanov, the procurator of Kaluga, answered that there were no grounds for this. With regard to L. Bogoraz's complaint about illegal actions in the Kaluga investigation prison, N. V. Kuznetsov, the governor of the prison, and Kagarov, an assistant to the regional procurator, stated that there had been no violations of the rules on the detention of prisoners in regard to Marchenko.

On 1 April Marchenko had a meeting with his wife in the Kaluga investigation. The meeting was conducted like this: there was a double partition between Marchenko and Larissa Bogoraz and the conversation took place through a tube apparatus.

On 12 April, the 45th day of his hunger strike, Marchenko was sent to his place of exile. He continued his hunger strike en route; however, all kinds of artificial feeding were stopped.

On 20 April Marchenko lost consciousness. When he regained it he ended his hunger strike.

On 20 May Marchenko was brought to his place of exile — the settlement of Chuna in Irkutsk Region. In 1968-71 Larissa Bogoraz served a term of exile in this village. In 1971 (and not in 1970 as reported in *Chronicle* 35), Marchenko himself was sent there after his release from camp.

* * *

**Moscow.** On 9 April **Tatyana Khodorovich** ended the hunger strike which she had declared in court at Marchenko's trial (*Chronicle* 35).

* * *

*Chronicle* 17 reported that in November 1970 a Sverdlov court gave **Lev Grigorevich Ubozhko** three years in an ordinary-regime camp under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. After Ubozhko had served two-and-a-half years in a camp near Omsk, a new case was brought against him, this time under article 70 of the Code. A forensic psychiatric commission of experts pronounced him not responsible for his actions. Ubozhko was sent to the Tashkent Special Psychiatric Hospital for compulsory treatment. He was 'treated' in this hospital for about two years. Then he was transferred to an ordinary psychiatric hospital (Chelyabinsk Region, Chebarkulsky District, OPMB-2, section 2). Now his friends are afraid that Ubozhko may be brought to trial again in a case brought against **Lvov,** his friend in the Tashkent hospital. Lvov was previously sentenced under a political article of the criminal code and was also sent for compulsory treatment, but he managed to gain his release.

* * *

Until recently Armenians sentenced under article 206-1 of the Criminal Code of the Armenian S S R (article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code) were held in camps in Armenia. Recently they have begun to be transferred to camps in Russia. **Anait Karapetyan** (*Chronicle* 34) is now in Penza.

* * *

On 12 May **Andrei Amalrik** (*Chronicles* 17, 29 and 30) returned to Moscow from exile in Magadan at the end of his sentence. Before the end of his term of exile it was suggested to him that he should submit a request to emigrate to Israel and he was promised a quick and positive response. He refused. Amalrik was arrested in 1970 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, chiefly on account of his article *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* He served his sentence in Magadan Region. Before his release in the spring of 1973 a new case was opened against him, again under article 190-1, and once more he was sentenced to three years in camp. After a hunger strike lasting several months, the Supreme Court of the R S F S R changed Amalrik's sentence from labour camp to exile.

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At the end of April **Vladimir Markman** (*Chronicle* 25) was released after a three-year term of imprisonment. After his release he applied to O V I R in Sverdlovsk for permission to emigrate to Israel. He was told: 'Don't hope to emigrate immediately. You're no Kukui.' Valery Kukui, who ended a three-year sentence (*Chronicle* 20) in March 1974, had already left the U S S R the next month.

* * *

The chemical engineer **Valery Ronkin,** one of the leaders of a Marxist circle in Leningrad from 1963-5, finished his term in exile in April. Thus all the participants in the *Kolokol* [*Bell*] Group are now at liberty.

Ronkin was arrested in June 1965 and sentenced at the beginning of 1966 to seven years in camp and three years' exile under articles 70 and 72 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. He spent the last three years of his camp sentence in Vladimir Prison. He served his exile in the Komi A S S R.

* * *

**Yu. I. Fyodorov** (*Chronicle* 12) was released at the beginning of 1975 and sent to Luga, near Leningrad, where he was placed under surveillance. Fyodorov, a former M V D investigator, served a six-year sentence in connection with a case concerning the organization of a 'Union of Communists'.

* * *

On 23 May **Roald Mukhamedyarov** was discharged from the psychiatric hospital at Stolbovaya station (near Moscow). The court which ended his compulsory treatment had sat in November 1974. The *Chronicle* does not know the reasons for the delay in his discharge.



* * *

**Moscow.** On 4 February 1975 searches were carried out at the home (near Moscow) and the place of work of **Lev Turchinsky**, a scientific researcher at the Museum of Fine Arts. The searches were connected with a case against Fleshin, who among other charges (illegal currency deals, etc.), is charged with speculation in books. All foreign editions of Russian poets were confiscated from Turchinsky, who is one of the foremost collectors of Russian poetry, and also the first issue of the journal *Kontinent*, sent to him by his friend Igor Golomshtok, the art historian. The interrogations which Turchinsky underwent during several days after the search digressed, in actual fact, from Fleshin's case, and included threats to apply article 70 of the Criminal Code to Turchinsky. (In June 1973 Turchinsky was one of the first people interrogated in Superfin's case, even before Superfin had begun to give evidence.)

* * *

On 9 July 1974 the Leningrad City Court examined the case of **Georgy Ivanovich Ermakov** (born 1931, senior engineer in a navy research institute), accused under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. The chairman of the court was B. F. Zhigulin. Procurator G. P. Ponomaryov acted for the prosecution. The lawyer Yarzhenets spoke for the defence.

The substance of the indictment was that from October 1970 to March 1974 Ermakov had sent anonymous handwritten letters to newspaper editors and party organizations.

Ermakov was arrested on 20 March 1974.

The court's sentence: four years of strict-regime camp. The sentence will be published in the *Archive of the Chronicle*.

* * *

**Moscow.** On 13 April **Vladimir Slepak,** his **wife Maria,** and **son Alexander** declared a hunger strike, demanding permission to emigrate to Israel, where the mother of Maria Slepak, Berta Rolikovskaya, has already been living for several years. The Slepaks were marking a two-fold date by their hunger-strike: six years from the moment of Vladimir Slepak's dismissal from his job on the grounds that it involved state secrets, and five years from the day of handing in applications to emigrate.

On 16 April the Slepaks sent a letter to Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet; they received no reply.

In the west there were speeches and hunger strikes in solidarity: Maria Slepak's mother, despite her diabetes and her age (she is 73), staged a three-day hunger strike; in New York, Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, London and Paris, five-

day hunger strikes of people sympathising with the Slepaks took place; four families from Florida staged a five-day hunger strike in solidarity; in Toronto, Montreal and several other Canadian cities Jewish and Christian schools were closed on 21 April; many mothers and children staged one-day hunger strikes in solidarity.

Alexander Slepak maintained his hunger strike until 20 April, Maria Slepak until 27 April, and Vladimir Slepak until 4 May.

* * *

On 22 May 1975 employees of the procuracy and the K G B conducted searches at the homes of **Ilya Rubin** (Moscow), **Sarra Shapiro** (Moscow), **Rafail Nudelman** (Vladimir) and **Isaak Gindis** (Vladimir). Copies of the journal *Jews in the U S S R*, materials for the journal (articles and essays on Jewish cultural and religious life), and typewriters were confiscated. Money vouchers received through official channels were confiscated from Ilya Rubin.

* * *

**Moscow.** On 28 May **Anatoly (Natan) Malkin,** who was trying to emigrate to Israel, was arrested on a charge of 'evasion of military service'. His parents (his father is a doctor of science, his mother works in the U S S R procuracy) would not give their permission for their son's emigration.

* * *

In April 1975 **Melib (Mikhail) Agursky** (*Chronicle* 34), **Nikolai Bokov** (*Chronicles* 32 and 34), **Valery Buiko** (*Chronicle* 35), and Victor Fainberg's fiancée, the Leningrad psychiatrist **Marina Voikhanskaya,** left the U S S R.

In May 1975 **Oleg Frolov** (*Chronicle* 33) left the U S S R.

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**Odessa. Leonid Tymchuk** (*Chronicles* 30, 32 and 35), having guessed that his flat was bugged, carried out a thorough search and discovered a newly plastered niche with wires leading to it in a wall of his house looking onto the grounds of a factory. At the beginning of May Tymchuk disconnected the wires by night, opened the niche and forced open a metal box which was bricked up in the wall. Inside were clips of batteries and two or three boxes, tightly wound with insulating tape and connected together by different coloured wires; some of the wires went straight into the wall, behind which was Tymchuk's room. Tymchuk took the boxes into the house and hid them. Very soon a car appeared at the house and some people began to swarm around the wall, but when they noticed Leonid observing them from the roof, they ordered him to clear off. He did so; he left the house unobtrusively, across the roofs.

Later, however, they tracked him down on the streets of Odessa and brought him home, having produced a search warrant for the purpose of confiscating 'literature slandering the political and social order'. The search was conducted



by K G B officers; they did not discover the literature for which they were searching, but to make up for it they found the boxes and confiscated them. Tymchuk demanded that they should take the insulating tape off them and see what was underneath. However, the people conducting the search refused to do this.

Subsequently, at an interrogation, Tymchuk was reproached with having allegedly upset the anti-aircraft defences of the factory, although his house had nothing whatsoever to do with the factory and as a matter of fact is scheduled for demolition.

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**Moscow.** In March and April 1975 exhibitions of independent artists from different cities of the Soviet Union took place in seven or eight apartments in Moscow (cf. items in *Chronicles* 34 and 35). (There is an inaccuracy in *Chronicle* 35: the exhibition in the Hall of Russian Art in December 1974 was an ordinary exhibition in which, among other pictures, were four pictures by 'independent' artists.)

* * *

In the Moscow section of the Writers' Union, an 'official denunciation' of the writer **N. D. Otten,** a member of the Soviet Writers' Union since its foundation, was received from party organs. Otten was accused because of his kind-hearted attitude to former political prisoners, in particular to **Alexander Ginzburg** (after his release, Ginzburg was deprived of the right to live in Moscow with his family and lived for a while in Otten's house in Tarusa, Kaluga region).

In connection with the denunciation, Rekemchuk, a secretary of the Moscow section of the Writers' Union, conducted an admonitory conversation with Otten in April. He tried to persuade Otten to sell his house in Tarusa.

* * *

When the parents of **Povilas Pečiulaitis** were living in the U S A in the 'twenties, they became naturalized there. Now his mother is living in Lithuania and his father has died. P. Pečiulaitis applied to the U S Embassy with a copy of the naturalization document in order to receive American citizenship for himself and his mother. As soon as he returned from Moscow, he was summoned to a police station and fined for non-possession of a residence permit. (Pečiulaitis is a former prisoner.) After a while his pasport was taken away and he was accused of violation of the residence regulations.

* * *

On 1 May 1975 a group of **Soviet Germans** held a demonstration in the town of Shchusev in Kokchetav region, demanding either autonomy or free emigration. The demonstrators were dispersed with fire engines and hoses.

* * *

At the end of March 1975 the Moscow O V I R refused **Elena Bonner,** wife of A. D. Sakharov, permission to travel to Italy at the invitation of Italian doctors to receive treatment for her eyes. Elena Bonner is a second-category invalid from the Second World War. Her eye disease is a consequence of war wounds. Soviet doctors have been unable to cure her. In O V I R Elena Bonner was told: 'Let relatives give you an invitation. Or let the U S S R Ministry of Health write that you cannot be cured in the U S S R. Or let foreign doctors come here.' The conversation in O V I R was interrupted several times; after every reply given by Elena Bonner and members of her family who had come with her, the bureaucrat who was talking to them would break off the conversation and leave the room for a long while. It was clear that he was taking advice from someone else.

On the morning of 7 May A. D. Sakharov telephoned the President of the U S S R Academy of Sciences, M. V. Keldysh, and Ivanov, the official of the C P S U Central Committee who supervises O V I R, and informed them that in the evening he would call a press conference, at which he would protest against the refusal to allow his wife to make a trip to obtain treatment. At five o'clock on the evening of the same day he received a letter from O V I R by special delivery containing the reply of the U S S R Ministry of Health to O V I R's inquiry: 'In reply to your inquiry we can inform you that citizen Bonner's treatment can be accomplished within the country. On the demand of doctors and also at Mrs Bonner's request, foreign specialists may be invited here.'

At a press conference the same evening, A. D. Sakharov handed correspondents his letters of protest addressed to foreign statesmen and public figures, and announced that he and his wife would stage a three-day hunger strike in protest. On 8, 9 and 10 May A. D. Sakharov and E. G. Bonner held a hunger strike.

## Letters and Statements

**Danylo Shumuk** (*Chronicle* 28) has already applied twice to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet to have his Soviet citizenship withdrawn (on 10 December 1972 and 10 December 1973).

On 1 August 1974 he appealed to the U N Human Rights Commission:

> As I have already appealed twice to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet to relieve me of the 'honourable title' of citizen of the Soviet Union . . . but on both occasions without result, I am forced to appeal on this matter to the Human Rights Commission of the U N O, and to the free world in general — to help me to rid myself of this 'honourable title'. I am already 60 years old and it has been my lot to live 30 of them in severe conditions of captivity: before the war in Poland, during the war under the Germans, after the war in Russia. I still have to serve seven years of oppressive imprisonment in a special-regime camp, in a crowded cell — two square metres to a man — which is kept locked all day, on an extremely inadequate diet, with five more years of exile to follow. Considering my age and the serious state of my health this is really a life sentence — it is murder. I do not wish to die in harsh captivity, in an alien, hostile environment, as a citizen of this state, and thus bear responsibility for all the evil deeds committed by the U S S R's punitive agencies — this is why I renounce Soviet citizenship . . .



On 10 December 1974 Shumuk applied for the third time to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, asking to be deprived of his Soviet citizenship: 'I no longer wish to be even formally considered a citizen of the U S S R, nor to bear moral responsibility for all its flagrant lawlessness. I do not need to repent or to be persuaded on anything concerning this subject—everything is already quite clear to me. I ask for only one thing: liberate me from the 'honourable title' of citizen of the Soviet Union. (Shumuk's declaration is quoted in a translation from the Ukrainian.)

* * *

**L. Z. Kopelev,** Writer, Member of the International P E N Club, Combatant in the Second World War: 'To the Politburo of the Central Committee of the C P S U' — (8 April and 22 April 1975).

In two letters the author calls for an amnesty for political prisoners and asks that disputes with ideological opponents be conducted only by ideological means.

**Father Gleb Yakunin:** 'Open Letter to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the C P S U' (19 April 1975).

This letter was inspired by two events: the declaration that the 'Easter rest day' (4 May) was to be a working day, and the campaign under the slogan 'For the sake of that lad'. In the author's opinion both amount to mockery. The former is an insult to millions of believers; the latter is an insult to the memory of fallen soldiers.

Yakunin considers that these actions are prompted by a spiritual crisis. 'Your train has entered a desert of spiritual famine' is the basic theme of the 'Open Letter'.

**Mykola Rudenko:** 'Open Letter to L. I. Brezhnev' (six pages).

> Dear Leonid Ilyich,
> Allow me to share with you certain thoughts, which, I feel, are of interest to others besides myself. Please excuse my writing to you by hand: my typewriter was confiscated from me during a search carried out at my apartment on 18 April 1975, on the directions of the Moscow Procurator's Office (see the section 'The Eighteenth of April' in this issue — *Chronicle*).
> I see no other conflicts in our society except the eternal conflict between

youth and old age, between spiritual freedom and bureaucratic restriction. However, some people try to depict even this conflict in terms of 'class'.

It is my profound conviction that a reasonable, well regulated conflict is not only normal but also extremely necessary for every society: without it there is not, and cannot be, any development. Only the ground rules for the conflict have to be worked out. The conflict must be resolved not by force, but by reason. By no means always — and in least measure of all! — is this conflict dictated by class contradictions.

Young people in the Soviet Union are very keenly aware of how laws are simply ignored and they feel strongly about it. Some are used to hiding their thoughts, others are brave enough to raise their voices in protest. And so the conflict between fathers and children — a deep, internal conflict — comes to the surface and is discussed throughout the world.

Above all I see our low level of spiritual culture in the fact that we have begun to make 'class enemies' out of our own children. This is so unnatural that it renders dubious very much of our ideology. Even more, it casts doubts on the foundations of Marxism itself, with its basically mistaken classification of society . . .

Until now I have never sent any open letters to the Central Committee . . . But in order to defend myself and Andrei Tverdokhlebov, my friend in Amnesty International, I am compelled to publicise this letter.

I believe in human reason — I believe that it will be victorious! That is inevitable! And there is nothing wrong in the fact that western nations are helping us to rid ourselves of Stalinism — I welcome this help. It comes not from the bourgeoisie, as some allege, but from a high spiritual culture.

* * *

**A. V. Sokolov (Moscow) and J. Steindl (Vienna).** 'Declaration Addressed to the General Secretary of the C P S U Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, and to B. Kreisky, Chancellor of the Austrian Republic' (6 May 1975).

Alexander Vsevolodovich Sokolov (born 1945, a journalist) worked until recently on the newspaper *Literaturnaya Rossiya*, then left it for personal reasons. Lately he has worked as a stoker, a janitor and a fireman.

Johanna Steindl came to Moscow from Vienna in 1973 on the basis of a cultural exchange agreement between the U S S R and Austria, and worked for two years as a teacher in the Thorez State Pedagogical Research Institute of Language-Teaching. In July 1975 her agreed term of employment came to an end.

Alexander and Johanna met in the spring of 1974 and in February 1975 they decided to register their marriage.

The Moscow Registrar's Office refused, however, to accept their application without the consent of Sokolov's parents to the marriage (A. Sokolov's father is a retired lieutenant-general with a pension, who formerly worked in the K G B, the General Staff and the Military Diplomatic Academy), although in accordance with the R S F S R law on marriage and the family no such consent is, in fact, required.



On receiving a refusal Alexander and Johanna appealed to the Chairman of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. At the beginning of March the Moscow Registry accepted their application. The registration was due to take place on 4 June.

On 26 April J. Steindl went to Vienna on a short visit for medical treatment. At Sheremetevo Airport customs officials secretly removed her return visa to the U S S R from her passport. Johanna only noticed this when she had taken her seat in the plane; she wanted to refuse to leave but was persuaded that a mistake had been made, and that the visa would be restored at the Soviet Embassy in Vienna. In Vienna, however, Soviet Consul Vishnyakov refused to renew the visa, saying that he was acting on 'instructions' from Moscow.

On 6 May A. Sokolov and J. Steindl sent a joint declaration to Brezhnev and Kreisky. In this declaration, after telling their story, they wrote: 'Help us; allow Johanna Steindl to return to Moscow, so that we can officially become husband and wife. We are long past our youth and can answer for our words and actions, and believe us, we are ready to take the most extreme steps, the most extreme actions — so as to avoid losing each other; for if that happens, we will have almost nothing left to lose.'

On the same day, at a press conference, A. Sokolov released the declaration to foreign journalists.

On 14 May A. Sokolov was dismissed for being incompetent from his job as a fireman at the Moscow Miniature Theatre.

* * *

**Larissa Bogoraz:** 'Open Letter to Yu. V. Andropov, Chairman of the K G B' (9 May 1975).

. . . Over a year ago, a group of Soviet citizens issued the Moscow Appeal — a call to investigate and publicize the crimes of the recent past, which were connected with the activities of your organization . . .

My own signature was among those on the Moscow Appeal.

. . . I wish to inform you that I myself intend, to the best of my abilities, to found an archive and publish its contents; in the near future I shall publish a questionnaire, on the basis of which I hope to gather material . . .

**V. Voinovich:** 'Open Letter to Yu. V. Andropov, Chairman of the K G B' (12 May 1975).

On 4 May of this year I was summoned by telephone to the institution headed by yourself, where two of your colleagues, Petrov and Zakharov (this was how they introduced themselves, not giving their rank or occupation), had a talk with me. The conversation, which lasted for two hours, consisted mostly of expressions of regret that such a talented writer as they considered

me to be, should need to be published abroad. They offered me the opportunity of returning to Soviet literature. Petrov even said that he would have published my novel about the soldier Chonkin, had he been able to cut out the one word 'puks'.[41]

'Haven't you noticed that we're changing?', my partners in conversation asked. Their words fell on fertile soil. I have always reacted in a conciliatory way to the K G B, considering it to be in no way worse than the Union of Writers. This was why I accepted their invitation to a second meeting at the Metropol Hotel.

The meeting was to take place on 11 May at six o'clock, beside the statue of Marx. When I went to the assigned meeting place near the Metropol three minutes before the agreed time, I noticed that some strange animated activity was going on there. My new acquaintances were for some reason running to and fro and making mysterious signs to some unknown people. It seemed as if an important operation was being prepared. When he bumped into me, Zakharov, the younger of my guardians, seemed to be embarrassed; he took me by the hand but suddenly let go and ran round the corner supposedly in search of Petrov, who, as it happened, was approaching from a completely different direction . . .

Soon they both returned and we went to room 480 in the hotel (now you will have to use a new room).

Here I proposed to my new admirers that I begin my return to Soviet literature with the publication of a selection of my works. They promised to do this in the near future, but meanwhile asked me to tell them more about my friends and to provide their surnames. At the same time they informed me several times that they knew all about me, but I realized that they knew nothing apart from my open conversations on the telephone . . .

Petrov said that (. . .) he personally (. . .) was interested in my contacts with the West and with foreign journalists and in how such contacts had been formed and developed . . . Zakharov told me that I was just about his favourite writer; and he was interested in my creative methods; he stared into my mouth, not noticing that an object was slipping out of his left sleeve and dangling in the air.

'What's this, a microphone?' I asked, and tried to pull it out; but Zakharov, though embarrassed, managed to pull his arm away.

At this moment some sort of gas was released (? — *Chronicle*) because my awareness of what was happening became blurred. It was obvious that Petrov had been affected by even more of the gas than I, for he began to babble utter nonsense. 'We're being sincere with you, but you are not being sincere with us.'

The only phrase I caught from his whole disconnected speech was this one about 'sincerity', but later, when the initial shock had passed, he suddenly ended his rambling speech with his first intelligible sentence: 'Would you like me to tell you about my family?'



After I discovered the microphone I wanted to leave immediately, but my acquaintances persuaded me to stay. 'What difference does it make to you where the microphone is, in my sleeve or in the wall?'

I agreed that. indeed, there was no difference, and stayed to hear a story about how the writer Dudintsev puts his manuscripts into some kind of sacks. I was again asked to change my attitude to the K G B. I was told a story about the murder of the artist Popkov, which the Western press had been shouting about, or so they said . . . Some time later Petrov thoughtfully, and with sadness in his voice, informed me that a man's life was a very uncertain thing. Then he suddenly said that he might have understood me, had I been 70 years old. At the age of 70 life was already essentially over. But to end it at the age of 43 . . . He spread out his hands in bewilderment . . .

I am not afraid of threats, Yury Vladimirovich. My soldier Chonkin will avenge me. In his ragged puttees he has gone out into the world and all your debt collectors put together (according to the official version the artist Popkov was murdered by a drunken debt collector — *Chronicle*) cannot vanquish him now . . .

And if anyone is summoned by the K G B and told that they're not as they were, let him not believe it. They are!

## Samizdat News

**Boris Khazanov: 'The New Russia'** (9 pages)

The author discusses Motherland, patriotism and the problem of emigration.

Fear and the slavery which we drank in with our mothers' milk have prevented us from pushing off from the shore.

This means that we are unworthy of being called free men and unworthy of freedom. We deserve our fate, as is always the case. However, I do not wish to admit that I am a slave, neither do I wish to renounce my mother. I have found a way out. I have formulated a guiding thought for myself, and I cannot help it if it appears absurd. An absurd truth is born of absurd circumstances. In a sea of debris the only thing I can hang onto is the Russian language. My faith in the language has replaced my faith in the people, the God that is dead. The Russian language is my only homeland. . . .

History has seen a New England and a New Holland . . . a Russian colony could be established somewhere in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or in any suitable place. Let us agree on a country and let us all go there . . . There, in a new land, as if on a new planet, we shall develop our freedom, preserve our language. our way of thinking, our culture, and our old homeland.

So ends this article, written by a 'bared soul'.

**Danylo Shumuk: 'A Fragment from the End of an Investigation'**, June 1972

This small, four-page extract was written in camp 1 in the Mordovian camp complex, where the author has been serving a 10-year sentence since 1972 (*Chronicle* 28; see also 'Letters and Statements' in this issue). The author describes his first meeting with the defence lawyer Karpenko:

> I have already acquainted myself with your case, Danylo Lavrentevich. I have carefully read all your work (this refers to his memoirs *My Past Remembered*[12] — *Chronicle*). I must admit that your work, although it is only a draft, is very well written. If this work were to become widely known, your name would echo throughout the world. But this will not happen: your entire work has ended up here, being investigated by the authorities, and you yourself are behind bars. No power can get you out of here, I tell you this as your lawyer. In your work you have spoken disrespectfully about sacred matters — Lenin and the October Revolution — and consequently I, a Soviet lawyer, cannot defend you as an innocent man. Only repentance can help you, Danylo Lavrentevich, and if you don't repent you will be cruelly punished; in that case, I fear you will never see freedom again.

The 58-year-old Danylo Shumuk received the maximum penalty prescribed in part two of article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code: 10 years plus 5 in exile.

### A. Markov: 'Reflections on a Sentence'

The author aims to examine the case of Maramzin in its political, legal and moral aspects, so that 'all those who are in danger of being caught at any moment in the merciless grasp of Soviet justice can learn the necessary lessons from it'.

The author attributes Maramzin's arrest to his unusual vigorous activity in connection with the Leningrad searches and the arrest of Kheifets. In the author's opinion the investigators and the court did not follow the usual line of refusing to admit Maramzin's status as a writer, as was earlier the case with 'the actual best known masters of the word', because in this scenario it was precisely a writer who was to 'confess' and to 'make the revelations'.

'In this sense Maramzin turned out to be a real find, a piece of luck that could not be disregarded. Until then, there had been no success in getting any persecuted writer to accept without protest that the application of the concept "anti-Soviet" to a work of art could be correct, to unmask "the subversive character" of creative literature, or to explain how creative literature as a form of political propaganda could harm the State.'

Examining the problem of 'repentance', the author writes '"Repentance at one's trial is immoral", G. G. Superfin declared at his own trial and got five years in the Perm camps to be followed by exile. It must be assumed that he meant that "repentance" at a political trial could not be sincere, because, as a rule, it results from fear of punishment, and a desire to *buy mercy*.'



Calling Maramzin's 'repentance' the result of a deal with unprincipled partners, the author maintains that the moral intentions of executioners and their victims cannot be placed on the same plane, no matter how touching is their complicity during the trial. While rejoicing at Maramzin's release, the author sharply condemns the attempts of some of his friends 'to exalt his alleged services by saying that he had not given anyone away or put anyone inside, i.e. that he had successfully defended his right not to be an informer'. He sees the security police's aim to be not so much the placing of Maramzin's acquaintances in the dock for reading and disseminating *samizdat*, but 'the breaking of a man, the demoralization and corruption of him', and, consequently, 'the undermining of the democratic movement inside the country and the discrediting of it in the eyes of world opinion . . . also the rebuttal of western slanderers and the restoration of the prestige of the greatest and most democratic of states.'

The author hopes that some day Maramzin will himself describe what pressures he was subjected to and cites a few known examples of the stick and carrot treatment connected with the case: the disproportionately heavy sentence passed on Kheifets when Maramzin was still refusing to give evidence; various problems concerning the residence permit of Maramzin's wife; and 'of course, the chief promise held out to him was that of freedom and the right to emigrate to Israel'. (The author speaks of this with conviction, although only Maramzin and the K G B officials know whether this was a direct promise or a silent hint — *Chronicle*.)

The author describes the entire staging of the trial, acted out according to a pre-rehearsed script; he is particularly cutting in his irony when dealing with the defence counsel's speech, the theme of which was: 'It is impermissible to be offended by one's Motherland.' The counsel, S. A. Kheifets, managed to eliminate from the indictment the letter of Grigorenko and Kosterin, not even questioning the anti-Soviet character of this and other documents. He explained Maramzin's political ignorance by the fact that at a certain point in his life he had stopped reading Soviet papers and listening to Soviet radio; and in deciding on the punitive measures to be taken, he agreed with the sentence in principle, but summoned up the courage to ask for a sentence of less than five years!

The author pays particular attention to Maramzin's letter to *Le Monde*, which was cited as proof of the sincerity of his repentance. The letter is full of contradictions and lacks cohesion, thus giving rise to doubts about its true authorship; Maramzin speaks here with an alien voice. Referring to a phrase from Maramzin's letter about how the writer feels humiliated at being used as a pawn in political machinations, the author concludes: 'This is true, but unfortunately Vladimir Maramzin has quite consciously become a pawn in political machinations. Not in the west, however, but in his own country.'

* * *

**N. Stroganov: 'From Tsepnoi to Anichkov, Reflections and Feelings of Shame'**

An article-pamphlet on the same theme.

* * *

## A Letter to the Chronicle

At the end of March 1974, on reading the materials of my 'criminal' case number 27, conducted by the administration for the Oryol region of the K G B, which is attached to the U S S R Council of Ministers, I officially informed Captain Oleg Serafimovich Ilin, who led the investigation (see the reference to him in the 'Statement to the Press' made by E. V. Barabanov on 15 September 1973), that I would bring to public notice certain K G B reviews of Russian literary works.

These K G B reviews are the official judgements of the Committee [of State Security], and are used by its officials in their operational, ideological, and investigative activities. I have taken them from the so-called 'inspection reports'.

This is from the 'inspection report' on O. E. Mandelshtam's poems: 'The subject matter of some of these is ideologically immoderate.'

From the 'inspection report' on A. I. Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*: 'The contents of this short novel are ideologically harmful. The author describes events connected with the period of Stalin's cult of personality, and tendentiously concentrates on the events in one day in the life of prisoners, and of the severity of their living conditions. There is an exaggerated emphasis on the allegedly unbearable cruelty of the camp regime.'

From the 'inspection report' on A. I. Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward*: 'Like his other works, it is written on a labour camp theme in a rough kind of slang. The author describes the period from 1937 to 1954 . . . exaggerating and blowing out of proportion the mistakes and shortcomings that took place then. He defames our social and political system and libels Soviet reality.'

From the 'inspection report' on Nadezhda Yakovlevna Mandelshtam's *Memoirs*: 'The *Memoirs* recount the persecution and repression to which O. Mandelshtam and his wife were allegedly subjected during the period of the cult of personality . . . The author of the *Memoirs* tendentiously describes Soviet reality in the pre-war period, and tries to make out that at that time the greater part of the talented and progressive intelligentsia — especially poets and writers — were being repressed by the Party and administrative organs.'

Other 'inspection reports' infer that M. I. Tsvetayeva's 'Evening Elsewhere', M. A. Bulgakov's *Fateful Eggs*, and Andrei Bely's *Revolution and Culture* were meaningless, and inartistic, and harmful.

These reviews were signed by First Lieutenant Alexander Georgievich Gubinsky, an official of the K G B investigation section (who also took part in the investigation of the well-known case 24), and by Lieutenant Boris Gimarzevich Redkozubov, a K G B official in Tambov Region.

With respect,
**G. Superfin**



## Addenda and Corrigenda

In *Chronicle* 34, in the section 'Trials in Armenia', there are many small inaccuracies. The trial of B. Shakhverdyan and A. Tovmasyan took place in November 1973 not in December. Paruir Airikyan has an uncompleted higher education and not 'eight years of school'. Airikyan was sentenced for infringing the rules of surveillance on 5 March 1974, not on 5 February. Correspondingly the new charges against him under articles 65 and 67 of the Armenian Criminal Code were made on 19 March 1974, not 19 February. The prosecution at Airikyan's trial was conducted by Procurator Khudoyan, not by Gambaryan. The presiding judge at the trial was Danielyan. In addition to his letters from the Mordovian camps to his relatives and friends, the evidence against Airikyan included an appeal sent from the Mordovian camps to the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and (the following were written in 1974 in a K G B investigation prison) an appeal to the U N O, a letter to Arutyunyan, Secretary of the Armenian Party Central Committee, and notes to friends.

* * *

Yury Melnik, released from the Mordovian camps on 17 January 1975, is from Leningrad, not from the Ukraine, as stated in *Chronicle* 35. He has now been given a residence permit in Leningrad, though he has been placed under administrative surveillance.

* * *

In the section 'In the Prisons and Camps' in *Chronicle* 35, the release of Victor Kharlanov is reported twice, once with a distortion of his surname.

* * *

Vladimir Balakhonov was sentenced at the beginning of 1974, not in 1973, as stated in *Chronicle* 35. He was arrested on 7 January 1973 (*Chronicle* 33).

* * *

Georgy Davydov arrived in Vladimir Prison from the Perm camps in November 1974. In March 1975 he was sent from Vladimir Prison to the Tallin K G B investigation prison. The report on this in *Chronicle* 35 (in the section 'News in Brief') contains a few inaccuracies.

* * *

The summary in *Chronicle* 35 of N.N.'s letter to the editors of the journal *Zemlya*, 'On the Necessity of Establishing a Russian Fund', did not fully represent the letter's contents. The letter also spoke about the publication of books and about other matters.



## End-Notes (Chronicles 34, 35 and 36)

*Abbreviation*: *C H R stands for A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R*, Khronika Press, New York.

1. On the literary scholar Konstantin Babitsky see *Chronicles* 3-6, 8, 15.
2. For a bibliography of the works of Sinyavsky and Daniel in English and Russian see L. Labedz and M. Hayward (eds.), *On Trial*: *The Case of Sinyavsky* (*Tertz*) *and Daniel* (*Arzhak*) (London, 1967), pp. 382-4.
3. A. Avtorkhanov, *Tekhnologiya vlasti* (Frankfurt, 1959), published in English as *Stalin and the Soviet Communist Party* (Munich, 1959).
4. Corrected, as indicated by *Chronicle* 36, from 'December 1973'.
5. On Shakhverdyan see *Chronicle* 33.
6. On Navasardyan see *Chronicles* 15, 16 and 17.
7. Corrected, as indicated by *Chronicle* 36, from 'He completed eight years of schooling'.
8. In this date, and the previous one, the month has been corrected from 'February', as indicated in *Chronicle* 36.
9. Corrected, according to *Chronicle* 36, from 'Gambaryan'. The chairman of the court was Danielyan.
10. According to *Chronicle* 36, the following featured in the charges against Airikyan: an appeal to the Armenian party central committee, written in a K G B investigation prison in 1974, an appeal to the U N, a letter to Arutyunyan, Secretary of the Armenian party central committee, and some notes to friends.
11. O. Popovich was later sentenced to eight years in strict-regime camps, plus five years in exile, and sent to camp 3 in Mordovia. As of 1976 the *Chronicle* had provided no information on her trial or her life in captivity.
12. Corrected from 'August 1974', as indicated in *Chronicle* 36. Lapienis was eventually arrested in October 1976.
13. *Chronicle* 39 reports that in early 1976 he was in Perm camp 37.
14. He and Alexander Ivanov, both Leningrad trombone players, defected in Mexico City on 21 August 1972, went to the U S A, but changed their minds and returned to the U S S R in early September 1972. Grodetsky was sentenced to four years under article 64, transferred to Vladimir prison in spring 1975, and released in September 1976. See A P report from Washington, dated 10 September 1972, and *Chronicles* 35, 42.
15. This seems likely to be Ivan G. Sokulsky (sic), a Dnepropetrovsk poet sentenced to four-and-a-half years under article 70 in 1970. See *Chronicles* 12, 17 (supplement) and 27.
16. It later transpired that this name was incorrect and should have been Dr L. A. Lyubarskaya.
17. For the context in which this Orthodox church was closed see *Religion in Communist Lands*, 1974, number 6, p. 15.
18. For the background and extracts see P. Reddaway, 'The Georgian Orthodox Church: Corruption and Renewal', in *ibid*, 4/5, 1975; also 6, 1975, and 1, 1976.
19. Kryuchkov has been sought by the authorities for some years, but as of early 1977 he was still apparently eluding them.
20. Published in English by Collins and Fontana, London, 1976.
21. Lyubarskaya: corrected from Chasovskikh: see note 16 above.
22. Published by Penguin, 1971, with additional documents.

23. Diminutive of Anatoly.
24. See *Chronicles* 32, 34. For a later, detailed statement by Ginzburg, see *C H R*, 1975, number 13.
25. See G. Vins, *Three Generations of Suffering* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1976), pp. 99-195.
26. See *C H R*, 1974, numbers 8, 9.
27. I.e. the press censorship, usually known as Glavlit.
28. Vitaly M. Pozdeyev, sentenced to 13 years for hi-jacking a plane to Turkey in 1970. See details on his accomplice N. Gilev, and him, in *Chronicle* 26.
29. Corrected from 'Ukraine, sentence three (?) years', as indicated in *Chronicle* 36.
30. M. Dyak died in 1976, aged 41. See his obituary in *Chronicle* 42.
31. Some of Balakhonov's ex-colleagues have responded to his letter by setting up the Committee for the Defence of Vladimir Balakhonov (Case Postale 130, CH-1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland). The Committee has, among other things, collected hundreds of signatures from U N employees on a petition.
32. Published in English in *Survey*, London, 1975, number 97, pp. 195-216.
33. 'Peterson' has here been deleted from this list, as *Chronicle* 38 reports that his inclusion was an error.
34. Corrected here from 'January', as indicated in *Chronicle* 36.
35. Corrected from 'in January 1975', as indicated in *Chronicle* 36.
36. As this publication is edited by V. Chalidze and others in New York, these copies must have been typed out from printed originals.
37. Published in *Survey*, 1975. number 94-95, and, in a revised translation, in S. Bloch and P. Reddaway, *Russia's Political Hospitals*, Gollancz, London, 1977 (U S edition: *Psychiatric Terror*, Basic Books, New York).
38. A note in *Chronicle* 36 (section 'Addenda and Corrigenda') amplifies this over-brief summary.
39. Corrected from 'Tumelpanu (?) — Latvian partisan, five years from 1972', as indicated in *Chronicle* 38, which provides more details.
40. This material was published in an article by W. Shawcross and P. Reddaway in *The Sunday Times*, 2 November 1975.
41. P U K S stands in Russian for 'The Road to Socialism'. In Voinovich's novel about Private Chonkin, P U K S is the exalted name chosen by a Lysenko-like scientist for the fantastic hybrid plant he hopes to produce. A rude pun is also involved, the word 'puk' meaning 'fart'.
42. Published in Ukrainian in the West in 1974 by the publishers Smoloskyp.



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The original Russian texts of *Chronicles* 34-36, of which this book is a translation, appeared as separate booklets without annotations, *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii, Khronika Press*, New York, 1975.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* are available in English from two main sources. Numbers 16-33 have been published by Amnesty International Publications with annotations and names indexes, all issues except number 16 still being in print (see inside back cover). Numbers 1-11 appeared in full, with annotations and 76 photographs, in Peter Reddaway's *Uncensored Russia: the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union*, London and New York, 1972.

Number 37 and following issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* will be published in English by Amnesty International Publications. The Russian texts of numbers 37-46 are already in Amnesty's possession.

Other books and periodicals in which readers can find more details about many of the people mentioned in the *Chronicles* are listed in the annotated bibliographies in the Amnesty International editions of numbers 22-23 and 27.

Many texts referred to briefly in the *Chronicle* have appeared in full in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R*, Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018, quarterly (separate Russian and English editions). In French the best source of such texts is *Cahiers du Samizdat*, 105 drève du Duc, 1170 Brussels, Belgium, monthly.

For many religious texts, see *Religion in Communist Lands*, Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent, England, quarterly. For Jewish texts see *Jews in the Soviet Union*, 31 Percy Street, London W1, 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, U S A.



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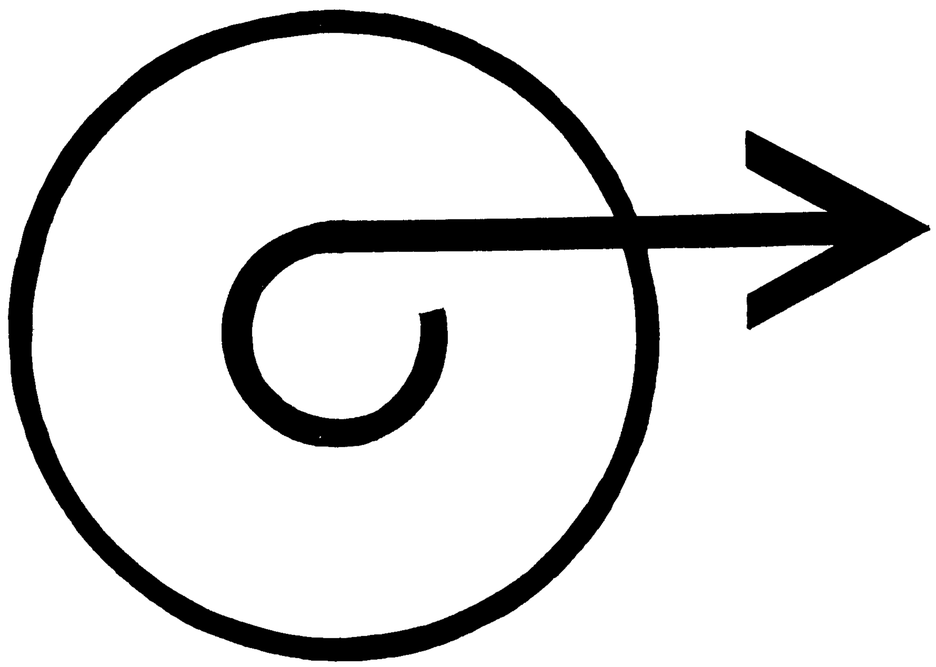

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